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## THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

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TORONTO

# THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

## PART I THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

EDITED BY  
F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D.  
AND  
KIRSOPP LAKE, D.D.

VOL. III  
THE TEXT OF ACTS  
BY  
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1926

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TO  
MY WIFE

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.

**FIERI** autem omnino non potest ut unius hominis industria editio novi testamenti historiae ut ita dicam fide adornata perficiatur. nam etiam libris edendis eam legem scriptam esse didici ut lente festinetur, ne dum omnia simul assequi velis nihil assequaris.

Id ago ut theologis apparatus non quidem locupletem sed pro humanarum virium infirmitate certissimum congeram.

**PAUL DE LAGARDE (1857).**

## PREFACE

THE study of the textual criticism of the New Testament, like that of the kindred science of palaeontology, rests on morphology, but necessarily expands into an historical inquiry. Without an adequate history of the text the determination of that text remains insecure. But textual history has also intrinsic value, for it is a true, though minor, branch of Church history. As an account of the development of one phase of the life and activity of the Church it is significant for its own sake, and not unworthy to take a place beside the history of liturgies or creeds or vestments. Not only does it abundantly illustrate the history of biblical exegesis, but in it many characteristic traits of the thought and aspiration of successive ages may be studied from original sources.

These considerations have been in mind in preparing the present volume, and especially in the Introductory Essay; and a summary sketch of the textual history of the Book of Acts, so far as present knowledge permits, has been offered on pp. cxc-cxcvii. Every part of the section on the Sources of Knowledge for the text will reveal how wide is the range of general history, both sacred and secular, into contact with which the student of textual history is brought. Some of the specific tasks as yet unperformed which are requisite to a completer knowledge of textual history and a securer confidence in the results of textual criticism are mentioned at the close of the Essay.

The large space occupied in this volume by the discussion of the text called 'Western' (for which it is unfortunate that no better name should be at hand) might seem excessive in view of

the conclusion here presented that that text is inferior to the text found in the Old Uncials, or even in the mass of later manuscripts. But in fact the creation of the 'Western' text was the most important event in the history of the text of Acts, and the recovery of it, so far as that is practicable, from the many corrupt documents in which its fragments now repose is an essential preliminary to a sound judgment on the textual criticism of the book. That the 'Western' text, if, as I hold, not the work of the original author of Acts, was a definite rewriting, rather than an accumulation of miscellaneous variants, ought not to have been doubted, and that for two reasons. In the first place, it has an unmistakably homogeneous internal character. Secondly, its hundreds or thousands of variants are now known to have arisen in a brief period, scarcely, if at all, longer than the fifty years after the book first passed into circulation. In that period a pedigree of successive copies was short, and to produce so many variants the mere natural licence of copyists would be insufficient. And since one rewriting would suffice, any theory that more than one took place in those years would seem to fall under the condemnation of Occam's razor. Of course the 'Western' text, once produced, was liable to modification and enlargement, and the Bezan form, in which it is most commonly read, while invaluable, is full of corruptions, but a full study of the evidence contained in this volume and elsewhere is likely to bring conviction that a definite 'Western' text, whether completely recoverable in its original form or not, once actually existed.

If the 'Western' text had never been created, the problem of the textual criticism of the New Testament would have been relatively easy, and the variants not unduly numerous. Textual history, in nearly all its more difficult phases, is the story of a long series of combinations of the 'Western' text with its rival, the text best known to us from the Old Uncials and the Bohairic version. One of these combinations, for which I have used the name 'Antiochian,' became the text most widely employed throughout the later Christian centuries. Nevertheless, if the

'Western' text had not been created, although the critic's task would be easier, we should be the poorer, for those fragments of its base, which it enshrines like fossils in an enveloping rock-mass, would probably have perished, and we should have lost these evidences of a good text of extreme antiquity, vastly nearer in date to the original autographs than any of our Greek manuscripts.

With regard to the 'Western' text itself the most interesting idea that I have been able to bring forward seems to me one worthy of further discussion, but hardly susceptible of direct proof, although it may be possible to show that as an hypothesis it fits well all the known facts, and would elucidate some otherwise perplexing problems. I refer to the suggestion that the preparation of the 'Western' text, which took place early in the second century, perhaps at Antioch, was incidental to the work of forming the collection of Christian writings for general Church use which ultimately, somewhat enlarged, became the New Testament; in a word, that the 'Western' text was the text of the primitive 'canon' (if the term may be pardoned in referring to so early a date), and was expressly created for that purpose. Such a theory is recommended by its aptness to explain both the wide spread of the 'Western' text in the second century, as if issued from some authoritative centre, and its gradual disappearance from general use thereafter, as well as its inferiority, when judged by internal evidence. That this conception would throw a direct light on certain dark places in the history of the New Testament canon is at once manifest. It is probably inconsistent with some current hypotheses and conclusions in that field, since it would require the admission that at the date of the rewriting those rewritten books already formed a collection; but it may be remarked that in any case the very act of making a rewritten text of these books must of itself have produced a kind of collection. On the side, however, of the history of the canon by virtue of which it appears as a topic in the history of Christian dogma rather than of Christian antiquities and usages, the theory

here proposed does not seem to run counter to any views commonly held by scholars.

If the 'Western' text was a revision made in the first half of the second century, it is a monument of the life and thought of that period, an historical source, although one not easily reconstructed with completeness and accuracy. It is more difficult to study than the contemporary Apostolic Fathers, but not less worthy of attention than they are.

The plan of the text and apparatus of this volume is set forth fully in the Explanatory Note following the Introductory Essay. What is offered is neither a fresh text nor a complete apparatus, but rather a selection of important material and a series of investigations in the form partly of apparatus, partly of textual notes. The time for making a satisfactory new critical text does not appear to me to have yet arrived, and although—often with reasons given—I have fully stated the readings in which, with varying degrees of confidence, I am disposed to believe Codex Vaticanus wrong, that is a very different thing from propounding a complete new text, with the necessary decision of innumerable questions of orthography, punctuation, and typography, as well as of the body of words to be included. In the nature of the case a new text could not at present lay claim to finality, and the only certainty about it would seem to be that it never existed until its author, the critic, created it.

In the several apparatus the aim has been clearness and simplicity, and with that in view much has been omitted that finds appropriate place in a complete thesaurus of readings. Even so, the apparatus are complicated enough. They are intended to afford a knowledge of the variation within limited range manifested by the chief Greek 'Old Uncial' authorities, and a definite notion of the oldest form of the 'Antiochian' text, preserved as it is with singular exactness in the manuscripts. For the 'Western' text, in consequence of the highly mixed character of nearly all the witnesses, equal completeness in the apparatus of these pages is impracticable. Whether there ever

was an 'Alexandrian' revision of the text of Acts is uncertain, but that question also can be studied in the Old Uncial apparatus and in the exhibition of the Bohairic version given in Appendix V.

To the Appendices, in which the ingredient readings of the four chief versions are set forth in full, special attention is asked. These tables give in a different arrangement, and with careful analysis of relevant attestation, most of the information about the four versions which is usually included in a textual apparatus to Acts, and they will serve some purposes of study better than the ordinary plan. It is a pity that the Armenian and Georgian and Ethiopic versions could not also have been analysed.

The concluding portion of the volume consists of a translation of the full Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Book of Acts, made for the present use by the late Dr. Frederick C. Conybeare, whose acuteness and learning detected the existence of this work in an Armenian ms. at Vienna. The lamented death of this eminent and beloved scholar prevented him from seeing his work in its final printed form, but the first proof had been revised by him, and I am confident that what is here offered is not unworthy of the memory of the generous friend who so often, as here, put other scholars under obligation. The translation both of the Commentary and of the accompanying Catena-extracts has been compared with the original Armenian by the self-denying labour of my colleague, Professor Robert P. Blake of Harvard University.

It remains to express gratitude to many who have helped me. The Editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* have followed the preparation of the work with constant and sympathetic aid, and I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Lake, not only for the original proposal and for a large share in the development of the plan, but for innumerable valuable suggestions, incisive criticisms, wise counsels, and cheerful encouragement. Sir Herbert Thompson's characteristic kindness and accurate scholarship have supplied, through his collations of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, knowledge which was not otherwise

accessible, and the Appendices drawn from his work make it possible to approach the Egyptian versions with confidence in a way which has not hitherto been open to New Testament scholars. My colleague, Professor Henry J. Cadbury, has rendered admirable service in the laborious task of collating the Vulgate and the Peshitto. From Professor F. C. Burkitt, Professor Alexander Souter, and Professor Charles C. Torrey I have received much valuable aid, and likewise from Professor Paul Diels of Breslau, Professor James A. Montgomery and Professor Max L. Margolis of Philadelphia, and Professor J. E. Frame of New York. To the great courtesy of Mgr. G. Mercati I owe information which he alone could give. For wise advice, which contributed fundamentally to better the general plan of the volume, I have to thank honoured friends—Professor von Dobschütz, Professor Jülicher, Dean H. J. White of Christ Church, Dean J. Armitage Robinson of Wells, Professor George Foot Moore; and to Professor C. H. Turner and the Oxford University Press I owe the kind permission to use the text of *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*.

To the devoted and efficient aid of Miss Edith M. Coe, who has assisted in the work through its whole progress, every reader will be indebted as long as the book is used; and it would be ungrateful indeed not to express appreciation of the remarkable skill and large knowledge which have enabled the printers to solve the complicated problem of clear arrangement of the pages of text and apparatus.

In spite of the accurate work of the printers and of much pains taken to secure correctness of statement and of citation, it is inevitable that a work like this should contain errors. I shall be much obliged to any reader who may find such and will take the trouble to send them to me.

JAMES HARDY ROPES.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

May 25, 1925.

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# THE TEXT OF ACTS

## I. THE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE FOR THE TEXT

### 1. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS <sup>1</sup>

#### § 1. LISTS

##### (a) UNCIALS <sup>2</sup>

*Century III. or IV.*

Pap 29. Oxyrhynch. 1597.

Acts xxvi. 7-8, 20. Text in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. xiii., 1919.

*Century IV.*

B (δ 1). Codex Vaticanus. Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 1209.

Pap 8 (α 8). Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 8683.

<sup>1</sup> In the account of the Greek manuscripts of Acts here given it is not intended in general to repeat the information given in Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece, editio octava*, Leipzig, 1894, and in the same writer's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900-1909. In referring to minuscule codices, and to the less familiar uncials, the later numbering of Gregory will be followed, as found in his *Griechische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908, and (less conveniently) in his *Textkritik*, vol. iii., 1909. The earlier numbering, from the list in the Prolegomena, will sometimes be indicated, with the word 'formerly.' The numbers of von Soden's list, when referred to, are recognizable by the prefixed Greek letter δ or α, or the symbol O or A<sup>sp</sup> with a superior figure.

<sup>2</sup> The determination of the century is in some cases open to doubt. For instance, V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., 1913, pp. 122-134, holds confidently, against many other scholars, that Codex Sinaiticus was written in the fifth, not in the fourth century.

Acts iv. 31-37; v. 2-9; vi. 1-6, 8-15. Text in Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 1087-1090.

057. Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 9808.  
Acts iii. 5. 6, 10-12.

*Century IV. or V.*

κ (δ 2). Codex Sinaiticus, Petrograd, Public Library, 259.

0165. Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 271.  
Acts iii. 24-iv. 13, 17-20. Text in Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 1369 f.

*Century V.*

048 (α 1). Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 2061.

Acts xxvi. 4-xxvii. 10; xxviii. 2-31. Palimpsest. Written in three columns.

066 (I<sup>2</sup>; α 1000). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. VI. II. 4.

Acts xxviii. 8 νος—ιεροσολυμων 17. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 43 f.

077. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. (Harris, No. 5.)

Acts xiii. 28-29. Text in *Studia Sinaitica*, i., 1894, p. 98, No. 5.

0166 (α 1017). Heidelberg, Papyrus-Sammlung, 1357.

Acts xxviii. 30-31. Text in A. Deissmann, *Die Septuaginta-papyri und andere altchristliche Texte der Heidelberger Papyrus-sammlung*, 1905, p. 85.

0175. Florence, Società Italiana. Oxyrhynchus fragment.

Acts vi. 7-15. Text in *Papiri greci e latini*, vol. ii., 1913, No. 125.

*Century V. or VI.*

A (δ 4). Codex Alexandrinus, London, British Museum, Royal Library I. D. V-VIII.

C (δ 3). Codex Ephraemi, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 9.

Acts i. 2 πνευματος—εις την iv. 3; v. 35 ειπεν—και νεκρων x. 42; xiii. 1 ος μαναην—εν ειρηνη xvi. 36; xx. 10 λων αυτου—αι θυραι xxi. 30; xxii. 21 και ειπεν—προς τον

χιλιαρ; xxiv. 15 *πιδά εχων*—*απειθης τη* xxvi. 19; xxvii. 16 *φης ην αραυτες*—*ουκ εισεν* xxviii. 4. Not quite two-thirds of Acts extant. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri*, Leipzig, 1843.

- D (δ 5). Codex Bezae. Cambridge, University Library, 2. 41. Graeco-Latin. Acts i. 1-viii. 29; x. 14-xxi. 2; xxi. 10-16; xxi. 18-xxii. 10; xxii. 20-29. Reconstruction from trustworthy sources of xxi. 16-18 (and the Latin of the obverse) in J. H. Ropes, 'Three Papers on the Text of Acts,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi., 1923, pp. 163-168, see also pp. 392-394.
076. Norfolk, England, Collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Acts ii. 11-12. Text in Grenfell and Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, i. No. VIII.

#### Century VI.

- 093 (α 1013). Cambridge, University Library, Taylor-Schechter Collection. Acts xxiv. 22-26, 27. Palimpsest. Text in C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection*, 1900, pp. 94 f.
- Wess<sup>60c</sup>. Vienna, parchment fragment, partly Sahidic, partly Greek. Acts ii. 1-5. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* ii. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 11), 1911, No. 59 c.

#### Century VI. or VII.

- E (α 1001). Codex Laudianus. Oxford, Bodleian Library, laud. 35. Acts i. 1 *τον μεν*—*παυλος* xxvi. 29; xxviii. 26 *πορευθητι*—*ακωλυτως* xxviii. 31. Contains Acts alone (Greek and Latin). Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. ix., 1870.
- Pap 33 (Pap Wess<sup>190</sup>). Vienna, leaf from papyrus codex. Acts xv. 22-24, 27-32. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und*

*koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* iii. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 12), 1912, No. 190 (Literarischer theologischer Text No. 25).

*Century VII.*

095 (G ; *a* 1002). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 17.

Acts ii. 45-iii. 8. See Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis codicis Sinaitici*, 1869, p. 50, and Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum graece*, ed. octava, apparatus, *ad loc.*

096 (I<sup>5</sup> ; *a* 1004). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 19.

Acts ii. 6-17 ; xxvi. 7-18. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 37 f., 41 f.

097 (I<sup>6</sup> ; *a* 1003). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 18.

Acts xiii. 39-46. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 39 f.

*Century VIII.*

0123 (formerly Apl 70b ; *a* 1014). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 49.

Acts ii. 22, 26-28, 45-47 ; iii. 1-2.

*Century VIII. or IX.*

S (049 ; *a* 2). Athos, Laura, A 88.

Mutilated in Acts i. 11-14, xii. 15-19, xiii. 1-3. Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.

Ψ (044 ; δ 6). Athos, Laura, B 52 (earlier, 172).<sup>1</sup>

Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.

*Century IX.*

H (014 ; *a* 6). Modena, Biblioteca Estense, [CXCVI] II. G. 3.

Acts v. 28 και βουλευσθε—πασαι ix. 39 ; x. 19 ανδρες—μεν

<sup>1</sup> On Codex Ψ see K. Lake, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x., 1899-1900, pp. 290-292 ; *Texts from Mt. Athos* (also in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, v., 1902, pp. 89-185).

γὰρ xiii. 36 ; xiv. 3 γινεσθαι—τυχεῖν xxvii. 3. Contained Acts alone, without Catholic Epistles, which have been supplied in hand of fifteenth or sixteenth century Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

L (020 ; a 5). Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, A. 2. 15.

Acts viii. 10 μὴς τοῦ θεοῦ—ἀκωλύτως xxviii. 31. Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

P (025 ; a 3). Petrograd, Public Library, 225.

Palimpsest. Acts ii. 13 εἰσι—ἀκωλύτως xxviii. 31. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. vi. pp. 89-248.

0120 (G<sup>b</sup> ; a 1005). Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 2302.

Acts xvi. 30-xvii. 17 ; xvii. 27-29, 31-34 ; xviii. 8-26. Palimpsest. Text in J. Cozza, *Sacrorum bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta Graeca et Latina e codicibus Cryptoferratensibus eruita*, iii. Rome, 1877, pp. cxxi-cxxxiv ; and Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 1078.

1874 (formerly Apl 261 ; a 7). Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, 273.

### Century X.

056 (formerly 16 ; O<sup>7</sup>). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, coisl. gr. 26.

0140. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. (Harris, No. 41.)

Fragment. See *Studia Sinaitica*, i., London, 1894, p. 116.

0142 (formerly 46 ; O<sup>6</sup>). Munich, Staatsbibliothek, gr. 375.

### Century XI. or XII. (?)

Pap Wess<sup>287</sup>. Vienna, K 7541-7548.

Acts xvii. 28-xviii. 2 ; xviii. 24-27 ; xix. 1-8, 13-19 ; xx. 9-16, 22-28 ; xx. 35-xxi. 4 ; xxii. 11-14, 16-17. Eight leaves of Greek and Sahidic bilingual papyrus codex. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* iv. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 15), 1914, No. 237 ; also below in Appendix I., pp. 271-275.



## (b) MINUSCULES

The above-named mss. of Acts are all uncials. Four are papyri. In addition, the following minuscules may be specially mentioned :

33 (formerly 13<sup>ac</sup> ; δ 48). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 14 (formerly Colbert. 2844).

Ninth or tenth century. "The queen of the cursives." Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

81 (formerly 61<sup>ac</sup> ; α 162 ; p<sup>scr</sup>). London, British Museum, add. 20,003.

A.D. 1044. Acts i. 1-4, 8 ; vii. 17-xvii. 28 ; xxiii. 9-28, 31.

About three-quarters of Acts extant. Another portion of this codex, containing the Catholic and Pauline epistles, is 1288 (formerly 241<sup>ac</sup> 285<sup>paul</sup> ; α 162), Cairo, Patriarchal Library, 59 (formerly 351). Readings of Acts in Tregelles' apparatus, and in Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*.

462 (formerly 101<sup>ac</sup> ; α 359). Moscow, Synodal Library, Wladimir 24, Sabbas 348, Matthäi 333.

Thirteenth century. Readings in Matthäi, *S. Lucae Actus Apostolorum graece et latine*, Riga, 1782, with the symbol 'f.'

614 (formerly 137<sup>ac</sup> ; α 364). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Fl. 97 sup.

Thirteenth century (eleventh century ?). Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.

383 (formerly 58<sup>ac</sup> ; α 353). Oxford, Bodleian Library, clark. 9.

Thirteenth century. Readings of Acts in A. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wirquelle*, 1900, pp. 78-88.

102 (formerly 99<sup>ac</sup> ; α 499). Moscow, Synodal Library, Wladimir 412, Sabbas 5, Matthäi 5.

A.D. 1345 (1445 ?). Collation in Matthäi, *S. Lucae Actus Apostolorum graece et latine*, Riga, 1782, with the symbol 'c.'

69 (formerly 31<sup>ac</sup>; δ 505; m<sup>acr</sup>) Leicester, England, Library of Town Council.

Fifteenth century. Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

The minuscule Greek manuscripts which contain Acts number upwards of 500 copies. The following tables (which include also most of the uncial codices and fragments) are drawn from the classification reached by Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I. Teil: Untersuchungen*, 1902-1910, pp. 1653 f., 1686-1688, 1760, 2162 f., 2172-2174. From this classification must proceed all future investigation of the text found in the minuscules. In the enumeration the numbers preceded by the Greek letter δ (for διαθήκη) refer to manuscripts containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (with or without the Apocalypse). Numbers without preceding Greek letter do not contain the Gospels, and are those to which in von Soden's catalogue (pp. 215-248) the Greek letter α is prefixed. The designation A<sup>np</sup> refers to manuscripts in which the text of Acts is accompanied by the catena of 'Andreas.' O<sup>np</sup> designates a manuscript containing with the text the commentary ascribed to 'Oecumenius.'

In the columns headed 'Formerly' are given the numbers (in the list of mss. of Acts and Catholic Epistles) of Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum graece*, editio octava, 1890, pp. 617-652, and Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. i., 1900, pp. 263-294; in the columns headed 'Gregory' the numbers of Gregory's final list, to be found in his *Griechische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908, as well as in the 'Nachtrag' which constitutes *Textkritik*, volume iii., 1909. These last-mentioned numbers are employed consistently in the present volume to designate the minuscules and all except the better known of the uncials.

Brackets are here used to connect the numbers of manuscripts said by von Soden to be closely akin to one another, or even in some cases to constitute pairs of sister manuscripts.

It will be remembered that von Soden's system of enumeration is as follows :

§ 1-49	}	before end of ninth century
α 1-49		
α 1000-1019		before end of tenth century
§ 50-99	}	tenth century
α 50-99		
§ 100-199	}	eleventh century
α 100-199		
α 1100-1119		
§ 200-299	}	twelfth century
α 200-299		
α 1200-1219		
§ 300-399	}	thirteenth century
α 300-399		
α 1300-1319		

and similarly for later centuries.

#### VON SODEN'S CLASSIFICATION

##### H (Hesychius)

(arranged approximately in order of date)

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
§ 1	B	03
§ 2	κ	01
§ 3	C	04
§ 4	A	02
§ 6	Ψ	044
8	ν	Pap 8
§ 48	13	33
1002	G	095
1004	I <sup>s</sup>	096
74	389	1175
103	25	104
104	89	459
162	61	81
257	33	326
§ 371	290	1241

## I (Ierosolyma)

Von Soden's designation of I<sup>a</sup> forms the largest division of the I-group; I<sup>b1</sup> and I<sup>b2</sup> are two sections of a distinct sub-group I<sup>b</sup>; likewise I<sup>c1</sup> and I<sup>c2</sup> are sections of an equally distinct sub-group I<sup>c</sup>. In each list the MSS. are arranged approximately in the order of their value as preserving in von Soden's opinion the original type of their section.

	I <sup>a</sup>	
von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
δ 5	D	05
7 }	apl 261	1874
264 }	233	917
200 }	83	88
382 }	231	915
70 }	505	1898
101 }	40	181
1001	E	08
252 }	391	1873
δ 251 }	271	927
δ 459 }	195	489
δ 203 }	265	808
δ 300 }	65	218
δ 157 }	202	547
δ 507 }	104	241
397 }	96	460
106 }	179	177
158 }	395	1245
184	..	2143
193	239	1270
261	142	618
205	51	337
δ 453 }	5	5
367 }	308	1827
173 }	156	623
δ 254 <sup>1</sup> }	1	1
δ 457 }	95	209
δ 500 }	93	205

<sup>1</sup> Codex δ 254 is the one described by von Soden, p. 104, under the designation δ 50; see his volume i., 'Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen,' p. xi.

von Soden	Formerly	Gregory
554	238	2288
1100	310	1829
55	236	920
δ 180	1319	1319
δ 355	19	38
δ 505	31	69
502	116	467
552	217	642
251	326	1843
175	319	1838
192	318	1837
170	303	1311
464	218	1522
δ 454	262	794
172	73	436
δ 156	108	226
1202	249	1526
56	316	1835
64	328	1845
152	388	1162
168	226	910
202	309	1828
361	248	1525
δ 268	180	431
A <sup>np</sup> 10	502	1895
A <sup>np</sup> 11	15	307
A <sup>np</sup> 20	36	36 <sup>a</sup>
A <sup>np</sup> 12	74	437
A <sup>np</sup> 21	130	610
A <sup>np</sup> 40	81	453
A <sup>np</sup> 41	..	1678

I<sup>bl</sup>

62	498	1891
δ 602	200	522
365	214	206
396	..	1758
472	312	1831

von Soden	Formerly	Gregory
398	69	429
δ 206 }	105	242
δ 264 }	201	536
δ 414	..	2200
δ 152 }	196	491
δ 368 }	266	823
270 }	54	43
306 }	119	469
253 }	2	2
δ 600 }	124	296
161	173	635
δ 360	197	496
368	344	1099
490	382	1868
461	163	630
275	..	2194
567	207	592

I<sup>b2</sup>

78 }	..	1739
171 }	7	2298
157	29	323
δ 260 }	111	440
469 }	215	216
δ 356	6	6
209 }	386	1872
δ 370 }	288	1149
76	403	1880
δ 309	14	35
550	27	322

I<sup>b</sup> (not identifiable as I<sup>b1</sup> or I<sup>b2</sup>)

1000	I <sup>2</sup>	066
1003	I <sup>6</sup>	097

I<sup>c1</sup>

208	307	1611
370	353	1108

von Soden	Formerly	Gregory
116	..	2138
551	216	1518

I<sup>o2</sup>

364	137	614
353	58	383
δ 299	..	2147
466	302	257
470	229	913
486	..	1765
258	56	378
487	..	1717
506	60	385
69	221	221
169	192	639
114	335	1852
174	252	255
δ 101	199	506
154	381	1867
471	313	1832
356	224	876
503	139	616
δ 298	43	76

I<sup>c</sup> (not identifiable as I<sup>c1</sup> or I<sup>c2</sup>)

O <sup>pp</sup> 20	232	916
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## K (koinē)

Virtually all the Greek mss. of Acts not comprised in the above lists (types H and I) are known, or believed, to present in greater or less purity the K-text. Some of these contain in varying degrees a weak infusion of I-readings. Two groups, distinguished by special selections of such readings as well as in other ways, are designated K<sup>c</sup> ('complutensis') and K<sup>r</sup> ('revi-dierte'). The following lists, arranged approximately in order

of date, include the oldest codices of the K-type and the K<sup>r</sup>-type, and all those assigned by von Soden to the K<sup>c</sup>-type. Mention of many others will be found in von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1760 f., 2162 f., 2172-2174.

K		
von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
..	↳	093
2	S	049
3	P	025
5	L	020
6	H	014
47	323	1841
48	112	2125
50	..	1760
51	17	93
52	86	456
53	160	627
54	384	1870
61	122	602
67	87	457
72	334	1851
75	394	1244
δ 95	41	175
δ 97	285	1073

and upwards of 250 other codices of the eleventh and later centuries.

K <sup>c</sup>		
107	42	42
186	223	223
δ 255	35	57
271	..	2115
δ 359	193	479
δ 364	32	51
δ 365	57	234
δ 375	..	1594
δ 376	194	483



von Soden	Formerly.	Gregory.
δ 366	164	390
366	228	912
395	..	1753
δ 410	206	582
450	..	1766
555	305	1405
557	331	1848

The above list includes all the codices assigned by von Soden to the group K<sup>c</sup>.

K<sup>r</sup>

δ 269	300	1251
δ 304	260	757
δ 357	92	204
δ 378	1400	1400
δ 390	..	1622
δ 393	..	1490
358	38	328
362	..	1752
371	356	1140
372	360	1855
373	361	1856
380	378	1865
385	..	1725

and many other codices of the fourteenth and later centuries.

## (c) LECTIONARIES

Many lectionaries containing lessons from Acts are known, and are catalogued in Gregory's lists. Of these 1<sup>a</sup>171 is of the ninth century, 1<sup>a</sup>59 and 1<sup>a</sup>173 of the ninth or tenth; 1<sup>a</sup>156 is of the tenth century, and 1<sup>a</sup>597 and 1<sup>a</sup>1316 of the tenth or eleventh. From the eleventh century on many extant lectionaries are assigned to each century. The text of the lectionaries has never been investigated.

## § 2. CODICES BRACDE

A discussion of the history and peculiarities of some of the chief manuscripts named above is more conveniently placed here; the character of the New Testament text in the several documents will be treated later in connexion with the history and criticism of the text of Acts.

## B. CODEX VATICANUS

Codex Vaticanus is mentioned in the catalogue of the Vatican History library of the year 1475.<sup>1</sup> Whence it came into the library is

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue of 1475 (Vat. cod. lat. 3954) made by Platina, the librarian, is printed in full by E. Muntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1887. It is arranged in two parts (Latin and Greek) and by subjects in each part. At that date the books had no fixed places (P. Fabre, *La Vaticane de Sixte IV* [Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, xv], 1898, p. 473). In the list of Greek mss. is included under the heading '*Testamentum antiquum et novum*' (Muntz and Fabre, p. 244) the entry '*Biblia. lxx membr. in rubeo.*' This is the only Greek ms. mentioned which purports to contain the whole Bible. This entry can hardly refer to any other than our Codex Vaticanus 1209, for in a shelf-list, or catalogue arranged by the book-cases of the several rooms of the Library, made by Platina with the aid of his subordinate Demetrius Lucensis in 1481 (Vat. codd. lat. 3952 and 3947, the latter ms. being a copy of the former; see Muntz and Fabre, pp. 142 f., 250 f.), the statement is found, relating to the left side of the library, as you enter: '*In primo banco bibliothecae graecae. Biblia in tribus columnis ex membranis in rubeo*' (I. Carini, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. x., 1893, pp. 541 ff.). This unmistakably refers to Codex B; and that it is a fuller description of the same Bible which the catalogue of 1475 designated more summarily is not only made probable by the identity of the binding in both notices (*in rubeo*), but is clearly shown by the fact that no other book mentioned in this later inventory can be the same as the Bible of the earlier one. In the inventory of 1481 the only other Bible mentioned is described as 'bound in black' (*in nigro*); this was in fact a copy of part of the Old Testament (Vat. gr. 330), afterward lent to Cardinal Ximenes for the Complutensian Polyglot. The information with regard to the inventory of 1481 I owe to the kindness of Mgr. G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library. For the former controversy on this subject see *The Academy*, May 30 and June 13, 1891; *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. x., 1893, pp. 537-547; F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 77. The position of B as Cod. graec. 1209 in the enumeration of the Vatican mss. throws no light on the source from which it came into the Vatican library founded about 1450). The present numbering is due to the brothers Rainaldi about 1620, and in the list Codex B is preceded by codices known to have been acquired as late as the years 1594 and 1612; see P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, pp. 82 f.; J. B. De Rossa, 'De origine, historia, indicibus

not known, but it has been observed that the hand which has written extended scholia on fol. 1205<sup>v</sup>, 1206, 1239, and elsewhere in Codex B, resembles a Greek hand of the thirteenth century, "easily recognizable by its ligatures as well as by the greenish ink which it employs," which annotated two codices formerly belonging to the library of the abbey of Rossano, one containing Chrysostom on 1 Corinthians (Vaticanus, gr. 1648, tenth century) and one Gregory Nazianzen (Vaticanus, gr. 1994, eleventh century).<sup>1</sup> That Codex B had previously been in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion († 1472) has sometimes been suggested in view of the fact that in Codex Venetus, Marc. graec. 6, which was probably written for the Cardinal, several Old Testament books are copied from it,<sup>2</sup> and it would not be unnatural to suspect that the ms. was found by him in one of the Greek monasteries of South Italy, oversight of which was entrusted to him by the Pope in 1446, and from which many of his manuscripts are said to have come.<sup>3</sup> But it is hard to believe that so eager

scrinia et bibliothecae sedis apostolicae,' in *Codices palatini latini bibliothecae Vaticanae*, vol. i., Rome, 1886, pp. cxiii-cxvii.

<sup>1</sup> This observation was made by P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, 1891, p. 49 note 1. Codex Vat. gr. 1648 was at Rossano in the fifteenth century, later at Grotta Ferrata. For the statement found, for instance, in P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, Paris, 1890, p. 82, that Codex B was in South Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, positive grounds are not given. The restoration of the codex by retracing the letters, etc., is commonly associated with the work of a certain corrector who occasionally lapsed into minuscules that betray his date as the tenth or eleventh century (Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, p. xxvii); but as to the locality where these corrections were made there seems to be no evidence. The Roman editors, 'Prolegomena,' 1881, p. xvii, hold the re-inking and the addition of breathings and accents to be the work of the scribe (Clemens monachus) who, they think, supplied the missing portions of the codex in the early fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Bessarion's manuscripts as a whole, however, were given by him in 1468 or 1469 to the Library of San Marco in Venice. The source from which a fifteenth-century hand supplied Gen. i. 1-xlvi. 28 in B is said by Nestle (*Septuagintastudien* [1., Ulm, 1886, p. 9] to be the Roman twelfth-century Codex Chisianus R. VI. 38 (Rahlfs 19). No one seems to have discovered the source of the addition by the same hand which now fills the second lacuna, Ps. cv. 27-cxxvii. 6. Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 350, states that the source from which the later part of Hebrews and Revelation were added was a manuscript belonging to Bessarion.

<sup>3</sup> G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 3rd ed. vol. II., 1893, pp. 123 ff., esp. pp. 130 f.; Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, p. 82.

a collector as the Cardinal would have given up voluntarily his greatest treasure. In any case he would not have given it to the Vatican Library at any period after the date at which he fell out of favour at Rome.

If it is proper to hazard a conjecture as to the earlier history of Codex B, it would be that the codex was brought from Alexandria to Sicily by fugitives from the conquering Arabs, in the seventh century, and thence to Calabria.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known which suggests that it remained in the East until the fifteenth century and was then brought to Rome under the influence of the revival of letters.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the Codex Vaticanus is admitted to be the fourth Date century. From the peculiar selection and order of the books included in the Old Testament and the order in the New Testament it is evident that the manuscript is to be associated with the influence of Athanasius;<sup>3</sup> but it is not certain that it need have been written after his 39th Festal Letter of 367, for the Patriarch's views on the canon there stated, although perhaps original with him, were doubtless formulated before that date.

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Hellenistic character of the civilization of Magna Graecia had substantially disappeared by the time of Procopius († ca. 562) and Gregory the Great († 604). On the movement from Alexandria to Sicily in the seventh century, and from Sicily to Calabria in the ninth and tenth centuries, and on the fresh hellenization of South Italy in the seventh and subsequent centuries, see below, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> A partial parallel to the history here suggested may be seen in the history of the Codex Marchalianus of the prophetic books of the Old Testament (Vatican, gr. 2125), which was written in Egypt in the sixth century, shows annotations made there at some time not later than the ninth century, was then brought to South Italy, perhaps before the twelfth century, and there received further annotations. As in the case of B, but in much less degree, Codex Marchalianus has suffered re-inking. It came later to Paris, and was bought for the Valcan Library in 1785. A. Coriani, *De codice Marchaliano*, Rome, 1890, pp. 34-47.

<sup>3</sup> This was first fully shown by A. Rahlfs, 'Alter und Heimat der vatikanischen Bibelhandschrift,' *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1899, pp. 72-79. Hug, *Einführung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1808, § 50, had observed that Athanasius and B agree in the position of Hebrews; and Grabe, *Epistola ad Milburn*, 1705, pp. 41 f., thought himself to have proved that the translation of Judges found in B was the same as that used by Athanasius, *Ep. I. ad Serap.* p. 651, as well as by Cyril.

Egyptian  
origin.

The place of origin of B has now been established as Egyptian in spite of the contention of some earlier scholars (R. Simon Wetstein, Ceriani, Corssen, Hort) that it was written in Rome or in southern Italy.<sup>1</sup> Even under the dubious guess which attempts to identify B with the copy (or, possibly, one of several copies) prepared for the Emperor Constans by Athanasius in the earlier years (339-342 or 340-343) of his exile at Rome,<sup>2</sup> it would have to be admitted that the scribes, the composition, and the text of B were Egyptian, so that the manuscript could in no way claim to be a product of the West or to show Western practice.<sup>3</sup>

Among the reasons which have led to the conclusion that B is Egyptian are the following. They depend in part on the assumption that a codex of that period giving the characteristic text of a locality was written in the locality.

1. Its relation to Athanasius.

2. The fact that in the exemplar from which the Pauline

<sup>1</sup> The chief reasons given by Hort ('Introduction,' pp. 265 f.) for suggesting such a conclusion are these: (1) The spellings *ισακ* and *ιστραηλ[ιτης]* or *ισδραηλ[ιτης]*. On the former word see Thackeray, (*Grammar of O.T. in Greek*, vol. i. p. 100; on the latter J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, (*Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. ii. part 1, 1919, p. 103, and Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, p. xi. The spelling *ισακ* is found in the early fourth-century Oxyrhynchus papyrus 875 of the Epistle to the Hebrews; see *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. pp. 36 ff. (2) The wrong substitution in B, especially in the Pauline epistles, of *χριστος ιησους* for *ιησους χριστος*. (3) The chapter-enumeration of 69 chapters in Acts; on this see below pp. xli, xlv. No one of these reasons remains even partially convincing. For Ceriani's judgment see his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, iii. 1, 1864, p. xxi, and the utterance reported in *Epistularum Paulinarum codices . . . Augustanum, Boernerianum, Claromontanum examinauit . . . P. Corssen*, ii. (Jever programme), Kiel, 1889, p. 3 note, together with Ceriani's reaffirmation in *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xiv., 1886, pp. 212 f.; cf. vol. xxi., 1888, pp. 540-549.

<sup>2</sup> Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constantium* 4 (L p. 297) τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου οὐκ ἔγραψα ἢ μόνον ὅτε οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἔγραψαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔσχον ἐπὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτε πυκτὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν κτείναντος αὐτοῦ μοι κατασκευάσαι ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλα. As Zahn points out (*Gesch. d. Newest Kanons*, i, 1888, p. 73, note 1; *Athanasius und der Bibelkanon*, 1901, p. 31 note 56), the context shows that the Bible (or Bibles) must have been dispatched within the first three years of Athanasius's exile.

<sup>3</sup> The old uncial numeration on the verso of each leaf, perhaps inserted before the issuance of the codex, was believed by Gregory to be by an oriental hand; *Prolegomena*, p. 450.

epistles were drawn Hebrews immediately followed Galatians, a singular order strikingly like that of the Sahidic version, in which Hebrews is found between 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

3. The close relation of the text to the Bohairic version, and in a less degree to the Sahidic.

4. The type of text to which B belongs was current in Egypt, being that employed by Athanasius and Cyril. The Egyptian fragments of the Gospels designated as T show a text closely related to B, though not perfectly identical with it, and the same is true of most of the papyri.<sup>1</sup>

5. The occurrence in Heb. i. 3 of the singular reading *φανερον* for *φερων*, elsewhere found only in the Egyptian monk, Serapion; together with the singular readings in Heb. iii. 2, 6 found only in papyri.<sup>2</sup>

6. The presence in B of a translation of the Book of Judges which is of Egyptian origin.

7. A more doubtful line of evidence is the occasional, but rare, occurrence in B of spellings which are believed to proceed from peculiar Egyptian pronunciation. Thus *κραυη* for *κραυγη*, Is. xxx. 19, Ez. xxi. 22, and a few cases of the omission of *χ*, *τ*, *λ*, and *σ* between vowels, together with the confusion of *κ* and *γ* and of the dental mutes.<sup>3</sup> But these phenomena are notably less frequent in B than in other old uncials.

8. The close resemblance of the text of B, at least in 1-4 Kingdoms, to the non-hexaplaric text found in some of Origen's quotations, and to the text underlying the Ethiopic.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Bousset, *Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xi.), 1894, 'Die Recension des Hesychius,' pp. 74-110; Burkitt, in P. M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria* (Texts and Studies, v), 1899, pp. vii f., x f. The Egyptian LXX-fragment (fifth or sixth century) designated Z<sup>111</sup> also shows striking agreement with B; see Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 1911, p. 193 note 2. See also below, p. xxxvi note 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, in P. M. Barnard, *op. cit.* p. x; G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Agyptens* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xvii.), 1899, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, vol. i. pp. 101, 103 f., 111-114.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, 'Origenes' Zitate aus den Königsbüchern,' *Septuaginta-Studien*, i., 1904, pp. 82-87.

Ethiopian Church was dependent on Egypt, and would naturally acquire thence its text of the Bible.

These indications all point to Egypt, and the palaeographic<sup>1</sup> and linguistic characteristics of the manuscript include nothing which is not consistent with this conclusion.<sup>2</sup> No evidence which in the light of present knowledge continues to be valid tends to indicate an origin in the West. If the codex had its home in Egypt, it was probably written in Alexandria.

Constantine's fifty copies.

The suggestion has, however, often been made that Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus formed two of the fifty copies of the Bible<sup>3</sup> prepared by Eusebius, doubtless in Caesarea, by order of the Emperor Constantine about the year 332 (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 35-37), which Eusebius describes as [ἀντί-γραφα] τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά. But this theory has no inherent strength sufficient to overthrow the positive reasons for assigning an Egyptian origin to B. On this point some further discussion is necessary.

τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά.

The expression τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά has received many interpretations.<sup>4</sup> (1) The rendering *terniones et quaterniones*, found in the Latin translation of Valesius' edition and accepted by Montfaucon (*Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 26) is probably impossible in itself, and is not well suited to the context, as, indeed, Valesius observed—to say nothing of the fact that ternions seem never to have been a usual form of gatherings. (2) The meaning

<sup>1</sup> On the resemblance of the uncial writing of both B and S to Papyrus Rylands 28 see Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, p. xi. The Greek hand of B is extraordinarily like the Coptic hand of a papyrus ms. of the Gospel of John; see H. Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript*, London, 1924, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, ii. pp. 248 ff., has, however, shown that the so-called 'Coptic' form of M cannot be used as positive evidence of Egyptian origin.

<sup>3</sup> That the books ordered by Constantine were copies of the whole Bible is not certain, although the language of Eusebius makes it probable. E. Schwartz (art. 'Eusebius,' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vi., 1909, col. 1437) thinks that they were copies of the Gospels only, some containing three, others all four. The meaning of τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά required by this theory makes it impossible. See also John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae*, on John vii.

<sup>4</sup> K. Lake, 'The Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the Copies sent by Eusebius to Constantine,' *Harvard Theological Review*, xl., 1918, pp. 32-35.

'three and four at a time' would suit the verb *διαπεμφάντων*, but not the proper sense of the adjectives themselves, for these latter are virtually synonymous with *τριπλᾶ* and *τετραπλᾶ*, and mean that the copies themselves had 'three and four' of something. (3) 'Having three and four *volumes*' in each copy would make sense, but nothing in particular tends to confirm this interpretation. (4) The meaning 'having three *columns* and four *columns*' is said to have been a conjecture of Tischendorf,<sup>1</sup> and is probably to be accepted.<sup>2</sup> It suits the natural meaning of the terms, and can be accounted for in the context from the author's manifest desire to emphasize the splendour of these copies.<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts in three or four columns would certainly be large and costly. A similar desire to emphasize the large size and dignity of the book seems to be present in the following interesting passage (*Menaea*, October 15), where *τρισσός* is used in describing a fourth-century codex of the whole Bible, written with three columns to the page by the famous martyr, Lucian of Antioch : *εἰς κάλλος δὲ γράφειν ἐπιστάμενος, βιβλίον κατέλιπε τῇ Νικομηδέων ἐκκλησίᾳ, γεγραμμένον σελίδι τρισσαῖς (εἰς τρεῖς στήλας διηρημένης τῆς σελίδος), περιέχον πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιάν τε καὶ τὴν νέαν διαθήκην*.<sup>4</sup>

The word *τετρασσός* is used in Eusebius, *H.e.* vi. 16, 4 (Schwartz's text ; *v.l.* *τετραπλοῖς*) to refer to the Tetrapla of

<sup>1</sup> Gregory, *Prolegomena* [1884], p. 348 ; but in *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, 1867, p. xvi, Tischendorf still followed the explanation of Valesius. The earliest mention which I have met with of the interpretation 'in three and four columns' is by W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 1871, p. 114. C. Vercellone, in a paper read before the Pontifical Academy, July 14, 1869, and published in his *Dissertationi accademiche*, Rome, 1864, pp. 115 ff., connects Codex Vaticanus with the fifty manuscripts of Eusebius, but does not seem to have thought of the aptness of the word *τρισσά* to describe the three columns of that codex. So also Scrivener, *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus*, 2nd ed., 1867, p. xxxvii, with reference to N.

<sup>2</sup> For a good, but exaggerated, statement see F. C. Cook, *The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, 1882, pp. 162 f. note.

<sup>3</sup> So Wattenbach, *op. cit.* p. 114, 3rd ed., 1896, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> This is found in a somewhat different form, containing, however, the word in question, in 'Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,' *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum. Novembris* [vol. lxi. bis], 1902, p. 139.



Origen; but no other occurrence of the word, except the one under examination, has been produced. *τρισός* is a not uncommon word.

The notion, often brought forward, that the three columns of Codex B and the four columns of Codex  $\kappa$  show that one or both of these splendid manuscripts made a part of the shipment with which Eusebius filled Constantine's order, would only be justified if confirmed by the resemblance of their text to that used by Eusebius.<sup>1</sup> This is not the case in the New Testament, and still less in the Old. There were rich patrons of churches in the fourth century in other places besides Constantinople, and no trait of the text of either B or  $\kappa$ , or known fact of their history, serves to connect either of these codices with that city.<sup>2</sup>

**Scribes.** Codex B was written<sup>3</sup> by either three or four scribes: B<sup>1</sup> (pp. 1-334, Gen. to 1 Kingds. xix. 11), B<sup>2</sup> (pp. 335-674, 1 Kingds. xix. 11-Ps. lxxvii. 71), B<sup>3</sup> (pp. 675-1244 [?], Ps. lxxvii. 72-Matt. ix. 5), B<sup>4</sup> (pp. 1245-fin., Matt. ix. 5-fin.). Of these B<sup>2</sup> and B<sup>4</sup> may be the same. The frequently repeated opinion of Tischendorf that the scribe (now believed to be two scribes) who wrote the New Testament of B was also one of the scribes of  $\kappa$  has been shown by Lake to be an error.

**Orthography.** B was very carefully written, and its orthography is more correct than that of most other uncials.<sup>4</sup> The common confusion of vowels is relatively infrequent. The most noteworthy peculiarity is the strong preference for *ei* where earlier usage and the practice of the later grammarians wrote *ι*. This was not by

<sup>1</sup> On the text probably used for Eusebius's fifty copies see Stroeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, pp. 91 f., 102-105.

<sup>2</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 74 f.: "The four extant copies [B $\kappa$ LU] are doubtless casual examples of a numerous class of MSS., derived from various origins, though brought into existence in the first instance by similar circumstances." The fifth-century palimpsest 'Codex Vaticanus' (= 048) was written in three columns.

<sup>3</sup> L. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, 1907, pp. 66 f.

<sup>4</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, vol. i., 1909, p. 72: "The generalization suggested by the available evidence is that B is on the whole nearer [than A and  $\kappa$ ] to the originals in orthography as in text," cf. pp. 78, 86; H. von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.* p. 909.

inadvertence, but represents a deliberate attempt to convey the sound of long  $\tau$  by  $\epsilon\tau$ .<sup>1</sup> Perfect consistency, however, was not attained, and some mistakes can be pointed out.<sup>2</sup> The confusion of  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon$  occurs only occasionally, and testifies to the absence in the fourth century of a fixed standard of spelling.<sup>3</sup> Letters are occasionally omitted (sometimes perhaps in consequence of dialectal pronunciation). In the present edition of B the spelling of the manuscript has been followed, except where it is manifestly a case of clerical error and in a few places where the strange spelling causes undue difficulty to the modern reader. In all cases where a change has been made, the spelling of the manuscript has been indicated in the line next below the text. The aim has been to leave in the text (with a very few exceptions) all those spellings which the scribe himself would probably have been disposed to defend as tolerable. The notion that B is full of bad spellings is unjust.

Although the general correctness of B is thus very great, yet, Errors as will appear below in the discussion of the criticism of the text, it shows in Acts a considerable series of 'singular,' or virtually 'singular,' readings. Of these hardly any can be accepted as superior to the rival readings of the Old Uncial group, so that the great body of those others which are not susceptible of judgment on transcriptional grounds (as well as those judged to be transcriptionally inferior) are to be rejected. Striking peculiar readings (like  $\kappa\eta\rho\nu\gamma\mu\alpha$  for  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$  Acts x. 37) are rare among these; there are some omissions of necessary words (such as  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ , xviii. 2;  $\zeta\eta\nu$ , xxv. 24), a few repetitions (like  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$   $\eta$   $\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ , xix. 34). Stupid blunders, yielding no intelligible sense, are extremely rare, apart from a moderate number of cases where letters or syllables are omitted (as  $\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$  for  $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , iii. 2;  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , vii. 32;  $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu$  for

<sup>1</sup> On the systematic use of  $\epsilon\iota$  to represent long  $\tau$  in the Michigan papyrus of the Shepherd of Hermas, probably written not later than A.D. 250, see J. Bonner, in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xviii, 1926, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Thackeray, pp. 85-87.

<sup>3</sup> F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1896, pp. 6 f.

εληνην, x. 36; κεκρει for κεκρικει, xx. 16). An instructive classification of such individual errors of B is given by von Soden.<sup>1</sup>

Correctors.

Codex B has been corrected at more than one date, but the discrimination of the several correctors by Fabiani (Roman edition, vol. vi. 1881) is unsatisfactory, and a critical investigation of the corrections throughout the manuscript is much to be desired.<sup>2</sup> Some revision of the Roman editors' results is to be found in Tischendorf's apparatus. The designations are to be regarded as referring to groups of correctors, rather than to individuals. The earliest corrections (B<sup>1</sup> and in part B<sup>2</sup>) are doubtless those of the diorthotes, added before the codex was sent out from the scriptorium.<sup>3</sup> Others (B<sup>3</sup>) are commonly ascribed to a hand of the tenth or eleventh century,<sup>4</sup> who added the breathings

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 907-914, 1655-1657. Von Soden's combination of this list of individual errors with groups of readings which he ascribes to the influence of the K-text, the I-text, and the Egyptian versions, tends to blur the important distinction between the 'singular' readings of B and those which B shares with other authorities. His description of the scribe of B is interesting (p. 907): "Der Schreiber von B scheint ein Schönschreiber von Beruf gewesen zu sein, der mechanisch abschrieb, obgleich er gut verstand, was er schrieb." (Gregory's statement (*Prolegomena*, p. 359), "erroribus scribae scatet," can only be pronounced obsolete. One interesting piece of evidence is the fact that the spelling *ουθεis*, which was already expiring in the first century after Christ, and was wholly extinct after about A.D. 200, is found seven times; cf. Thackeray, pp. 62, 104 f., Moulton and Howard, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. ii. p. 111. In Acts xv. 9, *ουθεν*, as found in B, has passed into the Antiochian text, against *ουδεν* in NAUD 81.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Ceriani, *Rendiconto, Reale Istituto Lombardo, Series II.* vol. xxi., 1888, pp. 545 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 270, says of B<sup>2</sup>, the corrector: "Among his corrections of clerical errors are scattered some textual changes, clearly marked as such by the existence of very early authority for both readings: the readings which he thus introduces imply the use of a second exemplar, having a text less pure than that of the primary exemplar, but free from clear traces of Syriac influence. The occurrence of these definite diversities of text renders it unsafe to assume that all singular readings which he alters were individualisms of the first hand, though doubtless many of them had no other origin." Many scholars would now hold that more of these 'singular' readings are "individualisms of the first hand" than Westcott and Hort allowed, and that too many of them were admitted into the text of those editors.

<sup>4</sup> The date (tenth to eleventh century) is assigned to B<sup>3</sup> chiefly because of the character of the minuscules into which he occasionally lapses. On the correctors see especially Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, 1867, pp. xxiii-xxviii.

and accents, and re-inked the already faded letters of the text, leaving untouched letters and words which he disapproved. It is only in these latter (for instance, 2 Cor. iii. 15, where nearly the whole of four lines had inadvertently been written twice) that the fineness and beauty of the original work can now be observed. This work of B<sup>3</sup>, it should be noticed, in all its branches is held by Fabiani to have been done in the early fifteenth century, and to have included long Greek interpretative scholia, Latin notes in Greek letters, and the sixty-two supplementary pages, but this is doubtful.<sup>1</sup> A hand later than the tenth or eleventh century added liturgical notes, which do not seem to have been carefully studied by any scholars in recent times.

As B in the Gospels has peculiar chapter divisions (Matt., 170 chapters; Mark, 62; Luke, 152; John, 80), marked on a system elsewhere used only (and but in part) in Codex  $\Xi$  (eighth century), so in the Book of Acts two noteworthy sets of chapters are indicated. One of these divides the book into 36 chapters, the other into 69.

The former (36 chapters) is by a hand of early, but uncertain, date, possibly as old as the codex itself but quite as possibly later,<sup>2</sup> and is also found for substance (von Soden, p. 440) in connexion with the 'Euthalian' material in codices 1874, 1898, 1175, 1244, 181, 1162, 917 (?), 1248 (?), ranging from the ninth to the fourteenth century and representing many types of text. Von Soden has shown (pp. 442 ff.) that this system is closely related to the division into 40 chapters, which constitute the *κεφάλαια*, or main sections, of the 'Euthalian' system. Whether the 36 chapters or the 40 chapters represent the original system which was altered so as to create the other, has not been determined.

The other system (69 chapters) was inserted in B by a somewhat later hand, and also in  $\aleph$ , chapters i.-xv., it is found for substance, introduced by a hand described by both Tischendorf

<sup>1</sup> Note Batiffol's observation, mentioned above, p. xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (Texts and Studies, iii.), 1895, p. 36.

and Lake as "very early."<sup>1</sup> By Lake (and apparently by Tischendorf also) the 'tituli,' or chapter-headings, are attributed to the same hand. Tischendorf held that this was not the same as any of the correctors designated by him by the symbols  $\aleph^a$  and  $\aleph^b$ , but Lake is disposed to identify it with  $\aleph^a$ <sup>2</sup> and to think that the 'tituli' and chapter-numbers were introduced before the manuscript left the scriptorium. In  $\aleph$  the system is only incompletely entered, and in B there are some manifest errors,<sup>3</sup> but the origin of this chapter-division can be made out with reasonable certainty. It is a slightly altered, probably corrupt, form of a combination of the 40 sections (*κεφάλαια*) and 48 subsections (*ὑποδιαίρέσεις*) of the system attributed to Euthalius, belonging to the earliest stratum of the 'Euthalian' material,<sup>3</sup> and found in many manuscripts of Acts. The 40 sections and 48 subsections (probably the latter were originally designated by asterisks, not by numbers) were counted in one series, making 88 in all, but in the corrupt (perhaps altered) form found in B omissions (chiefly of very brief subsections) have reduced the total to 69. That the division into 69 and that into 88 chapters are not independent of one another is demonstrated by the nature of their distinctive and complicated agreement, which cannot be accidental.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. graece ex Sinaitico codice*, Leipzig, 1863, p. xxiv; Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, 1911, p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Notably the omission of a division at xv 1, which causes a difference of one number between B and  $\aleph$  in the numbering of the subsequent chapters, as far as the end of the enumeration in  $\aleph$ . Other differences between B and  $\aleph$  are unimportant.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 21-24, 36-43. The Euthalian problem cannot be discussed here, and, indeed, cannot be satisfactorily treated at all without a much larger collection of data than has yet been published. See von Soden, pp. 637-682; E. von Dobschütz, art. 'Euthalius' in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, vol. xxii., 'Ergänzungen und Nachträge,' pp. 437 f. The 'Euthalian' sections and subsections, and the full *τίτλοι* in which the contents of Acts are summarized, will be found in von Soden, pp. 448-454.

<sup>4</sup> See von Soden, pp. 444-448; Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 42. The "surmise" put forward by Hort ('Introduction,' p. 266) that the resemblance between the system of division in Codex Amiatinus of the Vulgate (and other Latin codices) and the system of 69 chapters of B and  $\aleph$  tends to indicate that the two latter codices were both written in the West, may, in the light of the knowledge now available, be left out of account.

B and (for chapters i.-xv.)  $\aleph$  agree in omitting certain of the 'Euthalian' subsections, and so betray the fact that while their independence of one another is shown by certain differences between them, they are both derived from the same corrupt, or altered, form of the system. Now some codices which have the 'Euthalian' material (notably H<sup>Paul</sup>, 88 [formerly 83; Neapol. II. Aa. 7], and Armenian codices) also contain colophons, both to the Pauline epistles and to the Acts and Catholic epistles, stating that the manuscript in question (that is, probably, in many or all cases one of its ancestors) has been compared with the copy at Caesarea written by Pamphilus. In consequence of this some scholars have suggested that B and  $\aleph$  each lay during some period of its history at Caesarea, and there received the numbers of the 69-fold system of chapters in Acts.<sup>1</sup> But it is difficult to follow this inference. If the 88-fold system of 'Euthalius' was contained in a standard manuscript at Caesarea, it would seem unlikely that the corrupt form of it with only 69 chapters, now found in these two costly manuscripts, was drawn from a codex of that library. It is much more likely that the corrupt form was that current in some other locality, for instance Alexandria, and that B and  $\aleph$  received it in such a locality. Moreover, the two colophons which mention Caesarea are probably not an integral part of the work of 'Euthalius,' and in fact nothing at present known seems to connect the author of the 'Euthalian' material with Caesarea.<sup>2</sup>

In the present edition of B the chapter divisions of the codex

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 37. J. R. Harris, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. III., March-April 1884, pp. 40 f., and *Stichometry*, 1893, pp. 71-89 ('The Origin of Codices  $\aleph$  and B'), urged a similar conclusion as to the common relation of B and  $\aleph$  to Caesarea on the ground that the other division, that into 36 chapters, is found both in B and in the 'Euthalian' material, and further that there is a connexion between B and  $\aleph$  and between a corrector of  $\aleph$  and Caesarea. But Robinson, p. 24, pointed out that the 36 chapters in the 'Euthalian' material are a later addition in the apparatus ascribed to Euthalius. He states: "There is no ground at all for connecting it with the original edition of Euthalius"; and it may be added that in fact there seems no particular reason for associating with Caesarea in any way the 'Euthalian' testimony to the 36 chapters.

<sup>2</sup> See Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 34 f.

have not been printed, because the division into 69 chapters represents neither the original form nor the full later development of any system; while the division into 36 chapters is very likely not the original form of its own system, but rather a corruption, and in any case is not unique but is abundantly found elsewhere. The study of the relations, history, and origin of these divisions would be instructive, but it requires a special and comprehensive apparatus in tabular form. The facts relating to B are elsewhere easily accessible,<sup>1</sup> and by themselves are incapable of yielding much fruit.

Character  
of text.

The pre-eminence of B among the manuscripts of Acts is due to the current acceptance by scholars of the type of text to which it belongs as generally superior both to the 'Western' and to the Antiochian recension, and also to the absence in B, at least as compared with other codices of its type, of influence from these divergent and inferior types. Apart from this superiority B, while a good manuscript, carefully written, has its own due proportion of individual errors. This general character of B for Acts applies also to the Gospels and to the Catholic epistles, but not wholly to the epistles of Paul. In many books of the Old Testament a corresponding character has been determined for B by recent study of the text of the Septuagint.

#### N. CODEX SINAITICUS

History.

Codex Sinaiticus is the only one of the four great Bibles of which we know with certainty the locality in the East where it lay in the period immediately preceding its emergence into the light of Western knowledge. But whence it was brought to Mount Sinai, and how long it had been there when in 1844 Tischendorf first saw some leaves of it, we do not know. Tischendorf's own elaborate and protracted study has now been supplemented by the investigations of Lake, as reported in his Introductions to

<sup>1</sup> For instance, in the convenient table printed by Robinson, *Buthaina*, pp. 39 f. Both systems are entered on the inner margin of Nestle's text, 7th edition, 1908.

the photographic facsimiles published in 1911 and 1922.<sup>1</sup> The most important contribution there made is the demonstration that Tischendorf was wrong in supposing that the scribe D of  $\aleph$  was the same hand that wrote the whole (or, rather, nearly the whole) New Testament of Codex Vaticanus.<sup>2</sup> This mistaken theory has had such far-reaching consequences in critical discussion that any treatment of these two codices in which it is even mentioned as probably correct needs to be carefully scrutinized to make sure that the supposed connexion in origin of the two manuscripts has not somewhere affected or warped the judgment of the critic. Even Lake's opinion (p. xii) that the two codices probably came from the same scriptorium, in support of which he adduces the similar character of the subscriptions to Acts, ought not to be used as the foundation of any inferences, for such resemblances may well be due merely to a tradition persisting for a long period among Alexandrian calligraphers of different workshops. The writing of  $\aleph$  is much less elegant than that of B.

On the history of the codex light is thrown chiefly by the corrections made at some time in the period from the fifth to the early seventh century to make the text agree with the codex at Caesarea corrected by the hand of Pamphilus the Martyr. The notes appended to Nehemiah (2 Esdras) and Esther<sup>3</sup> seem to indicate (although not quite indubitably) that the codex was actually taken to Caesarea and the corrections made on the spot from the original Codex Pamphili, not merely introduced in some other locality from a copy of that codex. The hand by which these notes are written is, according to Lake, probably not the corrector known as  $\aleph^c$ <sup>a</sup> but another of the group that Tischendorf designated as  $\aleph^c$ . In the Old Testament prophets the corrector  $\aleph^c$ <sup>b</sup> seems actually to have followed a standard which

<sup>1</sup> K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, Oxford, 1911; *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Frederico-Augustanus Lipsiensis*, Oxford, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, 1911, pp. xu-xm, xix, illustrative Plate III.

<sup>3</sup> For the text of these notes see below, p. c note 6.



corresponded to what we should expect Pamphilus's copy of the fifth column of the Hexapla to contain. The significance of the corrections of  $\aleph$  is a complicated question which has not been fully elucidated for either Testament. In the New Testament we do not know what was the text of Pamphilus.

Scribes.

Codex Sinaiticus was written by several hands,<sup>1</sup> but the New Testament is all by the same scribe except for seven leaves (three and one half sheets, not including any portion of Acts) written by a different scribe, who was also employed in the correction of the New Testament. These seven leaves were probably substituted for the corresponding cancelled pages of the work of the original writer. A good deal of work was evidently done on the manuscript before it was regarded as complete, and several persons employed in perfecting it for issuance from the scriptorium.

Date.

The date of  $\aleph$  is ordinarily given as the fourth century,<sup>2</sup> but palaeographical reasons make it wholly probable that it represents a later style than that of B. In the Gospels the Eusebian sections and canons have been entered, not by the original hand but apparently by one of the same date, so that Lake believes this to have taken place before the codex was issued. But the earliest date at which this could have taken place is uncertain; Eusebius died in 339-340. A later date for  $\aleph$  has been urged by Viktor Gardthausen, who in an elaborate discussion confidently assigns it to the early part of the fifth century.<sup>3</sup>

Egyptian  
origin.

For determining the place of origin of  $\aleph$  less evidence is available than in the case of B. Hort, relying on a part of the same grounds as in the case of B (see above, p. xxxiv note 1), argued for the West, probably Rome. Ceriani, who had previously thought of Palestine or Syria,<sup>4</sup> later decided for South Italy on the ground both of the palaeographical and the textual character

<sup>1</sup> See Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 60-71; Lake, *op. cit.* pp. xviii f.

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 67; Lake, *op. cit.* pp. ix f.

<sup>3</sup> *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed. vol. ii., 1913, pp. 122-134.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta sacra et profana*, iii. 1, 1864, p. xxi.

of  $\aleph$ .<sup>1</sup> For the suggestion of Caesarea, urged by J. R. Harris, no convincing arguments have been presented.<sup>2</sup> For an origin in Egypt (doubtless Alexandria) speaks the fact that in spite of noteworthy differences  $\aleph$  exhibits beyond question, in a large part of those books of the Old Testament which it contains (see below, pp. xcvi f.), and in the New Testament, the same type of text as B, and one closely related to the Egyptian and Ethiopic versions, which were derived from Egyptian sources.<sup>3</sup> To this is to be added the evidence that the writing of  $\aleph$  is "closely akin to that of the older Coptic hands," and that certain peculiarities of spelling are regarded as characteristic of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> The force of these technical arguments is less than that drawn from a consideration of the text itself, since we have little parallel knowledge of what scribes in other centres of book-manufacturing were capable of producing, but, as in the case of B, the palaeographical and linguistic phenomena present, at any rate, no

<sup>1</sup> *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xxi, 1888, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Harris, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. iii, March-April 1884, pp. 40 f., and *Stichometry*, 1893, pp. 74 f. Harris's often-quoted geographical argument from the reading ἀντιπατριδα for πατριδα, in Matt. xii. 54, which he thinks shows that the scribe lived somewhere in the region of Antipatria, has enlisted criticism but cannot be accepted. The motive for the reading, as Hilgenfeld suggested (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* vol. vii., 1864, p. 80), is plain. The scribe, in order to avoid calling Nazareth the 'native place' of Jesus, coined a word (or else used a very rare one) to mean 'foster-native-place.' Cf. ἀντίπολις, 'rival city'; ἀντίμαυρις, 'rival prophet'; ἀνθύπατος, 'pro-consul,' etc. etc. ἀντίπατρος itself seems to mean 'foster-father,' or 'one like a father.' As Kenyon points out (*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 83), "The fact that  $\aleph$  was collated with the ms. of Pamphilus so late as the sixth century seems to show that it was not originally written at Caesarea; otherwise it would surely have been collated earlier with so excellent an authority." Indeed, if written at Caesarea,  $\aleph$  ought to show the text of Pamphilus. To the reasons for Caesarea given by Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1900, pp. 14 f., was later added the point that the Eusebian canons might have been inserted in Caesarea, but no one of the arguments holds, nor do all of them together constitute a cumulative body of even slight probabilities. For Lake's statement of his change of view in favour of Egypt see his Introduction to the facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus, pp. x-xv.

<sup>3</sup> The resemblance of the text of the Psalms in  $\aleph$  to that which underlies the Coptic *Psalms Sophia* is one piece of evidence; cf. Harnack, *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch* (T.U. xxxv.), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i pp. 72, 112-115, 147. See also above, p. xxxv note 3.

obstacle to the conclusion to which the textual relations clearly point, namely, that  $\aleph$  was written in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the inclusion of Barnabas with Hermas as the books to be added to the New Testament seems to show that  $\aleph$  was not written, as B has been thought to have been, under substantial control of the views of Athanasius, expressed in his Festal Letter of 367.<sup>2</sup>

ENIGMA.

Codex Sinaiticus is carelessly written, with many lapses of spelling due to the influence of dialectal and vulgar speech,<sup>3</sup> and many plain errors and crude vagaries.<sup>4</sup> Omissions by homoeoteleuton abound,<sup>5</sup> and there are many other careless omissions. All these gave a large field for the work of correctors, and the manuscript does not stand by any means on the same high level of workmanship as B. 'Singular' readings of  $\aleph$  hardly ever commend themselves. On the other hand, readings of  $\aleph$  which

<sup>1</sup> V. Gaidthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., 1913, vol. II, pp. 122-134, holds strongly to the Egyptian origin of  $\aleph$ .

<sup>2</sup> Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1924, pp. 120 f. Athanasius expressly names the Didache and the Shepherd, with certain of the Old Testament apocrypha, as books not included in the canon but ancient and suitable to be read by catechumens.

<sup>3</sup> Thackeray, *passim* (cf. above, p. xxv note 3).

<sup>4</sup> For instance, i. 9  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega$ ; iii. 13  $\pi\alpha$  for  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota$  for  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ ; v. 1  $\pi\alpha\mu\phi\epsilon\iota\eta$  for  $\sigma\alpha\pi\phi\epsilon\iota\eta$ ; vii. 35  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\eta$  for  $\lambda\upsilon\tau\omega\tau\eta\eta$ ; viii. 5  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$ ; viii. 26  $\tau\eta\eta$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ; xi. 20  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ; xiv. 9  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$   $\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  for  $\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ ; xv. 1  $\epsilon\theta\eta$  for  $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ ; xv. 33  $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; xvi. 23  $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\iota$  for  $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ; xviii. 24  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$ , xxi. 16  $\iota\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\mu\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ ; xxvii. 43  $\beta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; xxviii. 25  $\pi\epsilon\mu$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha$ ; xxviii. 27  $\epsilon\beta\alpha\upsilon\eta\theta\eta$  for  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\chi\upsilon\eta\theta\eta$ , etc. etc. Whether the preference shown by  $\aleph$  for  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  as against  $\epsilon\iota$  is to be reckoned here or shows fidelity to the archetype, is a question; cf. ii. 5, iv. 5, ix. 21, xvi. 36. For a summary of the tendencies to error in  $\aleph$  and lists of errors see H. von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.* pp. 917-921, 1057-1059; also P. Buttmann, 'Bemerkungen über einige Eigenthümlichkeiten des Cod. Sinaiticus im N.T.,' *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vol. vii., 1804, pp. 367-395; vol. ix., 1806, pp. 219-238; Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 246 f. That the vagaries are not the mere ineptitudes of an ignorant monk may be seen, for instance, from James v. 10,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ . In the Epistle of Barnabas, Gebhardt concluded that  $\aleph$  unsupported by other witnesses is nearly always wrong; (Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, i. 2, 1878, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Especially in John, but not there alone. There are said to be sixty such omissions in the Gospels. See H. S. Cronin, 'An Examination of some Omissions of the Codex Sinaiticus in St. John's Gospel,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xiii., 1912, pp. 563-571; von Soden, p. 920.

at first sight look like errors are sometimes confirmed by other and better witnesses, and prove to be right. But  $\aleph$  does not seem to preserve earlier and perhaps original spelling so faithfully as B.<sup>1</sup>

In the text of Revelation it is recognized that  $\aleph$  is perhaps the least trustworthy of all the chief manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> In the Gospels the text has suffered much from harmonization, both in passages where other manuscripts share the defect and in other cases where the harmonization is peculiar to  $\aleph$ .

The correctors of  $\aleph$  are numerous, and deserve more complete study than they have received hitherto. They are classified by Lake (on the basis of Tischendorf<sup>3</sup>) as follows:

Correctors.

Fourth century.  $\aleph^a$ . Various hands employed in the scriptorium, together with others of about the same time, all of whom probably worked in the locality where the codex was written.  $\aleph^{a1}$  and  $\aleph^{a2}$  are probably the same hand, and denote the diorthotes (Tischendorf's scribe D), who was likewise the writer of the substituted leaves, or cancel-leaves, referred to above (p. xlii).

Fourth and fifth centuries.  $\aleph^b$ ,  $\aleph^{b1}$ , and possibly others. Locality unknown.

Fifth to seventh century.  $\aleph^c$ , together with  $\aleph^{c1}$ ,  $\aleph^{c2}$ , and a number of others. The view that one set of these corrections was made in Caesarea has led Lake to connect the whole group with that place, but in the LXX prophets the standards followed by  $\aleph^{c1}$  and  $\aleph^{c2}$  are said to be opposed to each other. On the work of this group in the Old Testament see below, pp. xcix-c. From one or more of this group (designated merely as  $\aleph^c$  by Tischendorf) proceed many corrections in the New Testament, often such as to bring the manuscript into harmony with the Antiochian revised text. In Hermas,  $\aleph^{c1}$  introduced

<sup>1</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. 1. pp. 72, 86.

<sup>2</sup> See R. H. Charles, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1. pp. clx-clxxxiii, especially the tables on pp. clxiv and clxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Tischendorf's mature views on the several hands and correctors are most conveniently learned from his *Novum Testamentum graece ex Sinaitico codice*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. xxvi, xxx-xl, lxxxiii.

# I THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

corrections from another copy of the book.<sup>1</sup> So also  $\aleph^c$  in Barnabas.<sup>2</sup>

Eighth to twelfth century.  $\aleph^d$   $\aleph^e$ . At least two unimportant correctors, who were perhaps monks on Mount Sinai.  $\aleph^d$  did not touch the New Testament.

In Acts corrections are found from  $\aleph^a$  and  $\aleph^{c1}$ .

$\aleph$  and B

The text of  $\aleph$ , as has already been said, is much like that of B, and the two manuscripts in both Old and New Testaments largely represent in different examples the same general type, a type current in the fourth century in Egypt. Not only do they often agree (a circumstance which might merely indicate that both are often true representatives of the remote original), but they seem to rest on a common base, containing a definite selection of readings. This base was subjected to different treatment in the ancestors of the two manuscripts respectively, and has suffered deterioration in both. But it was in most books a good text; in the New Testament (apart from Revelation) it was an excellent one and  $\aleph$  and B rarely agree in detectable error. The one striking instance which Westcott and Hort thought to be a manifest blunder found in  $\aleph$  and B, and not due to coincidence (James i. 17), has in recent years received confirmation from a papyrus, and can be confidently accepted as giving the true reading of the author.<sup>3</sup> But  $\aleph$  and B also show great differences in every part, and Hort's elaborate argument<sup>4</sup> to prove that they are not descended from a common proximate ancestor is substantiated by later criticism. Apart from their text itself, the difference of origin of the two codices may be inferred from their difference in the contents and arrangement of the Old Testament, and in the order of books in the New Testament (in  $\aleph$  the Pauline

<sup>1</sup> O von Gebhardt, in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, iii., 1877, pp. vi f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 2, 1875, p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> The difficulty disappears with the correct interpretation of the unaccented text; not παραλλαγή ή τροπή αποσκευματος, but παραλλαγή ή τροπή αποσκευματος (B $\aleph$  Pap. Oxyrh. 1229). See J. H. Ropes, *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, 1916, pp. 162-164; Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 217 f.

<sup>4</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 212-224.

epistles immediately follow the Gospels; in B they follow the Catholic epistles).

### A. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

Codex Alexandrinus seems to have borne that name from History. about the time of its arrival in England (1628);<sup>1</sup> it gained it, however, not from any certainty as to its place of origin, but only because it had lain in Alexandria while in the possession of the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, who presided over that see from 1602 to 1621, and by whom, while Patriarch of Constantinople, it was offered to King James I. in 1624-1625, and actually given to King Charles I. in 1627. A series of notes in the codex, two in Arabic, two in Latin, make the following statements: (1) An Arabic note of wholly uncertain date affirms that the manuscript was written by Thecla the martyr.<sup>2</sup> (2) A Latin note in the hand of Cyril Lucar himself says that current tradition declares the codex to have been written by Thecla, a noble lady of Egypt in the fourth century, whose name the tradition also declares to have stood formerly at the end of the book on a page torn away by the Mohammedans.<sup>3</sup> (3) An Arabic note says that it belonged to the Patriarchal cell (*i.e.* residence) in Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> This is signed by 'Athanasius,' who has commonly been identified with the Patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius III. († *ca.* 1308),

<sup>1</sup> The name 'Alexandrinus' and the designation 'A' are used in Walton's Polyglot, 1657.

<sup>2</sup> This Arabic note reads: "They relate that this book is in the handwriting of Thecla the martyr."

<sup>3</sup> "Liber iste scriptus sacrae N et V. Testam<sup>ti</sup>, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclae, nobilis feminae Aegyptiae, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post concilium Nicaenum. Nomen Theclae in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Aegypto a Mahometanis et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt reducti conditionem. Extinctum ergo et Theclae nomen et laceratum sed memoria et traditio recens observat. ✠ Cyrillus Patriarcha Constantin."

<sup>4</sup> The note reads: "Bound to the patriarchal cell in the fortress of Alexandria. He that lets it go out shall be cursed and ruined. The humble Athanasius wrote (this)." A cross (of a shape found elsewhere as late as about 1600) is added at the right of this note. Both Arabic notes may well be by the same hand, according to Burdett.

but may at least equally well have been some otherwise unknown librarian of Cyril Lucar, bearing the same distinguished name. (4) A Latin note on a fly-leaf, in a hand of the late seventeenth century, states that the codex was given to the Patriarchal cell in the year of the Martyrs 814 (A.D. 1098).<sup>1</sup> The source of this information (or conjecture) is not known.

It thus appears that the evidence from tradition for any Alexandrian connexion for Codex Alexandrinus cannot be traced with certainty farther back than Cyril Lucar.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Wetstein (*Novum Testamentum Graecum*, vol. i., 1751, p. 10) quotes two letters of his great-uncle, J. R. Wetstein, dated January 14 and March 11, 1664, both stating on the authority of his Greek teacher, one Matthew Muttis of Cyprus, a deacon attached to Cyril Lucar, that Cyril procured the codex from Mount Athos, where he was in 1612-13. In that case it would be not unnatural to suppose it to have come from Constantinople.

Place of  
origin.

Palaeographical and orthographical evidence has generally assigned A to Egypt,<sup>3</sup> but it is doubtful whether our knowledge of the difference between the uncial hands of Alexandria and of Constantinople in the fifth or sixth century is sufficient to justify confident assertion here.<sup>4</sup>

The very mixed character of the text of A in both Old and New Testaments (see below, pages ci-ciii); its use in many

<sup>1</sup> "Donum datum cubiculo Patriarchali anno 814 Martyrum."

<sup>2</sup> F. C. Burkitt, 'Codex "Alexandrinus,"' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. XL, 1909-10, pp. 603-606.

<sup>3</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. I. p. 72 (kinship to older Coptic hands), pp. 100-105 (interchange of consonants), p. 110, Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 76, on the forms of Δ and Μ in a few instances in titles and colophons (but not in the text itself), but see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed. pp. 248 ff., on the widespread use of the 'Coptic' Μ, also H. Curtius, in *Monatsbericht* of Berlin Academy, 1880, p. 648.

<sup>4</sup> For palaeographical and historical discussion see the introductions to the facsimile editions, by E. Maunde Thompson (1881) and F. G. Kenyon (1909). G. Mercati, 'Un' oscura nota del codice Alessandrina,' in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Châtelain*, Paris, 1910, shows that a note on fol. 142b (417b) together with the form of the table of contents make it plain that the codex originally consisted of two volumes, the second of which began with the Psalms.

parts of the Septuagint of a text distinctly different from, and sometimes, though not always, superior to, the special type of B and  $\kappa$ ; the presence in the Apocalypse of a text different from, and far superior to, that of  $\kappa$ ; the large amount of hexaplaric influence in the Old Testament, and of influence in both Testaments from the Antiochian recension (to which in the Psalter and the Gospels, though somewhat mixed, it is the oldest, or one of the two oldest, of extant Greek witnesses)—all these facts would probably be more easily accounted for if A could be referred to Constantinople rather than to Alexandria.

The date assigned to A is the first half, the middle, or the Date, close of the fifth century; but no strong reason seems to be given why it could not have been written as late as the first half of the sixth century.

Two hands are distinguished in A in the Old Testament, and Scribes three in the New, writing as follows. (1) Matthew, Mark, and the Pauline epistles from 1 Cor. x. 8 on; (2) Luke, John, Acts, the Catholic epistles, and Rom. i. 1-1 Cor. x. 8; (3) Apocalypse. The Clementine epistles were written by the same scribe who wrote the earlier historical and some other books of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> The codex has received various corrections; A<sup>1</sup> was probably the original scribe, A<sup>a</sup> perhaps a diorthotes of the scriptorium. In the New Testament "other corrections are very much fewer and less important."<sup>2</sup>

Codex Alexandrinus is written with a fair standard of accuracy, Ortho- as may be seen in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras, graphy. where the proper names are usually given without monstrous distortion, and where ancient errors, which might easily have been corrected, have generally been allowed to stand.<sup>3</sup> It contains in the New Testament relatively few readings peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 74; but cf. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 72 f.

<sup>2</sup> Kenyon, *op. cit.* p. 74; cf. Kenyon, Introduction to facsimile (1900), Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 126, and especially Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, pp. 58 f.

<sup>3</sup> Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910, pp. 91-96.



to itself, and those which it does have are mostly unimportant.<sup>1</sup> Its orthography in the LXX is probably largely that of later copyists and not of the date of the autographs; even where ancient forms are found they are in many cases to be referred to literary correction; skilful conjectural emendations of the Greek are sometimes detected.<sup>2</sup>

Mixed  
character  
of text.

The most striking characteristic of A among the chief uncials is its plainly heterogeneous composition, which has been referred to above (p. lii), and which marks both Testaments in ways partly different, partly parallel (see below, pp. ci-cii). In the New Testament the Gospels show a mixture of the Antiochian revision with an earlier (chiefly 'Western'<sup>3</sup>) text, in which the former strongly predominates. Its ancestor here was probably a text of ancient type which was systematically, but not quite completely, corrected in conformity with the Antiochian type which later became current.<sup>4</sup> In Acts and the Pauline epistles the 'Western' element is smaller; and in Acts, at least, correction from the Antiochian cannot be affirmed. For the

<sup>1</sup> Von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.*, vol i pp. 877, 1062-1064, 1028.

<sup>2</sup> Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. i. pp. 65, 72, 98, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Von Soden, p. 877. Von Soden, pp. 878 f., 1662, gives some interesting instances where the reading of A seems to be due to the misunderstanding of corrections in the archetype, in which an Antiochian reading (as he thinks, of the type K<sup>a</sup>) was intended to be substituted for an earlier one. For instance, Luke xi. 42 (I follow von Soden's notation) *Η παρειναι, Κ αφεναι, δδ* (i.e. Codex A) *παπαφεναι; xix. 23 Η αν αυτο ενπραξα, ΚΚ<sup>a</sup> αν ενπραξα αυτο, δδ αν αυτο ανεπραξα; xxiv. 53 ΚΚ<sup>a</sup> add ανουντες και after εν τω ιερω, δδ ανουντες και instead of εν τω ιερω; Acts iii. 18 παθει τον χριστον αυτου, Κ αυτου παθιν τον χριστον, δδ omits παθει τον χριστον; and many others. The view of von Soden that an older text has been corrected by the Antiochian rather than *vice versa* receives strong support from some of the cases noted in the pages referred to, and is inherently more probable than Hort's idea (if he meant it in an historical and not merely a logical sense) of "a fundamentally Syrian text, mixed occasionally with pre-Syrian readings, chiefly Western" ('Introduction,' p. 152). Hort called attention to the striking agreement of A and the Latin Vulgate in some books. Von Soden, in his 'Erster Theil: Untersuchungen,' §§ 172-182, designated the Gospel text of A (together with about one hundred other codices) as K<sup>a</sup>. Later in the same volume, §§ 235-237, in consequence, it would appear, of some alteration of judgment as to the significance of the older element in the text, he includes it under the 'I-form,' and in the text-volume the group appears as I<sup>b</sup>.*

Apocalypse, as in some parts of the Old Testament, it is the best of all extant manuscripts. The usefulness of A for the reconstruction of the text of the New Testament is considerably limited by the circumstances here mentioned.

### C. CODEX EPHRAEMI

Of the earlier history of this codex before it came into the History possession of Cardinal Ridolfi of Florence († 1550) nothing is known. It was broken up and the parchment rewritten with Greek tracts of Ephraem Syrus in the twelfth century, perhaps at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is written carefully and accurately, by a different hand in the New Testament from that which appears in the Septuagint fragments; and possibly a third hand appears in Acts.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no sufficient reason for any confident assertion that it is of Egyptian origin.

The chief ground adduced for ascribing C to the fifth century Date. is its resemblance in writing (and to some degree in text) to Codex Alexandrinus (see above, p. lii). It has been corrected by a hand C<sup>2</sup>, assigned to a date perhaps one century later than the original, and again by a later hand, C<sup>3</sup> or C<sup>4</sup>, deemed to be not later than the ninth century.

The text of the Gospels in C is fundamentally of the type of Character of text B and  $\kappa$ , but has probably been affected by the influence of the Antiochian revision, and contains some 'Western' readings. There are but few individual peculiarities. In the Pauline epistles the character of the text is the same, but with less influence from the Antiochian; and the same may be said of the text of Acts, as more fully discussed below, although in Acts von Soden estimates the Antiochian and 'Western' influences as about equal. In some cases in Acts the same Antiochian reading

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus sive fragmenta Novi Testamenti*, 1843, p. 16. Ceriani, *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xxi., 1888, p. 547, expresses doubts as to the accuracy of Tischendorf's edition of C.

<sup>2</sup> Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 70-73.

has been adopted by A and C, but the two manuscripts do not seem to be derived from any common mixed original.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. CODEX BEZAE

*History.* Codex Bezae (graeco-latin<sup>2</sup>) was obtained by Théodore de Bèze, the French reformer of Geneva, from the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, where it was found during the civil commotions of 1562, doubtless at the sack of the city by Huguenot troops in that year.<sup>3</sup> A few years earlier it had been taken to the Council of Trent by William à Prato (Guillaume du Prat), Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, and used there in 1546 as evidence for several unique or unusual Greek readings relating to matters under debate by the members of the council.<sup>4</sup> While it was in Italy a friend communicated many

<sup>1</sup> Von Soden, pp. 935-943, 1659-1662, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Bezae appears to be the oldest known graeco-latin ms. of any part of the New Testament. Other early graeco-latin codices are the Verona Psalter (R, sixth cent.), Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>man</sup>, fifth or sixth cent.), Codex Laudianus (B<sup>u</sup>, sixth cent.); many graeco-latin Psalters and New Testament mss. were written in the ninth and following centuries until the invention of printing. See E. von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*, 4th ed., 1923, pp. 58 f.

<sup>3</sup> For Beza's letter of gift to the University of Cambridge, containing his statements as to the source from which he acquired it, see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, 1864, p. vi. In the annotations to Beza's edition of the New Testament, 1598 (notes on Luke xix. 26; Acts xx. 3), the editor refers to the codex as 'Claromontanus.' This may be due to some knowledge on his part, not now to be recovered, or perhaps to a mere confusion between the Lyons ms. and the similar, but Pauline, Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>man</sup>), then at Beauvais, the readings of which he had been able to adduce as early as his second (third) edition, 1582. Beza was not aware that the ms. from which the readings designated β<sup>1</sup> in Stephen's apparatus were drawn was the same as his codex; J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-called Western Text of the New Testament* (Texts and Studies, II.), 1891, pp. 3-6.

<sup>4</sup> Our knowledge here comes from the statements of Marianus Victorinus, Bishop of Amelia and later of Rieti († 1572), in the notes to his edition of the works of St. Jerome, first published at Rome, 1506. They are as follows:

(1) Note on *Adv. Iovinianum*, I. 14, with reference to John xxi. 22 (*ovras*), Antwerp ed., 1578, p. 570, col. 1; Paris ed., 1609, p. 509 F; Cologne ed., 1616, vol. III., Scholia, p. 33, note 32: *sicut habet antiquissimus quidam Graecus codex, quem Tridentum attulit Claromontanus episcopus anno domini 1549* [so Cologne ed.; apparently mistake for 1546].

(2) Note on *Adv. Iov.* I. 18, with reference to Matt. i. 23 (*καλεσεν*); Cologne

readings of D to Robert Stephen, the Paris printer and editor, and they were included (to the number of over 350, with some inaccuracies) in the apparatus to his first folio edition of 1550.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Clermont evidently returned the manuscript to its owners at Lyons. In 1581 Beza presented it to the University of Cambridge, as he says, '*asservandum potius quam publicandum.*'<sup>2</sup>

Codex Bezae has commonly been assigned to the sixth century, Date. but there seems no good reason for refusing it a place in the preceding one,<sup>3</sup> and a date even at the beginning of the fifth

ed., 1616, vol. iii, Scholia p. 34, note 40. *et ita etiam scriptus est in antiquissimo codice Lugdunensi.*

(3) Note on *Epist.* 146, *ad Damasum*, with reference to *Matt.* ix 13 (*ἐἰς μετὰ τοὺς*); Cologne ed., 1616, vol. iii, Scholia, p. 89, note 4 *desunt [haec verba] etiam apud Graecum codicem Vaticanum qui scriptus est iam anni mille et ultra, et apud alterum antiquissimum librum Graecum Claremontensem.*

The first of these notes has been well known since the seventeenth century; the other two were noticed by H. Quentin, 'Note additionnelle' to 'Le Codex Bezae à Lyon au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle?' (*Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxiii, 1906, pp. 24 f.). As Quentin observes, all doubt as to the accuracy of Beza's statement about Lyons is removed by the second of these notes. See also J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 36-39. It was natural that Marianus Victorius, who was present at the council, should have described a codex brought from Lyons by the Bishop of Clermont, now as 'Lugdunensis' now as 'Claremontensis'; his variation throws no light on Beza's above-mentioned references to its readings as from a 'Claremontanus.'

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence that the authority designated  $\beta^1$  in Stephen's 'editio regia,' 1550, was actually our Codex Bezae see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. ix-x. Stephen's statement in his 'Epistle to the Reader' is τὸ δὲ β' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντιβληθὲν φίλων. The identification with D was made as early as Wetsstein.

<sup>2</sup> Since the arrival of the codex at Cambridge, it has suffered at least twice by mutilations of the bottom of folio 504, succeeding an earlier cut or tear which may have taken place before 1581. The missing text, however, both Greek and Latin, can be securely reconstructed, mainly from early collations; see below, pp. 202-5, and J. H. Ropes, 'The Reconstruction of the Torn Leaf of Codex Bezae,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi, 1923, pp. 162-168. It may be fitting here to call attention to F. Blass, 'Zu Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte,' *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, vol. lxxi, 1898, pp. 539-542, where will be found some corrections of Scrivener's edition of the manuscript in *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, 1864, in difficult places which Blass personally examined.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Burkitt, 'The Date of Codex Bezae,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iii, 1901-2, pp. 501-513, partly in reply to Scrivener, who had presented as the chief argument against the fifth century "the debased dialect of the Latin version"—surely an unconvincing reason.

century has been urged.<sup>1</sup> Palaeography, whether Latin or Greek, has so far given little aid toward a definite solution of the problem of its date and origin.<sup>2</sup> Various characteristics, such as the ornamentation, subscriptions, titles, the numbering of the quires, and the form of the letters betray the training of the scribe in Latin methods,<sup>3</sup> and the presence, by inadvertence, of occasional Greek words and letters on the Latin side is no proof to the contrary.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be maintained that the codex originated in a centre of strictly Greek writing, where Latin was a wholly foreign language. On the other hand, it certainly did not

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. vi., 1906, pp. 345 f.

<sup>2</sup> The writing of Codex Bezae shows marked resemblances to that of Codex Claromontanus of Paul, but the hand of Codex Bezae is less skilful and regular. The many points of contact of the two mss. make it hard to believe that they are not to be associated in origin. The peculiar Latin text of the Pauline epistles in Codex Claromontanus is practically the same as that of Lucifer of Cagliari, a fact which has led Souter to suggest that Codex Claromontanus (and consequently also Codex Bezae) was written in Sardinia; see A. Souter, 'The Original Home of Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>Paul</sup>)', *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vi., 1904-5, pp. 240-243. The remarkable list (Canon Claromontanus) of the books of the Old and New Testaments which in D<sup>Paul</sup> follows the thirteen Pauline epistles, as if the exemplar had lacked Hebrews, must be taken into account in any theory of the origin of both Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus.

<sup>3</sup> G. Mercati, 'On the Non-Greek Origin of the Codex Bezae,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xv., 1913-14, pp. 448-451. This article was in reply to E. A. Lowe, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xiv., 1912-13, pp. 385-388, who had urged that the Latin uncials employed in D are of a grecoizing type, used in Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and North Africa, and such as would probably have been used in Latin law-books written in Byzantium, and further that sundry Greek practices are exhibited by the manuscript, so that all these facts together would suggest an origin in a non-Italian centre. But in a later article, 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxv., 1924, pp. 270-274, Lowe admits the conclusive force of Mercati's rejoinder, and withdraws his theory.

<sup>4</sup> Against the suggestion of South Italy, Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 92, remarks, "The chief objection to this theory is that Greek was so well known in that region that we should have expected the Greek part of the ms. to be better written than it is. In point of fact, the Greek has the appearance of having been written by a scribe whose native language was Latin; and some of the mistakes which he makes (e.g. writing  $\lambda$  for  $\lambda$  or  $\epsilon$  for  $\kappa$ ) point in the same direction. We want a locality where Latin was the prevalent tongue, but Greek was still in use for ecclesiastical purposes, for the liturgical notes are all on the Greek side."

proceed from any centre of the trained Latin calligraphy of the period.

Of the earlier history of the codex the work of the successive correctors and annotators has left a partial record—if we could only interpret correctly the lessons to be drawn<sup>1</sup> Some twenty successive hands can be distinguished, but their approximate dates are disputed, with a tendency on the part of palaeographical experts to assign them to more and more early periods.<sup>1</sup> No one of the correctors was probably the regular diorthotes of the manuscript. Nearly all were much more interested in the Greek text, and touched the Latin pages but little; but one corrector (G, assigned to the seventh century, or even to about the same time as the original scribe<sup>2</sup>) concerned himself mainly with the Latin. The annotators include more than half of the improving hands; in two cases the same hand undertook both kinds of addition. The Greek annotators were formerly thought to have begun with the ninth century, but recently have all been assigned to the period before 800.<sup>3</sup> Their work includes the marginal indication of lessons both in the Gospels and in Acts, drawn from the usual Byzantine system,<sup>4</sup> with modifications by other correctors; titloi in Matthew, Luke, and John, in a form somewhat divergent from that commonly found;<sup>5</sup> the numbers of the

Correctors  
and anno-  
tators.

<sup>1</sup> On the correctors and annotators see Scrivener, *op. cit.*, 1864, pp. xx, xxiv-xxix; F. E. Brightman, 'On the Italian Origin of Codex Bezae. The Marginal Notes of Lections,' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i., 1899-1900, pp. 448-454; F. G. Konyon, *ibid.* pp. 293-299; J. R. Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae (with some Notes on Sortes Sanctorum)*, 1901; F. C. Burkitt, 'The Date of Codex Bezae,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III, 1901-2, pp. 501-513; E. A. Lowe, 'The Codex Bezae,' *ibid.* vol. xiv., 1912-13, pp. 385-388. It is surprising that the perfect accessibility of the codex, now available also in facsimile, the valuable foundation laid by Scrivener sixty years since, and the highly stimulating inquiries of Harris more than twenty years ago should not yet have led to the production of an adequate account of the facts as to these matters.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Lowe, *l.c.* p. 387. So also F. C. Burkitt, *l.c.* pp. 511 f., who suggests that "G is the handwriting of the Bishop of the church for which Codex Bezae was originally prepared," and that the corrections were made before the manuscript was considered to be issued for use.

<sup>3</sup> So A. S. Hunt, as quoted by Lowe, *l.c.* p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> Brightman, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Harris, *Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, p. 41.

Ammonian sections ; and in the margin of the Gospel of Mark, by a hand formerly assigned to the tenth century, but perhaps earlier, a set of seventy-one 'sortes sanctorum,' or soothsaying sentences in Greek. These last are closely like the more complete Latin series in the (Vulgate and Old Latin) Codex Sangermanensis (G) of the eighth or ninth century, probably written in the neighbourhood of Lyons.

No one of the annotators appears to have been a scholar.<sup>1</sup> The holy days for which lessons are marked include the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the feasts of St. George and St. Dionysius the Areopagite, all of these by relatively late annotators.<sup>2</sup>

In the eighth or early ninth century<sup>3</sup> a single Latin scribe supplied the missing portions of both the Greek and Latin text of the Gospels, adding to the codex leaves of which nine are still extant. His Latin text was derived from the Vulgate.<sup>4</sup>

Use by  
Ado.

One other highly instructive piece of possible evidence as to the history of the codex before the sixteenth century remains to be mentioned, and is due to the critical acumen and the learning of H. Quentin.<sup>5</sup> It is drawn from the Martyrology of Ado of Lyons (later Bishop of Vienne), written in 850-860. In his summary accounts of the several martyrs Ado both makes allusions to the New Testament and draws quotations from it in abundance. These are ordinarily taken from the Old Latin

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Annotators*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Lowe, *l.c.* p. 388. Lowe describes the Greek of this hand as Western 'imitation uncials.' Scrivener, p. xxi, had assigned the supplementary leaves to the hand "of a Latin of about the tenth century." Harris, *Annotators*, pp. 106-109, observes that the hand is not Calabrian, and argues that it is that of a scribe unacquainted with spoken Greek.

<sup>4</sup> A parallel to the succession first of Greek and then of Latin annotators and correctors of Codex Bezae may be seen in Codex Marchalianus (Q) of the LXX, where the Greek correctors end in the ninth century, and later corrections are Latin (see above, p. xxxiii note 2).

<sup>5</sup> 'Le Codex Bezae à Lyon au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle?' in *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxiii., 1906, pp. 1-23. On Lyons in the ninth century, see S. Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium,' in *Palaeographia Latina*, edited by W. M. Lindsay, Part II., London, 1923, p. 68.

fourth-century recension known to us from Codex Gigas and other sources, which was evidently the most widely used form of the Latin translation in the period just before the introduction of the Vulgate, and continued to be employed in various parts of the West for centuries after that date. But in seven instances he departs from the recension of gigas. Three of these <sup>1</sup> are cases where the gigas-recension lacked the reading, and in all of these unique or extremely rare readings Codex Bezae is a source from which the reading of Ado could be drawn. In one of the three the Greek of D is the only possible source known to us; in the second the only other Latin witness is the African text of h, which Ado is hardly likely to have known; in the third the only other Latin is the mysterious margin of the Bible de Rosas. In three other cases <sup>2</sup> Ado has twice combined renderings from the gigas-recension and the Vulgate with a third rendering found only in d, while for the third, and similar, case of this group he has taken one rendering from the gigas-recension and combined with it another found in both the Vulgate and d. In the seventh passage <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (1) Acts xi. 28 *conversantibus autem nobis* (no Latin evidence) for *συνεστραμμένων δε ημῶν* D, apparently a direct translation, skilful, very apt, and not naturally suggested by the parallel Latin rendering (*congregatis*) otherwise known to us; d has the erroneous rendering *revertentibus autem nobis*.

(2) Acts xviii. 2 *in Achaïam*, d h only among Latin mss.; so D hol.mg.

(3) Acts xix. 1 *cum vellet ire Hierosolimam, dixit ei spiritus sanctus ut reverteretur in Asiam*, only d and second hand in margin of Bible de Rosas (eastern Spain, tenth cent.), with slight variations in both; so D hol.mg. It will be observed that in Acts xviii. 2 the addition, omitted in the gigas-recension, is African (codex h), and the same origin may be assumed for a reading of the Bible de Rosas.

<sup>2</sup> (1) Acts vi. 9, for *συνζητοῦντες, disputantibus* (vg e t p<sup>ms</sup>) *et conquirentibus* (gig g<sub>2</sub> p) *atque altercantibus* (d only).

(2) Acts xviii. 3, for *δια το ομοτεχνον ειναι* (D *δια το ομοτεχνον* without *ειναι*), *propter artificium* (d only, incomplete to correspond with the number of words in D) *erant enim ejusdem artis* (gig vg *quae ejusdem erat artis*), *id est scenophegiae* (vg *erat autem scenofactoriae artis*; so e, with variations). The strange error *scenophegiae* is an obvious reminiscence of John vii. 2.

(3) Acts vi. 12, for *συνεκλησαν, concitato* (cf. gig g<sub>2</sub> h) *populo ac senioribus scribisque adversus eum commotis* (cf. vg e p t; d).

<sup>3</sup> Acts vi. 9 *qui erant* (d only) *de synagoga quae dicitur Libertinorum. Qui erant*, to which nothing corresponds in any known Latin text, is the characteristically exact rendering in d of *των (εκ της συναγωγης)* found in D and nearly all Greek mss. (except N). For *quae dicitur* (d h p; *της λεγομενης* D B C



Ado's text gives the exact reading of d. He seems to have brought it in in part (*quae dicitur*) in order to make the language conform to the usual Greek text, but in effecting this has not followed the Vulgate rendering, though equally available for the purpose. Another phrase (*qui erant*) common to d and Ado is unique in d among Latin texts, and may well be one of the cases where the Latin of Codex Bezae (possibly without any predecessor) has been brought into agreement with the Greek opposite page.

The inference drawn from these intricate facts is that the text of Codex Bezae has influenced the language of Ado's Martyrology. Quentin finds reason to think that an intermediate stage was a copy of the gigas-recension, which Ado used, equipped with marginal notes drawn from Codex Bezae. And he attributes the learning and critical interest here displayed not primarily to Ado, but to Florus, Bishop of Lyons († ca. 860), of whom it is known that he cherished these interests and that he had correspondents, also interested in the text of the Bible, in Italy. A further, and natural, step is the suggestion that to the instigation of Florus may be due the coming of Codex Bezae to Lyons. That event naturally brought to an end the long line of Greek correctors and annotators of the codex, of which it is now held (see above, p. lix, note 3) that all were, or may have been, earlier than Florus, although formerly scholars ascribed some of them to later centuries.

The subtle and carefully considered theory thus put forward by Quentin may well be correct, provided the dates of the Greek correctors do not stand in the way.<sup>1</sup>

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Antiochian), the Vulgate (with e t) has *quae appellatur* (*appellabatur*); while the gigas-recension (gig g<sub>2</sub>), alone among Latin texts, has *qui dicuntur* (for τῶν λεγομένων NA minn). Ado has here deserted the gigas-recension, not for the Vulgate, but to adopt a reading conforming to the Greek text with the singular, and he has used for this purpose the Latin form found in d (and in h p, to neither of which does Ado's text show specific kinship).

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Lowe, 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxv., 1924, pp. 270-274, accepts as convincing Quentin's arguments, and adds striking confirmation from two observations: (1) Blue ink occurs in the colophon to the added pages of Mark in Codex Bezae (ninth century). The use of this ink in Latin mss. has been observed elsewhere only in a ninth-

From the whole body of facts here summarized it is a fair inference that at an early time, certainly as early as the seventh century, and for a long period, the codex lay in a place or places where Greek was both the ecclesiastical language and was also (for long, at least) understood and used by the people, but where Latin was also familiarly known to a greater or less extent, a place that is, which was distinctly "not a Latin centre where Greek was merely read and written."<sup>1</sup> Where such a place is to be sought will be considered presently. Soon after the beginning of the ninth century the ms. lay in a strictly Latin environment.

On the question of where Codex Bezae was written the character of its Latin pages, and of their dialectal and vulgar peculiarities, whether as respects pervading linguistic traits or isolated phenomena, has hitherto thrown no light. Since it was found at Lyons in the sixteenth century, the suggestion has often been made that it was written and had always remained in the south of France, where in the second century the Christians of Lyons and certain other towns of the Rhone valley were Greeks. But this Greek life continued for only a limited period, and it is wholly improbable that Greek was the common language of this population or of these churches in the fifth, still less in the sixth, century. In Gaul of that period Greek was the cultivated art of the few.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the place of origin of the codex would naturally bear a close relation to the scene of work of the early correctors and annotators of the seventh and eighth centuries, who clearly belong in Greek surroundings, to be found nowhere

Theory of  
origin in  
France

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century Lyons ms. (Lugd. 484), which is perhaps in Florus's own hand, and in no other ms., probably written at Luxoul. (2) A peculiar interrogation mark, found in those added pages, is found also (and hitherto only) in five mss., all of the ninth century, and all perhaps written or annotated by Florus himself. cf also E. A. Lowe, *Codices lugdunenses antiquissimi*, Lyons, 1924.

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Annotators*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> On the very limited amount of Greek ecclesiastical life in Gaul see Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. I., 1899-1900, pp. 451-454; L. P. Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbole und der Glaubensregeln*, iii., Christiania, 1875, pp. 228-231.

in Gaul. The ninth-century revival of letters in Lyons, under Bishop Agobard (814-840) and his successors of the days of Florus and Ado, would explain the addition by an undoubtedly Latin hand of the supplementary pages already referred to, but the predecessors of these men in the two preceding centuries were far removed from the attainments, capacity, and interests of the earlier annotators of the codex. And fatal to the whole theory of Southern France is the insertion of the Byzantine lesson-system, which was not used in Gaul.<sup>1</sup>

South  
Italy.

The other suggestion most often made is that Codex Bezae was written in South Italy, which in ancient times, as Magna Graecia, had been a recognized part of the Greek world. Here, it is true, in Reggio and the district nearest to Sicily, Greek seems to have been dominant at the beginning of the eighth century; and in that and the following centuries Greek customs and the use of the Greek language made steady progress in all Calabria, in consequence of the incoming of immigrants—religious and secular—from Sicily and from the East. But in fact the origin of the codex in the fifth or sixth century, and its earliest use, fall in the intervening time between the ancient and the mediaeval Greek periods of Southern Italy.

Hellenism  
in South  
Italy.

At the end of the fifth century what Greek civilization and ecclesiastical life had survived there from a happier period disappeared, largely in consequence of the barbarian invasions. Even the remotest part of Bruttium, close to Sicily, seems to have become Latin in institutions and language, save for the cosmopolitan meeting-place of Reggio. In the middle of the sixth century the implications and explicit statements of Procopius, and at the end of that century the letters of Gregory the Great, make clear the same state of things in spite of the reconquest of Italy under Justinian, and it is likewise revealed by the evidence of the South Italian inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries. Cassiodorus himself († 562), with his native Calabrian aristocratic origin, and as well the Latin monastery

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Brightman, *op. cit.* pp. 446-454.

which he founded, are characteristic for his time. The Roman ecclesiastical system and Latin monasteries seem to have supplied substantially all there was of higher intellectual and moral forces.

The second hellenization of Southern Italy, which issued in the flourishing Greek civilization of the eleventh century, was due to a variety of causes. In the seventh century the advancing victories in Syria and Egypt, first of the Persians, then of the Mohammedans, led to the migration of oriental Christians to Italy and still more to Sicily. Toward the end of that century, and increasingly thereafter, measures were taken by Byzantium to consolidate its power in Southern Italy and to defend Sicily against Mohammedan invaders from Africa, and these steps must have caused a growth of the Greek population of Southern Italy, as they certainly enlarged the channels of Greek influence, both ecclesiastical and secular. In the eighth century Greek clergy and monks fleeing from the persecuting rigor of the imperial iconoclastic policy may have come in considerable numbers to Italy, where they were able to find a friendly theological environment; while at the same time the administrative connexion of these South Italian dioceses with Constantinople was knit closer. In the early ninth century, when the Saracens conquered most of Sicily (taking Palermo in 831), many Sicilians fled to Italy, and Greek Sicilian monks began to wander through the wilderness and to be seen in the towns of Calabria. Before the middle of the tenth century St. Nilus appears, Greek monasteries are numerous, and the copying of Greek manuscripts is common. With the Norman rule great monastic centres of Greek intellectual life were constructed, and prospered, until, two centuries later, they shared in the general decay of civilization consequent upon the overthrow of the Normans, and at last fell into the wretched state in which the humanistic ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century found them. Fortunately these houses still had Greek books, many of which were brought at different periods to securer centres and incorporated in the great collections to which modern scholars resort.

In considering the origin of Codex Bezae this sketch of the progressive re-hellenization of Southern Italy from the seventh century on is necessary, because the abundant Greek life of Calabria in later ages is often assumed to have been present in the earlier period in which the codex was written and in which it had its home in a community using Greek as well as Latin. While, under the limitations of our knowledge, there is a bare possibility that in the fifth or sixth century some place existed in Southern Italy where it could have been written, nevertheless no such place is known, and the general conditions which we do know make such an origin unlikely. This unlikelihood is raised to a very strong improbability by the difficulty of supposing that, even if the codex was written in South Italy, any locality there in the sixth or seventh century (and with some restrictions conditions were similar for a great part of the eighth) would have provided the background of church life implied by the extraordinarily numerous correctors and annotators.<sup>1</sup> South Italy certainly does not seem to offer a probable birthplace and still less a probable early home for this codex.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that the writing of the annotator M resembles a Ravenna hand of the year 756 (Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III., 1901-2, p. 505 note) rests on a confusion. The hand in question (shown in E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 144; *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, pp. 26, 184) is, in fact, from the imperial chancery in Constantinople. The document is part of the original of a letter from the emperor to a French king, probably from Michael II. or Theophilus to Louis the Débonnaire, and brought by one of the embassies known to have been sent in the period 824-839; see H. Omont, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. XIX., 1892, pp. 384-393, with facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> The disappearance of the ancient hellenism of Magna Graecia and the fact that the mediaeval Greek civilization of Calabria was due to a fresh rehellenization several centuries later was brought out in the *ἱστορικὴ ἀνασκόπη* of Spyridion Zampelios (Athens, 1864), and emphatically presented by F. Lenormant in *La Grande-Grèce*, 1881, vol. I. p. vii; vol. II. pp. 371-382, 395. An illuminating sketch of the history is given by P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, 1891, pp. I-XXXIX. See also Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, 1904, pp. 5-24, 184-200, 254-286, 350-365, 376-386; Charles Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne (568-751)*, 1888, pp. 241-288; K. Lake, 'The Greek Monasteries in Southern Italy,' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. IV., 1902-3, pp. 345 ff., 517 ff.; V., 1903-4, pp. 22 ff., 189 ff.

On the other hand, what is known of Sicily corresponds very well with the requirements for Codex Bezae. Greek was the language of Sicily under the Roman emperors, and never succumbed to the Latin influences which Roman rule brought in. In Sicily, unlike Magna Graecia, the landowners were a Roman aristocracy residing in a country with which they did not fully identify themselves. Latin was the official language, but the mass of the people, although affected by Latin culture, continued to speak Greek. At the end of the sixth century, under Gregory the Great, the clergy were largely Latin, but included Greeks, and from the beginning of the seventh century Greek language and culture made rapid progress among the Sicilian clergy, and there were strong personal relations with the churches of the Orient. By the middle of the century Greek was preponderant, and in the eighth century the clergy were firmly attached to the Eastern Church. By this time the same had become true of Calabria. During these centuries there seems to have been a steady influx of Greeks, especially in consequence of Persian and Saracen attacks on various centres of Christian life in the Greek world. In the early years of the ninth century came acute and persistent disturbance from Arab invasion.<sup>1</sup>

Probable  
origin in  
Sicily.

All this would well account for the origin of Codex Bezae and for its use for centuries in a locality or localities where the Greek language and Greek customs were continuously in vogue, but where Latin was also known. The disturbed condition of the country early in the ninth century would likewise explain the acquisition of the manuscript by scholars of Lyons at about that date.

Nothing, indeed, forbids the suggestion that emigrants or refugees from Sicily carried Codex Bezae with them to Calabria

<sup>1</sup> On the history of conditions in Sicily and the relation of Sicily to Calabria, see, besides the works of Baffol, Gay, and Lake, mentioned in the preceding note, Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum*, vol. iii., 1898, Buch ix. pp. 220-337; Josef Fuhrer, *Forschungen zur Sicilia sotteranea* (Abhandlungen, Munich Academy, vol. xx.), 1897. On early monastic life in Sicily see D. G. Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della Chiesa in Sicilia nei dieci primi secoli del cristianesimo*, vol. i., Palermo, 1880, chapter xx.

in the eighth century, but no fact as yet known requires this assumption.

It thus seems likely that Sicily was the place of origin of Codex Bezae and of its mate Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>pal</sup>), and that the correctors and annotators of the earlier period, who were chiefly concerned with the Greek pages, were Sicilians. Yet some of these latter may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been Calabrians. Somewhere about the year 800 the codex was probably sent to Lyons. Its history, partly conjectural, partly known, presents a remarkable parallel to that of the Codex Laudianus, written in Sardinia in the sixth or seventh century, brought (by way doubtless of Italy) to England in the seventh, to be used in the eighth by the Venerable Bede, and finally destined, like Codex Bezae, to pass into the hands of modern scholars in consequence of the looting of a monastery by Protestant soldiers in a war of religion.

1tentia.

But we must turn from the history of Codex Bezae to its internal character. The four Gospels stand in the order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. This is the order of many Old Latin mss., and is often called 'Western,' but it is also followed in W (Egyptian), X, the Apostolic Constitutions, and other Greek witnesses, and does not imply anything as to the place of origin of D.<sup>1</sup> Between the Gospels and Acts three leaves and eight quires are missing, to judge by the numbering of the quires. Since all quires contain eight leaves (except one which has six), the lost leaves must have numbered sixty-seven, of which perhaps the whole of one was filled by the close of the Gospel of Mark. The remaining sixty-six included at least some of the Catholic Epistles, for one page containing the closing verses of 3 John still immediately precedes the first page of Acts. Even all the seven Catholic Epistles, however, would not suffice to fill sixty-six

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft*, vol. vi., 1905, pp. 339-346, argues from various indications that the order of the Gospels in the parent ms. of D was Matthew, Mark, John, Luke, as in Mommsen's Canon and the Curetonian Syriac. This he holds to have been the original 'Western' order, for which is substituted in Codex Bezae the characteristic Latin order.

leaves, and what these pages contained has been the subject of much conjecture. The space would about suffice for the Apocalypse and the three Epistles of John.<sup>1</sup> Such a *corpus johanneum* would account for the unusual position of the Epistles of John, at the end of the collection of Catholic Epistles, which is, however, found in Codex 326, in the Muratorian fragment, and in Rufinus, and perhaps was the order of the Old Latin translation of Cassiodorus. The arrangement by which the Catholic Epistles preceded Acts is that of the Egyptian translations, and seems to have been not uncommon in the Latin world.

The codex seems to be the work of one scribe, and the Greek Euros. and Latin pages have a general aspect of deceptive similarity to one another.<sup>2</sup> It is badly written. On the Greek side the scribe is guilty of many obvious blunders and misspellings on nearly every page. Such are, for instance, Matt. vi. 7 *βλαττολογησεται*, Mark xii. 17 *εθανυμαζοντο*, Luke xii. 35 *λυχλοι* for *λυχνοι*, xxiii. 26 *οπεισοθεν*, John i. 3 *ενεγετο*, xvii. 25 *ο κοσμος τουτος* (for *ουτος*, itself probably due to imitation of the Latin rendering of *ο κοσμος* by *mundus hic*), Acts i. 4 *συναλισκομενος*, iii. 10 *εκτασεως* for *εκστασεως*, viii. 5 *καλελθων* for *κατελθων*, and many others. Many of these can be seen in the plain and troublesome errors which have been excluded from the text as printed in the present volume, but are given in the lines immediately below the text. In innumerable instances the endings are wrong, so that nonsense results, or, for instance, a pronoun does not agree in gender with the noun to which it refers. This is sometimes due to thoughtless assimilation to the ending of a neighbouring word (for instance, Matt. iv. 18 *βαλλοντας αμφιβληστρος*, Acts i. 3 *οπτανομενους αυτοις*), sometimes it may be attributed

<sup>1</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1903, col. 4997; J. Chapman, 'The Original Contents of Codex Bezae,' *Expositor*, 6th series, vol. xii., 1905, pp. 40-53.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin page has at first glance a likeness to Greek writing somewhat like that which is found in a page of ancient Coptic, and rather greater than that of modern Russian. But see the articles of Lowe and Mercati referred to above. Such resemblance of the two sides in a graeco-latin ms. is not without parallels; the Coislin Psalter of the seventh century (Paris, Bibl. nat., cois. 186) is an example.



to the influence of the corresponding Latin word (thus, Acts xviii. 2 κλαυδιος for κλαυδιον, cf. d *Claudius*). It has been suggested that many of these errors may be due to some stage in the ancestry of the codex in which a copy was made from a papyrus text with easily misunderstood abbreviations for terminations (τ' for την, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Nothing forbids this suggestion, but it likewise implies an ignorant, if not a careless, scribe, and many mistakes thus made ought subsequently to have been corrected by any competent later copyist. Mistakes in gender, as Matt. iv. 16 φως μεγαν, Luke ix. 1 πασαν δαιμονιον, are not infrequent, especially in pronouns. Semitic proper names receive strange forms. Good examples of some of these classes of error occur in Acts iii. 26, where D reads ευλογουντας for ευλογουντα, τ αποστρεφειν for τω αποστρεφειν, εκαστος for εκαστον; xiv. 20, κυκλωσαντες for κυκλωσαντων, αυτου for αυτον, την επαυριον for τη επαυριον. Blunders such as these sometimes give the impression of a writer who understood Greek imperfectly, and some of them suggest that the *look* of a Greek word did not infallibly present to him a combination of sounds with which he was familiar.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless his ignorance of Latin is also extraordinary.

In view of this character of the codex the frequent departure which it shows from other manuscripts in the omission, or (what is more common) the addition, of the Greek article will in many cases have to be attributed to eccentricity, not to a sound or ancient tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., pp. 98 f.

<sup>2</sup> The most complete account of these blunders (and the other peculiarities) of D will be found in von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1305-1340, 1720-1727, 1814-1836. But even in the paragraphs devoted to 'unintentional errors' von Soden has too little distinguished between actual errors and what may be called antiquated irregularities, such as would have been deemed tolerable, or even respectable, in a manuscript of the third or fourth century, before the reforming efforts of the grammarians had come to dominate the copying of books. Singularities of this latter type should be treated separately; they may well have been derived from an exemplar of a remote antiquity, several stages back, and so testify only to the fidelity, not to the debased condition, of the copy which we have.

Besides these disfiguring blunders, the usual confusions of vowels and consonants, due to itacism and the like, occur in abundance, as well as the miscellaneous omissions and errors to which scribal frailty is prone; and the well-known grammatical peculiarities of the older codices, especially in the forms of verbs, are constantly encountered. Peculiar, or antiquated, spellings, such as Matt. ii. 11  $\xi\mu\rho\rho\nu\nu\nu\nu$  for  $\sigma\mu\rho\rho\nu\nu\nu\nu$ ; xii. 20, xxv. 8  $\zeta\beta\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\mu$  for  $\sigma\beta\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\mu$ ; Luke xiii. 34  $\sigma\rho\nu\nu\xi$  for  $\sigma\rho\nu\nu\varsigma$ , frequently attract the attention of the reader. All these singularities are found in greater abundance than in perhaps any other New Testament manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

Harmonization of parallel passages as between the several Gospels, and in the parts of Acts which strongly resemble one another, are numerous, and often do not agree with the similar harmonizations of the Antiochian text.<sup>2</sup> Omissions, by homoeoteleuton and otherwise, are relatively abundant, much more so in the Gospels than in the Acts. A considerable group of these omissions consists of the evident omission of whole lines, for instance Acts ii. 31, where  $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\delta\omega\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma$  has fallen out in both D and d; more complicated cases are Luke viii. 41, Acts v. 29. In some instances the misplacement or omission of

<sup>1</sup> For classified lists of these see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. xli-xlii. An adequate linguistic investigation of Codex Bezae (or indeed of the other oldest New Testament manuscripts) seems never to have been attempted. G. Rudberg, *Neutestamentlicher Text und Nomina Sacra*, Upsala, 1915, has a valuable discussion of the errors and confusions of spelling in D, and is led to emphasize the conservative character of the copying. On the peculiar variation in spelling,  $\omega\alpha\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$  almost always in Matt., Mark, John i-v. 33, but  $\omega\alpha\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$  (with negligible exceptions) in Luke, Acts, see von Soden, pp. 2100 f.; J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vi., 1905, pp. 342-345; Rudberg, pp. 13 f. The phenomenon can be accounted for in more than one way, and does not necessarily indicate (as sometimes supposed, see Nestle, *Einführung in das griech. N.T.*, 3rd ed., pp. 175 f.) that we have here a survival from the period when Luke and Acts circulated together as two 'books' of a single history. The regular use of nomina sacra in D ( $\Theta\Xi$ ,  $\text{K}\Sigma$ ,  $\text{I}\text{H}\Sigma$ ,  $\text{X}\text{P}\Sigma$ ,  $\text{I}\text{I}\text{N}\text{A}$ ) is about as in B, while N, A, and C show a much more fully developed system; see Rudberg, pp. 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> For some examples of such assimilation see E. von Dobschütz, *E. Nestle's Einführung in das Neue Testament*, 4. Aufl. p. 29; see also H. J. Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis* (T.U. xxxvi.), 1910.

lines on one side or the other was either corrected by the original scribe or noted by him in the margin by numeral letters. Scrivener has been able to show from such cases that the exemplar had lines like those of Codex Bezae, but was not identical with it in the contents of the pages.<sup>1</sup>

influence of  
Latin on  
Greek.

Reference has already been made to the influence of the Latin page in causing errors, for instance in endings, in the Greek text. This latinizing influence has produced a far-reaching effect on the Greek text, the precise range of which is difficult to determine. The Latin rendering (due to the poverty of Latin in participial forms) of a Greek participle and finite verb by two finite verbs connected by 'and' is probably the cause of the unusual number of corresponding variants in the Greek D. In some cases *καί* alone has been introduced from the Latin, without change in the Greek participle. Thus Mark vii. 25 ἐλθουσα καὶ προσεπεσεν (*intravit et proccidit*), xi. 2 λυσαντες αὐτου καὶ ἀγαγετε (*solvite illum et adducite*), xiv. 63 διαρρηξας τοὺς χεῖτωνας αὐτου καὶ λέγει (*soldit vestimenta sua et ait*), Acts xiv. 6 συνιδοντες καὶ κατέφυγον (*intellezerunt et fugerunt*). The necessary addition of a copula in rendering into Latin by a relative sentence has produced an inept imitation in the Greek, e.g. Matt. xi. 28 πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι ἐσται [*for estis*] (*omnes qui laboratis [ . . . ] estis*); Acts xiii. 29 πάντα τα περὶ αὐτου γεγραμμενα εἰσιν (*omnia quae de illo scripta sunt*); xvii. 27 ζητειν τὸ θεῖον ἐστίν (*quaerere quod divinum est*); xxi. 21 τοὺς κατὰ ἐθνη εἰσιν ἰουδαίους (*qui in gentibus sunt judaeos*); so also xi. 1 οἱ (*qui*) added before ἐν τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ. Not so grotesque, but probably due to adjustment to the Latin, are cases where an otiose but not incorrect participle is added; so in Mark v. 40 τοὺς μετ' αὐτου is expanded by the addition of ὄντας to correspond with *qui cum illo erant*, and similarly Mark ii. 25; and with these may be mentioned the frequent supplying of the copula, as in Mark x. 27 τοῦτο ἀδύνατον ἐστίν (*hoc impossibile est*). In a smaller number of cases the attempt to equalize the Greek and

<sup>1</sup> Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, p. xxiii.

Latin lines has caused not the addition but the omission of a word. These attempts at assimilation have sometimes led to secondary complicated, but plainly detectable, corruptions of the Greek. A few other instances out of many that have been collected<sup>1</sup> will serve to suggest the great variety of ways in which latinizing assimilation may reasonably be accepted as the corrupting force at work: Matt. xi. 22, 24 *ανεκτοτερον εστε* (for *εσται*) *εν ημερα κρισεως ην υμειν*, for *η υμιν* (*quam vobis*, misunderstood as if a relative); Matt. v. 24 *προσφερεis*, for *προσφερε* (*offeres*, itself probably corrupted from *offers*); Acts xiii. 10 *υιοι* (*filii*) for *υιος*; Matt. xv. 11, 18, 20, Acts xxi. 28 *κοινωνειν* for *κοινουν* (*communicare*, which means not only 'share,' but also, in Tertullian, 'pollute').<sup>2</sup> Examples, taken from countless others, of words which owe to the Latin either their presence in the text or their form are Matt. xxvi. 6 *λεπρωσου* for *λεπρου*, Acts ii. 11 *αραβοι* for *αραβες*, v. 32 *ον* (referring to *πνευμα*) for *ο*, vii. 43 *ρεμφαμ* for *ρεμφαν*, xvi. 12 *κεφαλη* (*caput*) for *πρωτη*, xvi. 13 *εδοκει* (*videbatur*, i.e. *videbatur*) for *ενομιζετο*, xix. 14 *ιερευς* (*sacerdos*, a common Latin rendering of *αρχιερευς*) for *αρχιερευς*. In many cases there will obviously be great difficulty in deciding whether the corrupting force lay in the Latin or in a similar motive, independent and earlier, within the Greek text itself, but the presence of some degree of latinizing must be admitted in many expressions, and of the great range in which this can be surely assumed the above examples can give but an imperfect notion.

The types of latinizing described above have almost all been such as can be detected from traits present in Codex Bezae. But it is also probable that sometimes the striking omission from D of words and clauses found in other well-known, but less

Omissions  
due to  
Latin.

<sup>1</sup> See J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, 1891, esp. chaps. viii., ix., and x.; von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1323-1337 and pp. 1815-1821, cf. also pp. 1802-1810. For Harris's later view see his *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, 1894, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> In Codex D *κοινωνειν* for *κοινουν* is found uniformly in Matthew, never in Mark, and in one case out of three in Acts.

continuous, witnesses to the 'Western' text is to be associated with the fact that these 'glosses' are not found in all or most of the Old Latin witnesses known to us. Thus in the complicated passage Acts xviii. 21, 22, the important sentences τὸν δὲ Ἀκύλαν εἶλασεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναχθεῖς ἦλθεν are found in 614, *hcl.mg*, and in part in other Greek minuscules and in the Peshitto, but not in D d, nor in any Latin text whatever. It is natural to suppose that the words belonged to the fundamental Greek text from which D is drawn, but were omitted because nothing in the Latin version corresponded to them. The alternative supposition of an excision in order to conform to the Antiochian text is rendered unlikely by the number of 'Western' readings remaining in the immediate context of D d. Similarly, at the close of Acts xiv. 18 the words ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια are found translated in *hcl.mg*, and have survived in Greek in C 81 614 and many minuscules; but they are lacking in D d and all Latin texts (except that h contains a clause vaguely resembling the Greek, perhaps a loose paraphrase of it). Other examples of the same phenomenon could be collected (cf. some of the omissions mentioned below, pp. cccxxvi-viii).

Theory of  
influence of  
Syriac.

That the Greek text of Codex Bezae has been influenced from the Syriac has also been strongly urged,<sup>1</sup> and some of the facts can be explained thereby, just as they can from the Latin, and in some instances ingenuity can point out with considerable plausibility that a possible confusion in the Syriac text would account for the variant in the Greek. But whereas influence from Latin is naturally indicated as likely to take place in a graeco-latin codex, the theory of Syriac influence has no such

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*, 1893; *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, 1895; cf. J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 178-188. A similar view was favoured many years earlier by J. D. Michaelis, *Einführung in die göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, 3rd ed., 1777, pp. 503 f. (but cf. pp. 336-340), and David Schulz, *Disputatio de Cod. D Cantabrigiensi*, Breslau, 1827, p. 16; but Chase was the first to undertake to explain completely and in detail the 'Western' text as the product of influence from the Syriac version. For criticism of Chase's theory see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894, pp. 14-34, 68-81.

*prima facie* probability, and in order to be accepted requires telling instances of demonstrative force, such as are actually found in some of the instances of latinizing cited above. This proof, however, is not forthcoming, and the point is well taken that for some of the frequently occurring characteristics of D the Syriac offers no explanation whatever. Thus the addition of the copula is against Syriac idiom, and such a variant as the addition in Acts xiv. 2 ο δε κυριος εδωκεν ταχυ ειρηνην cannot have been drawn from a Syriac expansion, for the corresponding Syriac would mean, not 'give peace,' but 'say farewell.'<sup>1</sup> There are in D some Semitic traits, such as the use of Hebrew, instead of Aramaic, in the words from the Cross in Matt. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34; the readings απο καρνωτου John xii. 4, xiii. 2, 26, xiv. 22 (also in κ John vi. 71), σαμφουρειν for εφραιμ, John xi. 54, and perhaps ουλαμματος for εμματος, Luke xxiv. 13.<sup>2</sup> Also the otiose αυτοις Acts xiv. 2 might be Semitic; μετα των ψυχων αυτων Acts xiv. 27 sounds more Semitic than Greek. But these are isolated phenomena, and a better explanation of some of them will be found below (pp. ccxlii-iv). The theory of systematic or continuous Syriac influence does not furnish a satisfactory solution of the problem of Codex Bezae.

It is not to be supposed that all the peculiarities and errors of Codex Bezae were introduced at the latest, or at any single earlier stage. Much of the orthography is doubtless very ancient, or possibly original. Scribal errors of the various usual types may have been introduced at each copying, including that which produced the codex itself. The adjustment of the Greek to the Latin and the converse (of which something will be said later) may well have taken place, in part at least, in different periods. An interesting illustration of a succession of corruptions which must have preceded the present text is the unique reading

Successive  
corrup-  
tions.

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Four Lectures*, pp. 69 f. It is to be observed that Chase's theory was quite as much intended to explain the variants of the 'Western' text as the eccentricities of Codex Bezae.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. von Dobschütz, *E. Nestlé's Einführung in das griechische N.T.*, 1923, p. 5.

Luke xxii. 52 *στρατηγους του λαου* (for *ιερου*, d *praepositos populi*). Here *λαου* seems clearly a corruption for *ναου*, and that again a substitute (intelligible, but incorrect in point of technical usage) for *ιερου* of all other witnesses. In general, if at first the Latin was made approximately to correspond with the Greek, the widespread assimilation of the Greek to the Latin may have been due to the pains of a later scribe; or both assimilations may have been made concurrently—now from one side, now from the other—when this bilingual edition was first constructed. One stage in the ancestry of our codex may have been an interlinear graeco-latin text, like the Codex Boernerianus (G<sup>paul</sup>).

Opinions  
on Latin  
influence.

The general relation of the Greek text of Codex Bezae and the Latin version associated with it has long been the subject of discussion.<sup>1</sup> The two texts, as they stand, bear intricate relations of likeness; yet they are by no means identical,<sup>2</sup> and the difference between them cannot as a whole be accounted for by later correction of one side or the other from the Antiochian text.<sup>3</sup> The older debate revolved about too simple a formulation of the question, and was too much interested in proving or disproving the worthlessness of the codex for the practical uses of textual critics. The seventeenth-century scholars, from Erasmus to Grotius (except Morinus<sup>4</sup>), seem to have held that the Greek text of D had been so adapted to the Latin version as to be practically worthless. A more moderate view was that of Mill (1707), who deemed the Greek text to have been copied from a

<sup>1</sup> See Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 41-48.

<sup>2</sup> Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. xxxix f., states that nearly 2000 divergencies are found between the Greek and the Latin. Of these Acts contains 631, of which 285 are "real various readings" of some consequence, on the Latin side not infrequently showing agreement with the Vulgate.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, how the Antiochian (or Old Uncial) correction in chap. xviii. has affected both Greek and Latin equally. But some cases of one-sided correction can be pointed out; thus Acts xix. 39 *πεινι ειρην* seems to be a correction in accord with NA Antiochian, while the corresponding Latin *ulterius* has retained the 'Western' reading, as found also in sig.

<sup>4</sup> J. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicae de hebraei graecique textus sinceritate*, Paris, 1600, lib. i., exerc. ii., c. iii., pp. 47-54. Morinus, convinced of the superiority of the Latin Vulgate, rejoiced to find Vulgate readings confirmed by Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus.

Greek original, similar to that from which the Latin version was made, but later to have been altered in conformity to the Latin at a few points here and there ("*paucula hinc inde*"), and who gives well-chosen examples of such readings.<sup>1</sup> Wetstein (*Prolegomena*, 1751) agreed with Mill; and Middleton (1808)<sup>2</sup> urged with much vigour the latinizing tendency of D as evidence (and as one cause) of its worthlessness. Meanwhile, however, J. D. Michaelis<sup>3</sup> had pointed out that this tendency, if it existed, explained but a small part of the peculiarities of D, and Griesbach<sup>4</sup> protested that the conformation to the Latin was negligible, and that the Greek text itself was of Greek origin and a witness to a very ancient stage of the text of the Gospels and Acts. With Griesbach agreed Marsh in his notes to the translation of Michaelis's Introduction (1793), and this general view appears to have held the ground through the greater part of the nineteenth century. Hort ('Introduction,' 1881, pp. 82 f.) regarded d as of little practical value for Old Latin evidence, because it had been "altered throughout into verbal conformity with the Greek text by the side of which it had been intended to stand"; again (p. 120), he refers with contempt to the "whimsical theory" that "the Western Greek text owed its peculiarities to translation from the Latin"; in his account of Codex Bezae (pp. 148 f.) he makes no reference whatever to any latinizing tendency in the ms. Similarly Burkitt regards Codex Bezae as a Greek book with a Latin version.<sup>5</sup> But in the meantime J. R. Harris, in his *Codex Bezae*, 1891, presented at length the opposing theory that "the major part," or (p. 203) nine-tenths, of the variants in the Acts of D are due to the attempt to make the Greek text conform to the Latin, and drew attention to a great body of

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, par. 1282.

<sup>2</sup> T. F. Middleton, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article*, 1808, Appendix, pp. 677-698.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleitung*, 4th ed., 1788, pp. 582 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Symbolae criticae*, vol. i., 1785, pp. cx-cxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xii., 1901-2, p. 505. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, p. xxxi: "The Latin version is little better than a close and often servile rendering of the actually existing Greek."



evidence in support of this claim.<sup>1</sup> Von Soden assigns a large place to latinization.

elation of  
reek and  
atan sides.

The result of this debate has been to establish that D can neither be rejected as worthless, on the ground that it is secondary and dependent throughout on the Latin, nor yet used, in a fashion which has been all too common, as in every respect a trustworthy witness, as it stands, to the 'Western' text. The Latin d, while it has no doubt been affected in countless readings by its Greek partner, is yet by no means a mere literal translation of the Greek D, but neither is D a mere late construction designed to give Greek support to d. Both sides are mixed texts, and this is exactly what our knowledge of other manuscripts written with parallel columns would lead us to expect. Indeed, the interaction is probably less marked in Codex Bezae than in cases where the single lines are shorter. In the very short lines (one to three words each, on the average) of Origen's Hexapla the order of words in the LXX column is believed to have been altered to match the others.<sup>2</sup> In many graeco-latin Psalters from the sixth to the tenth century the Greek text has been altered to conform to the Latin.<sup>3</sup> Codex Boernerianus (G<sup>psal</sup>) is said to show conformation in both directions.<sup>4</sup> Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>psal</sup>) probably shows correction of the Latin to agree with the Greek.<sup>5</sup> The case of Codex Laudianus (E<sup>ao</sup>) is discussed below.<sup>6</sup> From a much later date (fourteenth or fifteenth century)

<sup>1</sup> Searching criticism of Harris's views were contained in two excellent articles by A. S. Wilkins, 'The Western Text of the Greek Testament,' *Nezposnik*, 4th series, vol. x., 1894, pp. 386-400, 409-428. Wilkins admits the existence of latinizing influence, but points out that many of Harris's examples are not convincing, and that in many cases variation common to D and d "may have originated in either."

<sup>2</sup> A. Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, 1922, pp. 69 f., n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, pp. 94-101.

<sup>4</sup> E. Diehl, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xx., 1921, p. 107; Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Jülicher, *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, p. 182, speaks of the "Unmöglichkeit," that D and E should have been conformed to d and e, but the author informs me that the word is a mistake of the press, or the pen, for 'Möglichkeit.'

Codex 629 (Vat. ottobon. 298, see Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 635) has a Greek text extensively accommodated to its parallel Vulgate columns. The Latin codex f of the Gospels is thought to be drawn from a bilingual Gothic-Latin codex in which the Latin had been altered to correspond with the Gothic.<sup>1</sup> Even the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot transposed the Greek to make it agree in order of words with their Hebrew column.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the other kinds of corruption, the latinized element in D must always be kept in mind in using Codex Bezae. In such cases the only safe or possible method is by comparison with other witnesses to the same type of text. It cannot be admitted that a Latin influence is accountable for the 'Western' variants found equally in other Greek, Syriac, and Sahidic sources.<sup>3</sup> Where such evidence is at hand, we may accept the text of D as free from influence from d. Contrariwise, the renderings of d can be supposed to be directly translated from D only where no other Old Latin witness attests them. Within the field thus narrowed, where either D or d can be a direct translation from the other, many cases will be so related to Latin or to Greek idiom, or to the recognizable characteristics of the Greek 'Western' reviser, as to point convincingly to a conclusion; many others will not. Often doubt will remain. In considering this question it must never be forgotten that the process of mind of a scribe improving the text is in many respects essentially the same as

<sup>1</sup> Burkatt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i., 1899-1900, p. 131; vol. xi., 1909-10, p. 613; Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Evangelia, 1889, pp. 653 f., hold f to represent substantially the Old Latin text on which the Vulgate revision was founded.

<sup>2</sup> Flaminius Nobilius, in *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX latine redditum*, 1588 (fourth page of 'Praefatio ad lectorem'), cited by G. F. Moore, 'The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint,' *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xxix., 1912, pp. 57 f.

<sup>3</sup> It is for this reason that the striking contentions of Harris with regard to the reading, Luke xxiii. 53, *καὶ θέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπεθήκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λείθον ὃν μογὶς εἰκοσι ἐκυλίων*, remain unconvincing. Since the Sahidic, and not merely some Old Latin texts, bears witness to it, it must be supposed to have arisen in Greek, and the imperfect Latin hexameter, *imposuit lapidem quem vix viginti movebant*, must be accounted for, as it can be, by assuming it to be the work of an ingenious Latin translator from the Greek.

that of a translator into another language. That d has affected D seems beyond doubt in view of such facts as those adduced above (pp. lxxii-lxxiv); but the proof is in most cases demonstrative only for details, many cases must remain doubtful, and in a great mass of instances, including most of the larger and more interesting readings, Codex Bezae has certainly preserved approximately the Greek text of the 'Western' recension.<sup>1</sup>

Latin text  
of Codex  
Bezae.

The Latin text of d is not carefully written, but offers to the student of late and dialectal Latin a great storehouse of facts which seem to have been but little used by philologists.<sup>2</sup> The obstacles to the use of it for the Old Latin have already been sufficiently indicated. That it has been extensively corrected to correspond to the Greek text would be expected, and is altogether probable.<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly the Greek text from which was made the Latin version on which d rests was a 'Western' text closely akin to the fundamental text which appears in corrupt form in D. Of the character of the Latin rendering found in Codex Bezae more will be said below in connexion with the Old Latin version in general (p. cxi).

Contamina-  
tion from  
non-  
western  
Texts.

An extensive influence of capital importance which came in after the fundamental text of Codex Bezae was formed, but early enough to control also the Latin side, was the introduction, sometimes by conflation, sometimes by substitution, of readings not 'Western,' but drawn from the rival type of text.<sup>4</sup> Whether

<sup>1</sup> With Codex Laudianus (E) the situation is different, as will be shown below.

<sup>2</sup> The chief study of these is to be found in Harris, *Codex Bezae*, chaps. iv., v., xii, xix., xxvi. Cf. K. S. de Vogel, *Bulletin Rylands Library*, viii., 1921, pp. 398-403. On nomina sacra in d see Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 178 f.

<sup>3</sup> So Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 82; but the arguments and illustrations put forward by Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiae*, pp. xxxi-xxxiv, do not prove this, as is shown by Wilkins, *Repositor*, 4th series, vol. x., 1894, pp. 390-392. The proof can be brought by a collection of instances where readings of d not attested elsewhere in Latin correspond to readings of D that are shown by other evidence to be genuine Greek variants.

<sup>4</sup> Especial attention was called to this phenomenon by the memorable essay of P. Coerssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, Berlin, 1892; see also *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1901, pp. 9 f. Blass, *Acta apostolorum*, editio philologica, 1895, p. 25, admits this contamination; as does B. Weiss, *Der*

these came from the Old Uncial text of B and its associates or from the Antiochian text has not been fully determined, although an answer to that question could probably be found.<sup>1</sup> In some cases the source seems to be the Antiochian text,<sup>2</sup> and this would be what the general history of textual succession and contamination would lead us to expect. As a striking and representative example of such conflation reference may be made to Acts xviii. 3-6 (see Textual Note), where the original 'Western' text without conflation is found in the Syriac *hcl.mg* and the African Latin *h*. A remarkable instance of the contamination is Acts iv. 13-15, where in D one small addition is almost the only indication that its fundamental text once possessed widely different readings which are still in large measure recoverable from the Latin *h* and the Peshitto. Sometimes in the process of such conflation a necessary word was accidentally omitted (so *η σωτηρια* in Acts iv. 12; see Textual Note), but the student has no right to assume this except where other reasons show that such a process of substitution or insertion has taken place. In some cases the omission in D of words still found in other witnesses to the 'Western' text is doubtless due to deliberate conformation to the rival text.<sup>3</sup>

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*Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xvii.), 1897, pp. 15 f., albeit on a small scale. The latter gives some examples; he assumes that the source of the mixture was the Old Uncial text.

<sup>1</sup> In the Textual Notes below, when such conflations are discussed, the term 'B-text' has often been used for convenience of brevity without regard to the distinction pointed out here, and without prejudice to the question of whether the contamination came from the Old Uncial text or from the Antiochian text which had been developed from it.

<sup>2</sup> See von Soden, pp. 1309-11, 1722 f. For Acts he adduces the Antiochian readings in x. 46-xi. 2, xi. 3-20, and finds instances here, as in the Gospels, of the misunderstanding of corrections from the Antiochian text on the part of the scribe of D or its ancestor. Von Soden (p. 1310) is of opinion that these intrusions in the Gospels are the work of more than one of the successive owners and copyists.

<sup>3</sup> Von Soden, p. 1723. In such cases as xvii. 17, where a misplacement of lines occurs only in d, this is probably due to the misplaced substitution of the non-western text for the original 'Western.' The observation is confirmed both by the fact that *rous* (before *εν τη αγορα*) added to the usual text in D *hcl.mg* *sah* seems to imply an original *παρρυχοισιν* instead of *προς τους παρρυχοτας* and by the form *his* in company with (twice) *his* in d.

It would be tedious to multiply illustrations of this characteristic of Codex Bezae. The facts can be properly weighed only after a careful study of the instances themselves and of the outside evidence bearing on them; many of them are touched on in the Textual Notes. But the fact plainly advises wariness to every student of the 'Western' text, and the following list of passages (but a small part of the whole number) where contamination of this sort is probably present in D may be useful, and is certainly instructive: i. 2, 9; ii. 14; iii. 8, 11, 13; iv. 5, 10, 12, 34; v. 26, 27, 28, 29; vii. 26, 43, 55; xii. 5; xiii. 3, 4, 27-29, 44; xiv. 5, 15, 18, 19, 21; xv. 5, 18; xvi. 4, 38, 39; xvii. 1; xviii. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 19, 21, 22; xix. 8, 20, 29; xx. 7, 18, 35; xxii. 6. In the study of such cases as these it must be borne in mind that agreement between the text of D and the Antiochian may be due to the adoption of 'Western' readings by the Antiochian, not to contamination of D from the latter. A decision will have to be reached in each case partly by considering the outside evidence for the reading, but partly also from the intrinsic character of the reading itself. The two texts have each its own distinctive character, which the student learns in a measure to recognize. It is likewise to be observed that the agreement of D and one or more of the Old Uncials may either have arisen from contamination or be due to participation in the same ancient, perhaps original, text. No mechanical rule, such as critics have often attempted to frame, can be applied in these cases.

*Use of D.* The proper mode of using Codex Bezae is determined by the characteristics which have been described. Its Greek side is unique in furnishing a continuous 'Western' text of Acts. But that 'Western' text was copied with many scribal errors, has been conformed to the parallel Latin in details on a large scale, has probably suffered the excision of clauses not found in the Latin used to make the bilingual, while in many striking instances, and doubtless in many others not so easy to recognize, it has been altered, at some time before the present copy was made, so as to agree either with the Antiochian text or with the text of B and

its associates. All these various sources of corruption must be constantly borne in mind, and only when their distorting effects have been recognized in every case can the fundamental Greek text be discovered of which D is a broken light. In other words, D, although the oldest Greek text of Acts containing many 'Western' readings, and the only one possessing anything like continuity, is, like the other witnesses, but mixed after all.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the antiquated character of some of the spelling,<sup>2</sup> as well as other traits, give confidence that where the well-known sources of corruption have not been at work, the copying has been highly faithful, in the sense that the form of the 'Western' text, so far as it has been preserved at all, has not been 'modernized.'<sup>3</sup> Another aspect of this consideration is the warning that extraordinary readings of D ought never to be neglected as insignificant. Senseless as they seem, they sometimes prove to be not mere blunders of a thoughtless scribe, but genuine survivals of an ancient text. For instance, in Acts xiii. 29 the meaningless *μεν* probably represents *μετα* of the fundamental 'Western' text, as discoverable from a comparison of D with the astericized and marginal readings of the Harclean Syriac; in Acts iv. 18 *παρηγγειλαντο κατα το* represents the reading *παρηγγειλαν το καθολου* found also in A and the Antiochian text. The text of Codex Bezae is far more than an accumulation of scribal errors combined with the influence of the Latin version.

What has been said will have already made abundantly clear the important distinction, not generally sufficiently noticed, between the text of D and the 'Western' text. Each of these constitutes a problem for itself, and these two problems must, so

<sup>1</sup> The large number of agreements, often small but nevertheless significant, of *posh* and *h*, and of *posh* and *gigas*, against D also seem to show that the text of D has been corrected, and true 'Western' readings eliminated, to a greater extent than would otherwise be suspected.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what is said on the use of *ζμ* and *ιβ* for *σμ* and *σβ* in J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. ii., 1919, p. 107; Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 108; and Rudberg (above, p. lxxi note 1).

<sup>3</sup> On the *nomina sacra* in D see Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 78 f.

far as possible, be kept separate.<sup>1</sup> The discussion at the present point of this Essay is intended to relate to the problems of Codex Bezae; the questions relating to the 'Western' text (to which it is only one, although the most important, witness) will find their place at a later stage of the discussion.<sup>2</sup>

Of a different nature from the excellent edition of Codex Bezae by Scrivener (1864) are a succession of New Testament texts mainly or largely founded on this ms.: Bornemann, *Acta apostolorum ad Codicis Cantabrigiensis fidem recensuit*, 1848; Blass, 'editio philologica,' 1895, and in smaller form with a somewhat different text, 1896; Hilgenfeld, *Acta apostolorum*, 1899. Whiston published an English translation in 1745; J. M. Wilson another in 1923. Zahn's reconstruction of the Greek 'Western' text in his *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, ix.), 1916, uses all the available evidence, and is a work of permanent importance. Nestle's collation of D in his *Novi Testamenti graeci supplementum*, 1896, will be valuable to the student for some purposes, but no presentation of the variants, however complete, can take the place of the use of the continuous text of D.

### E. CODEX LAUDIANUS<sup>3</sup>

History. Codex Laudianus (graeco-latin, containing Acts only) was in Sardinia at some date after the year 534, as is shown by a note

<sup>1</sup> The theories of Blass, von Soden, Harris (Montanistic), and A. C. Clark pertain to the 'Western' text in general rather than to Codex Bezae in particular, and are accordingly reserved for later mention. On the theory of Credner, adopted by Alfred Resch, that the text of Codex Bezae was of Jewish-Christian (Ebionite) origin, it is sufficient to refer to the crushing criticism of J. R. Harris, 'Credner and the Codex Bezae,' in *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, pp. 1-13.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'Bezan text,' by which it was sought to avoid the fallacy (or at least the *petitio principii*) implied in the name 'Western text,' has done more positive harm than the latter.

<sup>3</sup> For a more extended discussion of E see J. H. Ropes, 'The Greek Text of Codex Laudianus,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi., 1923, pp. 175-186, from which some paragraphs and sentences are here used without substantial change. Much additional material is also to be found in von Soden, pp. 1717-1720, 1811-1814.

in the volume, and may well have been written in that island in the late sixth or early seventh century. The opening years of the eighth century found it in England at Jarrow, for it is the Greek codex abundantly referred to by the Venerable Bede in his commentary on Acts. It is likely that it was brought to England from Italy by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid not long after 650 (rather than by Theodore of Tarsus in 668, for the latter is not recorded to have brought any books).<sup>1</sup> The scribe of Codex Amiatinus (shortly before 716) seems here and there to have drawn readings from its Latin side.

At a later date the codex was in Germany, doubtless transported thither by one of the English missionaries, Willibrord or Boniface, or some one of the latter's disciples.<sup>2</sup> Its home may have been the monastery of Würzburg, and it may have come to that house, like many other manuscripts, through Burchard, whom Boniface consecrated bishop of Würzburg in 741 or earlier.<sup>3</sup> In 1631, during the 'Thirty Years' War, Würzburg was sacked by the Swedish army, and Codex E was somewhere obtained by the agents employed in Germany by Archbishop Laud to purchase manuscripts which became available through the disorders of the time. Laud gave it to the Bodleian Library in 1636.

The scribe of E was a Greek, who knew his own language better than Latin, although he wrote both with reasonable accuracy. The manuscript was copied from a similar bilingual predecessor.<sup>4</sup>

As between the Latin and Greek columns there are some differences, enough to show that the Latin is not a mere rendering

Depend-  
ence of  
Greek on  
Latin text.

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908, pp. 158, 160.

<sup>2</sup> The proof that the codex was in Germany before it fell into the hands of Laud was, it would appear, first observed by E. W. B. Nicholson, Librarian of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Turner, art. 'New Testament, Text of,' in Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (ed. W. O. Piercy), 1908, p. 586; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 1913, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> A. Julicher, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, pp. 182 f.



of this Greek text; but they consist in most cases of trifling variations in a single word, while agreement has been secured by systematic adjustment of the two columns to one another. The Latin text shows many instances of Latin solecisms, and strange expressions, plainly due to imitation of the Greek, and not drawn from the Latin 'gigas-recension,' which was used as the foundation of the text.<sup>1</sup> The Greek, on the other hand, has been modified to make it agree with the Latin. Thus, Acts vi. 7, the old Latin translation *discentium* for των μαθητων has evidently given rise to the Greek των μανθανοντων, which is quite as impossible Greek as 'the learners' for 'the disciples' would be in an English translation; so also, xii. 14, the Latin *januam* for τον πυλωνα, evidently the cause of the unique Greek reading την θυραν; xxiv. 25, καιρω δε επιτηδιω for καιρον δε μεταλαβων, and other cases.

In a considerable series of instances where even the partly expurgated Latin version used for this codex had retained 'Western' enlargements, it was necessary to translate these into Greek in order to equalize the two columns, and that this took place is made certain by the difference in the Greek form from the corresponding 'Western' reading in D. Thus, to cite a few of the instances:

	ⲉ	Ε	D
iii. 13. in iudicium		εις κριτηριον	εις κρισιν
iv. 32. et non erat separatio in eis ulla		και ουκ ην χωρισμος εν αυτοις τις	και ουκ ην διακρισις εν αυτοις ουδεμα
v. 15. et liberarentur ab omni validudine quam habebant		και ρυσθωσιν απο πασης ασθενιας ης ειχον	απηλλασσοντο γαρ απο πασης ασθενιας ως ειχεν ακαστος αυτων
vi. 10. propter quod redarguerentur ab eo cum omni fiducia: cum ergo non possent contradicere veritati		διοτι ηλεγχοντο υπ αυτου μετα πασης παρρησιας· επιδη ουκ ηδυναντο αντιλεγειν τη αληθεια	δια το ελεγχεσθαι αυτους εκ αυτου μετα πασης παρρησιας· μη δυναμενοι ουκ' αυτοφθαλμειν τη αληθεια

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita, Nova collectio*, vol. ix. pp. xvi f.; Jullicher, *op. cit.* pp. 183-185.

e	E	D
xiu 43 factum est autem per uni- versam civi- tatem diffa- mani verbum	εγενετο δε κατα πασαν πολιν φημισθηναι τον λογον	εγενετο δε καθ ολης της πολεως διελθειν τον λογον του θυ
xiv. 7. et commota est omnis multi- tudo in doctrina eorum. paulum autem et bama- bas moraban- tur in lystris	και εξεκλησασετο πασα η πολυπληθεια επι τη δι- δαχη αυτων. ο δε παυλος και βαρναβας διετριβον εν λυστροις	και εκινηθη ολον το πληθος επι τη διδαχη ο δε παυλος και βαρναβας διετριβον εν λυστροις

In many of the simple phrases and words the appropriate Greek rendering was inevitable, and could not fail to agree with the original, as found in D or elsewhere, but in the more complicated instances (a few of which are given above) the well-educated Greek to whom we owe the retranslation was forced to go his own way, and produced a different text from the parallel in the Greek authorities, with which he would seem not to have been acquainted. In some few cases the readings of E may possibly be due to sporadic 'Western' readings in the Greek codex from which it is derived, but the observed facts cause the presumption in any single case to be against such an origin. The text itself bears hardly any, if any, resemblance to D, except in readings which are probably the result of retranslation from the Latin. It is not to be regarded as in any sense a witness to a Greek 'Western' text, although of course its Latin column (e) rests in part on such a text. The Greek text properly so called from which E (or, rather, its ancestor <sup>1</sup>) was taken was one of the Old Uncial type which had been extensively corrected to the Antiochian type. To judge by an incomplete examination, perhaps in somewhat more than two-thirds of the cases where an Antiochian variant might have been introduced, the corrector who effected that ancient mixture has actually introduced it. Codex Laudianus, apart from Latinisms, thus gives substantially an Antiochian text of Acts, and is the oldest extant codex of any degree of completeness which does so. Its 'Western' readings on the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Julicher, *Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, pp. 182 f.

side can teach us nothing, and may rightly, as mere curiosities, disappear from the apparatus to Acts. The Greek of Codex Laudianus is therefore not included in any apparatus of the present volume, although its readings are sometimes adduced, for the sake of completeness, in the Textual Notes.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. THE TEXT OF CODICES B&AC IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Bearing of  
LXX on  
New  
Testament  
textual  
criticism.

From the beginning the Greek-speaking Christian Church read the Old Testament in Greek translations, and from these were made the early versions of the Old Testament into Latin, the Egyptian vernacular dialects, and Ethiopic. The text of the Greek Old Testament was consequently subjected to some of the same influences, and underwent in part the same history, as the text of the New Testament. The four oldest extant New Testament manuscripts (Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi) are pandects which originally contained the whole Bible in Greek; and other manuscripts contain, in whole or in part, both the Old and New Testaments. Especially the Psalter was in ancient times, as to-day, included in the same volume with the New Testament. Not only do the results of textual criticism of the Greek Old Testament reveal a parallel to the process of New Testament textual development, but they throw light on the specific character and value of the New Testament part of the four great Bibles. The use of these results, however, calls for discriminating judgment: for the history of the Septuagint contains elements wholly lacking in that of the New Testament; the character of any great Bible is likely to vary in different parts; and it would be easy to draw utterly wrong conclusions by making direct inferences, not independently supported, from one field to the adjacent one. Nevertheless, both the guidance

<sup>1</sup> For substantially the same conclusion with regard to Codex E see H. Coppiniers, *De historia textus Actorum Apostolorum*, Louvain, 1902, pp. 68-71; F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 4996; F. Blass, *Acta apostolorum*, 1895, pp. 28 f.

and the confirmation furnished by Septuagint criticism are to be highly prized. With these considerations in view it has seemed worth while at this point to interrupt the account of the sources for the text of Acts with a summary of the main results thus far reached in the investigation of the four great Bibles which originally contained both the Old and New Testaments in Greek.

Of the Septuagint the two great editions by which a wide influence was exerted were the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla (completed A.D. 240-245) and the edition of Lucian of Antioch (died at Nicomedia in 311 or 312). In Origen's edition stood a text drawn by him from some previous copy, which he approved but modified in three ways: (1) by slight tacit improvements, and by occasional rearrangements (in detail or on a larger scale) for the sake of agreement with the other columns; (2) by prefixing obeli, and appending metobeli, to Greek words to which nothing in the original Hebrew corresponded; (3) by the interjection of Greek words, phrases, and passages, not found in the LXX-text on which in the main he drew, but required in order to supply the *plus* of the Hebrew. These intruded words and portions were marked by asterisks and metobeli, and were themselves usually drawn from the version (made from the Hebrew) of Theodotion or of Aquila.<sup>1</sup> From the huge series of codices which were part of Origen's legacy to the library at Caesarea, his fifth column was copied, with the critical marks, in the early fourth century, under the supervision, partly perhaps by the hand, of Pamphilus († 309) and his venerator Eusebius the church historian, and was doubtless used in various ways in the formation and correction of other copies, so that it produced a definite edition, large knowledge of which is still recoverable in greater or less accuracy and completeness from many manuscripts.

The edition of Lucian of Antioch had in part the same purpose as that of Origen, to bring the current Greek translation

<sup>1</sup> H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1914, pp. 59-78.

Hesychius.

of the Old Testament into closer harmony with the Hebrew original; in part his aim was to produce a more polished, and otherwise improved, translation. But Origen mainly limited himself to creating an instrument for the use of scholars; while Lucian's edition was merely a new text, not provided with critical apparatus. A fair number of extant mss. can be identified as giving, often in corrupt form, this edition. The shadowy figure of Hesychius, whose text, we are told by Jerome, was used in the fourth century in Egypt, must also be mentioned here, but it constitutes a problem of critical inquiry, not a starting-point of further investigation. He has been thought to be a contemporary of Lucian, but all that is known of his work is that it can have affected but little the previously existing text.<sup>1</sup>

The first task of Septuagint textual criticism is thus to determine as perfectly as possible from mss., versions, and patristic evidence the exact form of the 'hexaplaric' and of the 'Lucianic' texts, and then to inquire how far either or both of these two great sources of influence have affected the several copies of the Septuagint which we possess. In the mss. which include several groups of Old Testament books, the inquiry has to be made for each group separately, and sometimes different books of the same group are found to vary in their type of text within a single manuscript. Recent critical investigations cover a part of the Old Testament. The most elaborate and instructive so far published are those by Alfred Rahlfs and the scholars who, under his incentive and supervision, and following the traditions of Lagarde, have issued preliminary studies for the edition of the Septuagint planned by the Göttingen Academy. But other scholars in their measure have made important contributions.<sup>2</sup>

Codex  
Vaticanus.

For a series of books it has been shown that Codex Vaticanus

<sup>1</sup> A. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, pp. 226 f.

<sup>2</sup> See F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila*, 1887, pp. 18-20; L. Dieu, 'Les Manuscrits grecs des livres de Samuel,' *Le Muséon*, xxxiv., 1921, pp. 17-60. Other studies are mentioned in the notes below.

gives a text nearly akin to that which Origen found in existence and adopted as the basis of the fifth column of the Hexapla,<sup>1</sup> and that B itself has been influenced by the Hexapla in but small degree, in some books perhaps not at all. This is the case in Joshua, Ruth, 1-4 Kingdoms, Psalms, Ezekiel, and apparently Esther.<sup>2</sup> In probably all of these books B (with, or more often without, support from its closest adherents) shows some peculiar readings, which are usually to be rejected.<sup>3</sup> Of the influence of the Lucianic recension B shows no trace in these books.

In these instances, with which could doubtless be associated other books of which no thorough investigations have yet been produced, B represents a very old LXX-text, which can sometimes be distinguished from other extant strains of pre-origenian text. It contains, however, errors, as compared with these, and

<sup>1</sup> The idea apparently intended by Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863, p. 3, that Codex B was drawn from an edition of the fifth column of the Hexapla with the astericized portions omitted (a view followed by Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 5022, cf. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 96 f.) has been abandoned by Rahlfs in the books treated in his monographs in favour of the conclusion stated in the text. Rahlfs' scrupulously formed judgment may be received with the more confidence in that his work has all been conceived and executed in pursuance of the plans marked out by the master, to whose memory the first instalment of Rahlfs' *Septuagint Studies* is dedicated. For Ezekiel the view suggested by Lagarde was strongly maintained by C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, 1886, pp. 80 f., 94 f., but after criticism by Lagarde himself (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1886; reprinted in *Mittheilungen*, ii. pp. 49 ff.) and by Hort (*The Academy*, December 24, 1887) it was withdrawn by Cornill (*Nachrichten*, Göttingen Academy, vol. xxx., 1888, pp. 194 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> For Joshua I owe this information to Professor Max L. Margolis. For Ruth see Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth* (Mittheilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, vol. iii., Heft 2), 1922, pp. 60, 119; for 1-4 Kingdoms, Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* (Septuaginta-Studien i.), pp. 85-87; for the Psalter, Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 228; for Ezekiel, O. Procksch (cited below); for Esther, L. B. Paton, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther* (International Critical Commentary), 1908, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> So, for instance, Ruth, Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, pp. 120 f.; Kingdoms, Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern*, 1904, pp. 83 f.; in Kingdoms the Ethiopic text sometimes gives the means of restoring the true reading of the type, when B has departed from it (Rahlfs, p. 84).

may be the result of a recension. Rahlfs is disposed to regard the text of B and its congeners as due to the recension of Hesychius. This may be a sagacious conjecture, but seems to furnish no aid to the actual investigation, and there is danger of proceeding as if the conjecture were a ground for inferring the date and Egyptian origin of the text, instead of being itself an inference from the conclusions reached by study of the text itself. Nothing points to influence from any locality outside of Egypt. The great significance of B lies in the general soberness of its text (except in the proper names) and its relative freedom from deliberate revision.

**Daniel.** The text of Daniel in B, as in all Septuagint manuscripts with the exception of the hexaplaric Codex Chisianus, gives the version of Theodotion, and is the best extant copy of that text, with valuable support from the Old Latin and Sahidic, which occasionally provide means for the correction of the text found in B. B shows in Daniel but few mistakes or interpolations, but displays some tendency to abbreviation.<sup>1</sup>

**Psalms.** In the Psalms the situation is in some respects peculiar, and is full of interest for the New Testament critic. The relation, indeed, of the Psalter to the New Testament is unique among Old Testament books, for the liturgical use of the Psalms by Christians, and perhaps also the occasional practice of combining the Psalms with a part or the whole of the New Testament, has led to an agreement in the textual history of the two not found elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> More than one striking illustration of this can be pointed out.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Antiochian (Lucianic) recension of the Psalms, like the corresponding Antiochian recension of the New Testament, became the prevalent form in the Greek-speaking

<sup>1</sup> This statement about Daniel I owe to Professor James A. Montgomery.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat similar is the preservation of Coverdale's English Psalter in the later editions of the Great Bible and in the Prayer Book; also the fact that the Latin text used for the Psalter of the French translation of the thirteenth century was a compilation, not the University of Paris text from which all the rest of the translation was made (S. Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, 1884, p. 155).

world, while in the rest of the Old Testament the prevalent later Greek text was of a different type.<sup>1</sup> Again, in the Psalter the Syrian translator Paul of Tella deliberately deserts the hexaplaric Greek which he elsewhere translates, and follows an entirely different type of text,<sup>2</sup> while similarly Codex Alexandrinus, which in most of the other important books is strongly, and sometimes almost completely, under hexaplaric influence, is not reported as showing any trace of this in the Psalms, but seems to be wholly a combination of pre-origenian and Lucianic elements. It is no accident that both in the Psalms and in the New Testament Codex Alexandrinus is one of the two oldest extant witnesses to the revised Antiochian text, although in both cases in a mixed form.

To return to the matter under discussion, the various extant documents for the Psalter not only exhibit the Lucianic revision, the Hexaplaric text, and the pre-hexaplaric text found in B, the Ethiopic, the Bohairic, and the non-hexaplaric citations of Origen, but also reveal the existence of two other divergent pre-origenian types of text. One of these is found in the Leipzig papyrus L (Universitätsbibliothek, pap. 39) from the southern border of Middle Egypt, in the London papyrus U (Brit. Mus. pap. 37) from Thebes, and in the Sahidic version.<sup>3</sup> It receives some support from Clement of Alexandria, as well as from Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Justin, and Irenaeus. It is not a text of great correctness, but shows a tendency to unrestrained variation, to careless errors due to resemblance of sound and form, to influence from neighbouring and parallel passages, and to licence in making additions, in part prompted by Christian motives (e.g. Ps. l. 9 *απο του αιματος του ξυλου* added after *υσσωπω*; Ps. xciv. 10 *απο του ξυλου* added after *ο κυριος εβασιλευσεν*).

<sup>1</sup> On the reasons why the Lucianic Old Testament failed to gain the same acceptance as the corresponding Antiochian text of the New Testament, see B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, pp. 42 f.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *op. cit.* pp. 122-124.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *op. cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 5, 141-164, 209, 211 f., 219-225.



The other noteworthy divergent text of the Greek Psalms is that underlying the Old Latin.<sup>1</sup> Many manuscripts of one or another form of this are known, including those of the so-called Roman Psalter of Jerome, and it was used by certain Latin church fathers. This Latin translation in a modified form has continued in liturgical use until modern times in Rome (until nearly 1600), Milan, Venice (to 1808), and Spain. It bears some slight relation to the text just mentioned from Upper Egypt (L U Sahidic), and like that text is to be distinguished from the text of B (with Bohairic and Ethiopic), but it is more restrained in character than the Upper Egyptian, and sometimes stands quite alone in offering the original Septuagint reading.

The parallel in some respects to the 'Western Text' of the New Testament offered by these two types is at once apparent, and does not need to be set forth in detail. The two types of the Psalter are alike ancient and both diverge from the text commonly used in the third and later centuries in Lower Egypt (B); one of them was the text from which the early Latin version was made, while the other appears in Upper Egypt, and was an ingredient of the text used by Clement of Alexandria. In the nature of the case, the completeness of the parallel to the New Testament is limited by the fact that the old Syriac fathers used in their Peshitto a version of the Psalms translated directly from the Hebrew, not drawn from the Greek rendering.<sup>2</sup>

The text of the Psalms in B (with which the Bohairic is almost, though not quite, identical, and to which the Ethiopic is only a little less similar) is clearly pre-origenian, being not at all affected by the Hexapla; and probably it is substantially the

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *op. cit.* esp. pp. 25-31, 61-101, 225 f.; Capello, *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique*, pp. 195-211.

<sup>2</sup> A similar parallel to the 'Western Text' of the New Testament, at least in the branch of that text found in the Old Latin version, seems to be indicated by the fact that the Greek text of the Books of Kingdoms on which rest the Latin translations given by Tertullian and by Cyprian (whom Lactantius followed) is unlike any type of Greek text known to us, and in at least one case a Greek reading is implied of which we have otherwise no knowledge whatever; cf. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 1911, pp. 138-143.

text used by Origen as the basis of his fifth column.<sup>1</sup> In the text of B here (as in all other books) are included a number of peculiar readings, which may well be due to later revision and consequently be wrong.<sup>2</sup> In a few instances we find the distinctive reading of the Upper Egyptian (L U Sah) text.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear that B has anywhere been influenced by the Lucianic text.

In certain other books of the Old Testament the relation of texts seems to be quite different. In 1 Esdras, and Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, Torrey has shown that B, whose text in these books he finds to be very corrupt, is similar to Origen's fifth column, but without the astericized portions and with badly damaged forms of the proper names. But the evidence which he presents does not seem to justify his conclusion that B is derived from the Hexapla column, and the facts, so far as given, especially the considerable divergence of B from the Syro-hexaplaric text, suggest rather that here, as in the books referred to in preceding paragraphs, B's text is pre-origenian, and closely similar to that which Origen took as the basis of his LXX-column. The fact that the Hebrew-Aramaic counterpart of 1 Esdras seems to have perished before the later Greek versions were made, and that the Greek version of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah appears to be Theodotion,<sup>4</sup> necessarily restricts the field from which evidence on this point can be drawn.

1 Esdras.  
Chronicles-  
Ezra-  
Nehemiah.

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 228. The determination of the exact character of Origen's text in the Psalter is made difficult through the defection of the Syriac translation of Paul of Tella, which here did not follow the Hexapla but took a wholly different text. This procedure is itself instructive. The Greek hexaplaric fragments are important but meagre. Rahlfs, *op. cit.* pp. 122-124, 109-111.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 228 f., regards these as probably the work of Hesychius. Rahlfs' conclusion that the text of B gives the Hesychian recension is drawn from the agreement of B with Cyril of Alexandria and the Bohairic version (*op. cit.* pp. 183 f., 197, 226-229, 235 f.). See also Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Charles C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, Chicago, 1910, pp. 66-82; cf. Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. i. pp. xx, 13; F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 5019; but see also Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, p. 85, note 2.

The monstrous corruption of the proper names may have taken place at any period, and need not have been limited to the years between Origen and Athanasius; while the supposition that a copy of Origen's column was ever made with the astericized portions (not merely the asterisks themselves) accurately excised, lacks support, so far as appears, from any extant manuscript or text, and is improbable in view of the practice that we do know.<sup>1</sup> Important observations of Torrey are that B and the others of its group were copied from their archetype with extraordinary fidelity, as is shown by the numerous "glaring blunders" which they have preserved in common; that deliberate revision is rarely to be detected in their text; and that B itself is frequently disfigured by omissions due to carelessness. Torrey connects the text of B with Egypt.

Judges. In the Book of Judges, B gives not the Septuagint proper but a different translation, found in a number of other mss. and made with the aid of an Egyptian form of the LXX-text. This version was used by Cyril of Alexandria († 444), and is that rendered by the Sahidic version but by no other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Torrey, *op. cit.* chap. iv. pp. 82-114 (first published in *Studies in Memory of William Ramey Harper*, vol. ii., Chicago, 1908). Torrey's conclusions as to the hexaplaric character of B were probably affected by his understanding that the subscription to Nehemiah in  $\aleph$  is from the original scribe of the ms. On this point we must take the judgement of the only two scholars who have studied the original codex itself, Tischendorf and Lake, both of whom hold the subscription to be the work of one of the correctors known as  $\aleph^c$ . It is to be noted that one of these correctors,  $\aleph^{c-b}$  (from whom this subscription may come), perhaps followed in general in his corrections a hexaplar text; cf. O. Froesch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten*, 1910, p. 85; also G. Bardy, 'Notes sur les recensions hésychienne et hexaplaire du livre de Néhémie (II. Esdras),' in *Revue Biblique*, vol. v., 1918, pp. 192-199. But the practical difference between Torrey's view of the relation of B to the Hexapla and that suggested above is in most respects not so great as might at first appear.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Moore, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, 1895, pp. xlv-xlvi, and 'The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint,' in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxix., 1912, pp. 41 f. The discovery of a sixth-century papyrus of Cyril shows that his Old Testament text was even closer to B than could be known from the altered form of the later mss. of Cyril's works, in which the Old Testament text quoted resembles rather that of codices F (fifth cent.) and A; see D. Serruys, 'Un "codex" sur papyrus de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie,' in *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xxxiv., 1910, pp. 110-117.

Of the prophetic books apart from Ezekiel (of which mention Prophets has already been made) it is to be said that in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve, the text of B is more affected by hexaplaric influence, although not a direct copy of the fifth column of the Hexapla, and is less valuable.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the basis of B seems to have been, as in so many books, the same text as that chosen by Origen for his textual work.<sup>2</sup> The tendency of B is not so much to expand the Greek text by large additions of a translation of the *plus* of the Hebrew, as to improve it in detail by the aid of the Hexapla, and especially to omit words and phrases not found in the Hebrew and therefore usually marked by Origen with the obelus. The text of B shows many peculiar readings, not shared by other uncials, and these are usually wrong wherever a decision is possible;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, B is at least nearly free from any influence of Lucian.<sup>4</sup> In the Minor Prophets B (with  $\kappa$ ) is not the text followed by Cyril, so far as our manuscripts of Cyril can be depended on.<sup>5</sup> Daniel has already been mentioned above.

In Job, B follows the Hexapla, with its supplementary additions from Theodotion, as against the abridged text of the Septuagint, which can be reconstructed with the aid of the Sahidic version and those hexaplaric manuscripts which have retained Origen's diacritical marks.<sup>6</sup> Job.

<sup>1</sup> O. Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, edited by R. Kittel, 7), 1910. For the character of BNA in the prophetic books other than Ezekiel, I am mainly dependent on the monograph of Procksch, with reference to which see the review by Bahlfs, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. CLXXII., 1910, pp. 694-705. Compare the remarks of F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius* (Texts and Studies, iii.), 1894, p. cxvii, who finds that in most cases B is free from the hexaplaric insertions, but occasionally contains them, especially in Isaiah. See also P. Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia*, Leipzig, 1920, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Procksch, pp. 68, 112 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Procksch, pp. 52-54, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Procksch, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Procksch, pp. 100 f.; but cf. the article of Serruys mentioned in a previous note.

<sup>6</sup> A. Ceriani, *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II., vol. XXI., 1888, p. 543; Edwin Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, 1889; Dillmann, *Textkritisches zum Buch Ijob* (Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy), 1890; Burkitt, *Encyclo-*  
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Ecclesi-  
astes ;  
Lamenta-  
tions

In Ecclesiastes, B is like all the other mss. in having a text which shows many of the characteristic traits of Aquila's version ; B's text is better than that of any other uncial, but is inferior to the closely kindred Codex 68 (fifteenth century ; copy probably made for Bessarion), which "has the excellencies of B without some of its defects." In Lamentations the text of B is non-hexaplaric ; it shows peculiarities not found elsewhere and perhaps ultimately due to Aquila.<sup>1</sup>

Apoorypha

In the books of the Old Testament to which no Hebrew corresponds, the texts of the different Greek manuscripts sometimes show strong divergences. In the absence of probability that these books (except 1 Esdras and Baruch) were included in Origen's Hexapla, one of the chief instruments of criticism elsewhere used is lacking. Also the question of the Lucianic text does not seem to have been worked out here. In Wisdom the text of B is often inferior to that of A ; in Ecclesiasticus it differs widely from most others, and is inferior ; in Tobit, although the form of the book given in  $\kappa$  may be nearer to the Semitic original, yet it is held that the text of B (with A and the Syriac of Paul of Tella) is probably a more correct form of the Alexandrian version.<sup>2</sup>

Codex  
Sinaiticus.

Of Codex Sinaiticus in the Old Testament only great fragments remain. The Octateuch (except for a few scraps), the books of Kingdoms, 1 Esdras, 2 Chronicles, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, are all lacking, not to mention minor defects. Of what remains, the text is in large measure akin to that of B, but

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*paedia Biblica*, 1903, cols. 5027 f. (Burkitt, *Ency. Bibl.*, cols. 5022, 5027 f., withdraws the view stated in his *The Old Latin and the Itala*, 1896, p. 8, that the original state of the Greek translation survives in the Sahidic.)

<sup>1</sup> On Ecclesiastes see A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes*, Cambridge, 1904, pp. 135-168 ; on Lamentations, F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 5018, 5022.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Harris, 'The Double Text of Tobit,' in *American Journal of Theology*, vol. III., 1899, pp. 541-554. That the text of B in Tobit is certainly an abridgment, is maintained by C. C. Torrey, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. XL., 1922, pp. 237 f., 239, 241 f.

nowhere without marked differences from that manuscript. In Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah,  $\aleph$  belongs to the same group with B, and gives a better text than that or than other of the witnesses to the group.<sup>1</sup> In Esther,  $\aleph$  is much like B, but shows some hexaplaric influence.<sup>2</sup> In the Psalter also its text is much like that of B (but less so than is the Bohairic version); it often shows hexaplaric influence, and has in some cases readings drawn from the Lucianic revision.<sup>3</sup> In the Prophets (Ezekiel is lacking) it forms part of a group with B, and shows as its base a pre-origenian text, similar to that used by Origen for the construction of his fifth column;<sup>4</sup> in common with B it has been sporadically subjected to hexaplaric influence, but reveals on the whole less of this than B and is in general better than B,<sup>5</sup> although it shows Lucianic influence, as B hardly does.<sup>6</sup> Of the revision, whatever it be, that has given B in a series of readings in the Prophets an isolated position  $\aleph$  of course shows no sign;<sup>7</sup> and it stands alone among the uncials far less often than does B, although it contains many orthographic errors.<sup>8</sup>

In Tobit,  $\aleph$  (with the Old Latin) gives a different recension from B.

The extensive corrections of  $\aleph$  known as  $\aleph^{c^a}$  and  $\aleph^{c^b}$  and Correctors.  $\aleph^c$ , made in the fifth, sixth, or seventh century, are important. For the individual discrimination of them, scholars are mainly dependent on Tischendorf's minute study of the codex, supplemented by Lake's observations. First, as to  $\aleph^{c^a}$ . This corrector in Nehemiah has introduced the *plus* of the Hebrew, and made extensive insertions from the Lucianic text (of the doublets), as well as other corrections.<sup>9</sup> In the Psalter he has systematically tried to make the text conform to the Lucianic standard, although

<sup>1</sup> Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 91 f.

<sup>2</sup> L. B. Paton, *Commentary on Esther*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 54, 134 note, 137 note, 217, 235.

<sup>4</sup> Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta. Die Propheten*, pp. 49 ff., 68.

<sup>5</sup> Procksch, pp. 51, 59.

<sup>6</sup> Procksch, p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> Procksch, pp. 46, 54 (cf. pp. 52-54).

<sup>8</sup> Procksch, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Torrey, pp. 96, 97, notes.

he overlooked some readings.<sup>1</sup> In the Prophets also his standard is close to Lucian,<sup>2</sup> as appears to be the case in Job to a large extent,<sup>3</sup> but in Esther it is hexaplaric.<sup>4</sup> A (probably) different corrector of the same period<sup>5</sup> has added notes at the close of Nehemiah and of Esther stating in each case that it (that is, apparently, Codex S) has been compared with "a very old copy" which had been corrected by the hand of Pamphilus the Martyr.<sup>6</sup> The note to Esther states that the copy used as a standard for correction began with 1 Kings and ended with Esther. The natural understanding of this is that the corrector himself made the comparison; although conceivably he might have copied the note from an exemplar which he used for correcting S and which had itself been compared with the codex of Pamphilus. With regard to S<sup>c</sup><sup>b</sup> in the Prophets, the standard by which he worked may be hexaplaric.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 57.      <sup>2</sup> Procksch, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> L. Dieu, as cited below, pp. 272 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paton, *op. cit.* p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> It appears to be impossible to determine which of the correctors known collectively as S<sup>c</sup> wrote these notes, but in any case they are probably not from S<sup>a</sup>; see Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus*, New Testament, pp. vii f., Old Testament, pp. x f. Tischendorf, *Biblicorum codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, vol. 1, 1862, p. 13\*, seems to ascribe them to either S<sup>a</sup> or S<sup>b</sup>; cf. *N.T. graece ex Sinaitico codice*, 1867, pp. lxii f.

<sup>6</sup> Note at the end of Nehemiah:

ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον δεδορωμένον χειρὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Παμφίλου, ὅπερ ἀντίγραφον πρὸς τῷ τέλει ὑποσημειώσις τις ιδιόχειρος αὐτοῦ ὑπέκειτο ἔχουσα οὕτως·

μετελήμθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ Ὀριγένους.

Ἀντωνῖνος ἀντέβαλεν. Πάμφιλος διόρθωσα

Note at the end of Esther:

ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον δεδορωμένον χειρὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Παμφίλου· πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιωτάτου βιβλίου, ὅπερ ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Βασιλειῶν εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑσθὴρ ἐληγεν, τοιαύτη τις ἐν πλάτει ιδιόχειρος ὑποσημειώσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρος ὑπέκειτο ἔχουσα οὕτως·

μετελήμθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ Ὀριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορθωμένα.

Ἀντωνῖνος ὁμολογητῆς ἀντέβαλεν. Πάμφιλος διορθώσατο τεύχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ.

διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὴν καὶ χάριν καὶ πλατυσμὸν καὶ εἶγε μὴ βαρὺ εἰπεῖν τούτῳ τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ παραπλησίον εὐρεῖν ἀντίγραφον οὐ ῥάδιον.

διεφώνη δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ παλαιώτατον βιβλίον πρὸς τὸδε τὸ τεύχος εἰς τὰ κύρια ὀνόματα.

<sup>7</sup> Procksch, p. 85. But is the remark of Procksch more than an inference from the subscriptions to Nehemiah and Esther?

Codex Alexandrinus contains the whole Old Testament, with but a few leaves lacking. Its text, as in the New Testament, is not homogeneous, and shows remarkable phenomena of mixture from widely divergent sources. In Joshua it combines hexaplaric elements with others from "the common text and a residue of readings which seem to rest upon the Palestinian *Koinē* which served as a basis for Theodotion."<sup>1</sup> In Judges it gives the older Greek translation, in a form similar to that which Origen adopted for his fifth column.<sup>2</sup> In Ruth the basis of its text is pre-origenian, but corrected unsystematically from the Hexapla and influenced by other texts.<sup>3</sup> Esther is similar.<sup>4</sup> In 1-4 Kingdoms A is purely hexaplaric.<sup>5</sup> In 1 Esdras and Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah (Theodotion) the text of A is pre-origenian, and here, although somewhat corrupted in transmission and (in the latter group) with the transliterations of Theodotion occasionally altered to translations, it gives a text distinctly better than that of any one of its own group of accompanying minuscules, as well as much better than that shown in B and others and adopted by Origen for his Hexapla. In these books it represents a text, probably Alexandrian, different from that used as the basis of the Lucianic recension.<sup>6</sup> In Job the text of A, which has not hitherto been found attested in any minuscule,<sup>7</sup> is probably Lucianic.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This statement I owe to Professor Max L. Margolis.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Moore, *Commentary on Judges*, p. xlv; Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *op. cit.* pp. 122 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paton, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, p. 122; *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, p. 6; *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* ('Origenes' Zitate aus den Königsbüchern), p. 48; S. Silberstein, 'Über den Ursprung der im Codex Alexandrinus und Vaticanus des dritten Königsbuches der alexandrinischen Übersetzung überlieferten Textgestalt,' in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xiii., 1893, pp. 1-75; xiv., 1894, pp. 1-30.

<sup>6</sup> Torrey, pp. 79, 92-96, 101.

<sup>7</sup> A Jerusalem palimpsest fragment, published by E. Tisserant, *Revue Biblique*, vol. ix., 1912, pp. 481-503, has a similar text to that of A, but less fully Lucianic; the corrections of B<sup>2</sup> in Job largely follow the same text as A.

<sup>8</sup> L. Dieu, 'Le Texte de Job du Codex Alexandrinus,' *Le Muséon*, vol. xiii., 1912, pp. 223-274.



**Psalter.** In the Psalter the case is quite another. The text of A proves to be a clean mixture of the B-type with Lucian, in about equal proportions, but irregularly distributed. No hexaplaric influence or kinship appears to be present (on this striking circumstance see above, p. xciii). A is here the earliest extant Greek witness to the Antiochian revision.<sup>1</sup>

**Prophets.** In the Prophets, Ezekiel stands somewhat by itself. Here the base of the text of A is pre-origenian, of a type different from that of B, but has been very strongly influenced by the Hexapla, more so than B.<sup>2</sup> In this book the Old Latin, Bohairic, Ethiopic (older form), and Arabic (older form as found in the Paris Polyglot) follow A closely, and especially the Bohairic sometimes provides the means of recovering the text of this type where A (which contains not a few wrong 'singular' readings) is in error.<sup>3</sup> In Jeremiah, likewise, A often shows a different type of pre-origenian text from that of B (and  $\aleph$ ), but here, too, it has often suffered through correction from the Hexapla, although less severely than in Ezekiel.<sup>4</sup> In Isaiah and the Twelve Prophets we find a similar condition, but in these books it is B and  $\aleph$  which have been most corrected, and the text of A is less hexaplarized than is theirs;<sup>5</sup> the text of A is not the basis used by Lucian, who employed rather a text akin to B $\aleph$ .<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the text of A seems itself to have been somewhat affected here by Lucian's recension.<sup>7</sup>

**Daniel.** In Daniel, A is said to give a revision of the hexaplaric text, made with the use of the pre-origenian text, but is an inferior representative of this revision, being itself full of gross errors. It is suggested that the revision was that issued by Eusebius, and

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 54, 56 f., 235, 236; *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Procksch, pp. 46 f., 48, 57; C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, pp. 67, 71, 73, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Cornill, pp. 32-35, 36, 42, 55, 67; Procksch, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Procksch, pp. 56 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, 1894, p. cx note 1, says that B has "a worse text in Isaiah than in the rest of the Prophets."

<sup>6</sup> Procksch, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 86.

that it constituted a kind of received text of Constantinople. It appears to be the basis of the Bohairic and of the Arabic (Melchite) version.<sup>1</sup>

Of the other books it is possible to say that in Wisdom A is sometimes better than B,<sup>2</sup> and that in 1 Maccabees it is generally not so good as N.<sup>3</sup>

Wisdom,  
1 Maccabees

The relation of the LXX-text of A to the New Testament has not been fully elucidated. The New Testament quotations from the Old Testament tend to agree with the text of A, especially in the Gospels, where, however, the question is complicated by the possibility of fresh translation from the Hebrew, with or without LXX influence. Yet in certain cases the text of A seems unmistakably conformed to the New Testament standard, for instance, in Isaiah xl. 14, where A (with N minn) has inserted Job xli. 3, evidently because the two verses are combined in Rom. xi. 35.<sup>4</sup>

Relation to  
New Testament.

Of the text of Codex Ephraemi (C) in the Old Testament nothing can be said; only sixty-four leaves have been preserved, scattered through Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job (nineteen leaves), Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus (twenty-three leaves).

Codex  
Ephraemi.

When the forms of the two recensions (the Hexapla and Lucian) which chiefly influenced our Old Testament text have been determined,<sup>5</sup> and their relation to the extant individual

Principles  
of  
Septuagint  
criticism.

<sup>1</sup> This statement I owe to Professor James A. Montgomery.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Toy, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. 'Wisdom (Book),' col. 5348.

<sup>3</sup> C. C. Torrey, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. 'Maccabees (Books),' col. 2867.

<sup>4</sup> Procksch, pp. 56, 89-98, 133; W. Staerk, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vol. xxxvi, 1893, p. 98; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 395 f., 403, 413, 422, 489. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 198, refuses to use the New Testament quotations at all as evidence for the text of the Septuagint, because of the doubt which he thinks is everywhere present as to whether the New Testament was the receiver or the giver. Torrey holds that in the passages quoted in the Gospels the Old Testament text of A has been systematically made to agree with the text of the New Testament.

<sup>5</sup> The recension of Hesychius was a *vera causa*, and it is not unlikely that the Bohairic version was largely, if not wholly, made from it. Perhaps to some extent his recension can be identified among the forms of the Greek text known to us. But Hesychius, as has been pointed out above, does not seem to have

manuscripts discovered and worked out in detail, a body of readings remain, most of which are pre-origenian in date, and which can be grouped as belonging to different types by studying the groups of the uncial and minuscule manuscripts which contain them. One of the chief problems concerns the basis of the Lucianic recension, and the extent to which readings of that recension can be accepted as probably inherited, not produced, by Lucian and his fellow-workers. That some ancient readings otherwise unknown can be recovered from Lucianic manuscripts seems to be admitted, and Lucianic evidence is sometimes valuable in supporting the testimony of the non-lucianic manuscripts. Finally, with the pre-origenian readings from all sources before him, the critic will determine the relative value of such pre-origenian types as can be elicited, and choose among the readings they offer. Hort's statement,<sup>1</sup> that B "on the whole presents the version of the Septuagint in its relatively oldest form," has been substantiated for many books, but in others A will have to be preferred; and not infrequently, in those parts where  $\aleph$  represents the same type of text as B, the better reading is found in  $\aleph$  rather than in B. The groups of minuscules, too, are held to constitute the most trustworthy sources of knowledge for some parts of the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> The rules for the criticism of the LXX were formulated by Lagarde;<sup>3</sup> they are governed by the character of the Septuagint

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made far-reaching alteration in the Egyptian text on which he worked, and the precise text which left his hands is so tenuous and uncertain a magnitude that to operate with any theory of what it was is an embarrassment rather than an aid to the investigation, and does not tend to clarity of thought on the subject in general. See Rahlfs, as cited above on p. xc note 1.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i. pp. xi f.; *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 486 f.

<sup>2</sup> Procksch, pp. 102 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverben*, 1863, p. 3; *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior*, 1883, p. xvi. Lagarde's statement of principles is cited in full by Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 485 f., and more briefly given by Burkatt, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Text and Versions,' col. 5021. For qualification of Lagarde's third axiom, that the Greek reading which departs from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew is to be accepted as original, see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 109 note 56; Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Peralters*, p. 231.

as a translation, and are consequently of a different nature from those by which the New Testament critic must be guided, although they ultimately rest on the same simple notion, namely, the inquiry as to how alteration of text will betray itself. What is most instructive for the New Testament critic is the determination of the principles which controlled the formation of the text of those copies which contain both Old and New Testament. But, as has been said above, only with the aid of insight, and never by mechanical transference of conclusions from one field to the other, can the knowledge so gained be successfully used.

## 2. VERSIONS

### § 1. LATIN

#### (a) OLD LATIN TEXTS

**Codices.** UNDER the Old Latin are included all Latin texts which are not mainly composed of Vulgate renderings. Latin codices which contain the whole, or fragments, of a text of Acts substantially non-vulgate are known as follows :

**h.** Paris, Bibl. nat., 6400 G, formerly 5367. The Fleury palimpsest (Codex Floriacensis). Sixth century.<sup>1</sup> The fragments (printed in the present volume) contain about one quarter of Acts.<sup>2</sup> For a table of the more important differences of scholars in deciphering this palimpsest see below, pp. cccxiv-xv.

<sup>1</sup> The over-writing (eighth century) is Isidore of Seville, *De mundo*. On the date and origin of h see *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*, 1923, p. clxxxv ; E. Châtelain, *Uncialis scriptura*, Paris, 1901, tab. xv, and p. 28 ; D. de Bruyne, *Les Fragments de Fressing* (Collectanea Biblica Latina v), 1921, p. xxiii note 1 ; L. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 191, 200 f. ; also S. Berger (see following note). It is believed that h was copied, possibly in Africa (so also k), from an exemplar giving the text of Acts, Catholic epistles, and Apocalypse, as used in some African church in the fifth century. This text was Cypranic for Acts and (according to de Bruyne) the Apocalypse, but the Catholic epistles had been revised at some time subsequent to the date of Cypran. The text of the Apocalypse is discussed by H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-übersetzung*, Düsseldorf, 1920, pp. 93-98. Vogels holds that in the Apocalypse the text of h probably shows some influence from the Vulgate.

<sup>2</sup> S. Berger, *Le palimpseste de Fleury*, Paris, 1889 ; E. S. Buchanan, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. V., Oxford, 1907. Wordsworth and White's citation of h is dependent on Berger alone. For further discussion of the readings, with corrections and conjectures, see P. Corssen, *Der Cypranische Text der Acta apostolorum*, 1892, p. 20 ; S. Berger, 'Un ancien texte des Actes des Apôtres,' *Notices et extraits*, vol. xxxv., 1896-97, p. 181 note 3 ; E. S. Buchanan, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. viii., 1906-7, pp. 96, 100 ; vol. ix., 1907-8, pp. 98-100 ;

The text of h is shown by comparison with the *Testimonia* of Cyprian,<sup>1</sup> as well as by internal characteristics, to be of African origin. In the passages where comparison is possible, it differs hardly at all from Cyprian and represents the African translation current in the early third century with but little variation in Latin expression and virtually none in underlying Greek text.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is written with many errors.<sup>3</sup> The rendering into Latin is often very free, although the Greek text followed can usually be discerned. In particular the omissions of words and phrases are not wholly due to the underlying Greek text, so that inferences have to be drawn with caution; thus in the narrative of Paul's voyage, Acts xxviii. 1-13, we seem to have a corrupt form of an abridgement made by the translator.<sup>4</sup> In Acts iii. 11 the words *et concurrunt omnes populus ad eos* [*in portu*] *quae vocatur solomonis stupentes* agree substantially with the usual Greek text against D d, and are apparently due to a later correction based on that text; in vss. 12,

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vol. x., 1908-9, p. 126; *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. VI., 1911, 'Addenda et corrigenda,' p. 197; F. C. Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. ix., 1907-8, p. 305; A. Souter, *ibid.* vol. xi., 1909-10, pp. 563 ff.; Th. Zahn, *Urausgabe*, 1916, pp. 114, 138, 172. These have all been considered in preparing the text of h printed in the present volume. References to the earlier scholars who deciphered and published portions of the ms. are given by Buchanan, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. V., p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> The resemblance of the two texts was apparent to Sabatier from the small fragments of h (Acts vi. 2-12, iv. 2-18) known to him, but the comparison was first made with thoroughness by P. Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, Berlin, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> About 203 verses of Acts are extant in h, and in these but 10 differences from the Cyprianic text of the *Testimonia* appear; see Hans von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. xxxiii), 1909, esp. pp. 221-242, 323-363, 550-567. That at least some parts of the African Bible existed from an early time in varying forms and that the text underwent natural modification and development (apart from certain definite recensions) is shown by P. Capelle, *Le texte du peautre latin en Afrique*, Rome, 1913. Von Soden, pp. 238 f., gives examples of 'Degeneration der Africoitas' in h; but these changes of Latin phraseology do not pertain to the Greek text underlying the codex.

<sup>3</sup> Hans von Soden, *op. cit.* pp. 234-236.

<sup>4</sup> Instances of omission in h are the following: ix. 12 (the whole verse); xxvi. 22 ἀκρι της ημερας ταυτης; xxvi. 26 παρησιαζομενος, ου πειθομαι, ου γαρ εστιν εν γωνια πεπραγμενον τουτο; for many others see below, pp. cxxxvi-vii.

13, and 14 further readings occur in which h agrees with B against D. In several of these latter Irenaeus agrees with h. Other cases of agreement of h with B against D are iv. 6, where h reads 'Johannes,' not, like other 'Western' witnesses, 'Jonathan'; v. 36 *διελύθησαν*; xi. 6 *hos* (cf. *quos* d). But such instances are extremely rare. In iii. 4 *aspice et contemplari* might be a conflation due to the rival Greek readings *βλεψον* and *απεισον*,<sup>1</sup> but may equally well be accounted for from *απεισον* alone by the African tendency to translation by two words.<sup>2</sup>

The Old African Latin text gives the 'Western' recension in the purest form known to us in continuous sections, and constitutes a source of knowledge for that recension of equal value, so far as it is available, with Codex Bezae and the Harclean apparatus. In not a few instances h provides conclusive evidence of the conflate character of the text of D (so, for instance, v. 29, xviii. 5).

perp or p. Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 321. Thirteenth century. A manuscript from Perpignan, near the Spanish border, and probably written there.<sup>3</sup> In Acts i. 1-xiii. 6, xxviii. 16-31, the text is Old Latin. The corrections of perp come from a pure Languedocian Vulgate text, and this is also the source of the part of Acts which is drawn from the Vulgate. This type of Vulgate text is characterized by the inclusion of many isolated Old Latin survivals; but the line is perfectly distinct between the Vulgate section and the Old Latin sections of the ms., which is properly described as containing not a mixed, but a divided, text.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Julicher, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, p. 168

<sup>2</sup> Harris, *Codex Bezae*, p. 254; cf. h, Acts iii. 14 *vivere et donari*, xiv. 9 *clamans dixit*. This tendency is also found in the Peshitto.

<sup>3</sup> S. Berger, 'Un ancien texte latin des Actes des Apôtres retrouvé dans un manuscrit provenant de Perpignan,' *Notes et extraits des mss. de la bibliothèque nationale*, xxxv., Paris, 1896, pp. 169-208, prints the two Old Latin sections in full; F. Blass, 'Neue Textzeugen für die Apostelgeschichte,' *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, lxxix., 1896, pp. 436-471.

<sup>4</sup> Zahn, *Urausgabe*, p. 15; Berger, *op. cit.* p. 187.

Jülicher's analysis of *perp* is of much interest.<sup>1</sup> The text in the Old Latin chapters is related to nearly all the known types, to the Cyprianic text, to *gig d e m t* (but not to *s*), and to the Vulgate. Carefully formed as a recension, not a mere conglomeration of readings, and bearing a uniform character, with a distinct standard both of lucidity and of taste, it is punctiliously literal, strives to omit nothing (hence its many 'Western' additions, besides which it has others of Latin origin), strictly eliminates foreign expressions (an African trait),<sup>2</sup> is old-fashioned in the choice of words. Comparison with *gigas* and the Vulgate leads on the whole to the conclusion that the editor was not acquainted with those ancient texts, although *perp* and *gig* may well be thought to show common dependence on an earlier recension. The late date of the actual manuscript need not lead us to assume that many readings have intruded themselves into the text of these chapters at a period more recent than the fourth century.

To this Souter<sup>3</sup> adds that *perp* "has points of contact with the quotations in the homilies of Gregory of Elvira" (that is, the fourth-century pseudo-origenian tracts, *De libris sacrarum scripturarum*, see below, p. cxvii), and that Augustine's readings so often agree with *perp* as to suggest that *perp* is a Spanish revision of the Old African text.

**gig** or **g**. Codex Gigas. Thirteenth century, not earlier than 1239. Complete.<sup>4</sup> Brought in 1648 from Bohemia to Stockholm (hence called Codex Holmiensis; now in the Royal Library).

<sup>1</sup> Jülicher, *op. cit.* pp. 180-182.

<sup>2</sup> Thus εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is rendered *bens (ad)nunciare*; συναγωγή *conventus*; ἐλεημοσύνη *miseri-cordiae*; ἑκστασις *mentis alienatio, stupor mentis*; εὐνοῦχος *epado, Eunucus* (!); γέλα, *diviciæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 1912, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Continuous text, J. Belsheim, *Die Apostelgeschichte und die Offenbarung Johannis in einer alten lateinischen Übersetzung*, Christiania, 1879; for certainty as to readings use must be made of the apparatus of Wordsworth and White's Vulgate, for which a fresh collation was made. On the date see Belsheim, p. vii, and especially B. Dudik, *Forschung in Schweden für Mahrens Geschichte*, Brünn, 1852, where a detailed history of this extraordinary codex will be found (pp. 207-235).



The text of *gig* in Acts can be used with confidence as representing a Latin text widely current in the fourth century, as is shown by its close agreement with the abundant quotations (more than one-eighth of Acts) of Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, who wrote in exile in the East in 355-362, and must have brought his Latin Bible with him from the West. Lucifer's text is as yet known through a single ms., of the ninth or tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Where *gig* and Lucifer differ, comparison shows that they are about equally liable to go wrong. Lucifer shows no trace of the use of any Greek text with different readings from those of *gig*. Both he and *gig* are very rarely affected by the Vulgate.<sup>2</sup>

*g*<sub>2</sub>. A fragment of a lectionary, now at Milan, containing Acts vi. 8-vii. 2; vii. 51-viii. 4, in a text substantially identical with that of *gig*. Tenth or eleventh century.<sup>3</sup>

t. Liber comicus. Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2171. Eleventh century. *Lectionarius missae*, as used in the church of Toledo in the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Of the fourteen lessons from Acts, seven contain an Old Latin text, freely handled and corrupt but similar to *gig*.<sup>5</sup> The Old Latin lessons comprise Acts i. 1-11, 15-26; ii. 1-21, 22-41; iv. 32-v. 11; vi. 1-vii. 2 with vii. 51-viii. 4 (partly Vulgate); x. 25-43. Occasional Old Latin readings are also found in the Vulgate lessons.

s. Codex Bobiensis. Vienna, Imperial Library, 16. Fifth or sixth century. Palimpsest, formerly at Bobbio.<sup>6</sup> Acts xxiii. 15-23; xxiv. 6, 8, 13-xxv. 2; xxv. 23-xxvi. 2; xxvi. 22-24, 26-xxvii. 32; xxviii. 4-9, 16-31.

d. Codex Bezae (see above, p. lxxx). Fifth or sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> The agreement of Lucifer with *gig* was mentioned by Hort, 'Introduction,' 1881, p. 83. A second ms. of Lucifer has been found in the Library of Stc. Geneviève, Paris; see A. Wilmart, 'Un Manuscrit de *De Civis* et des œuvres de Lucifer,' *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxxiii., 1921, pp. 124-135.

<sup>2</sup> Julicher, pp. 169-171.

<sup>3</sup> Text in Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, i. 2 (1865), p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Text in G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i., 1893.

<sup>5</sup> The significant variations of t from *gig* seem to be due in part to the Vulgate, in part to ancient survivals; cf. Julicher, pp. 172 f.

<sup>6</sup> H. J. White, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. IV., Oxford, 1897.

The Latin side of Codex Bezae has been so extensively altered to make it agree with its Greek partner that it can seldom be used as a witness to the Old Latin text except where that text is known from other sources. It seems, however, that a text akin to, but not perfectly identical with, that of *gig* was used as the basis of *d*; the text of *d* is farther removed from the African Latin than is that of *e*, *gig*, *perp*, or the Vulgate;<sup>1</sup> in the Gospels *d* has sometimes preserved readings found elsewhere only in *k* and *a*, which are the chief sources respectively for the African and 'European' Gospel text.<sup>2</sup>

*e*. Codex Laudianus (see above, pp. lxxxiv-viii). Sixth or seventh century.

The Latin of Codex Laudianus, like that of Codex Bezae, has been brought into conformity with the Greek text, but it seems to have retained its own character much more fully than *d*, and was often the dominant member of the partnership. The editor of this bilingual text, evidently a Greek of good education, seems to have understood Latin, but hardly to have mastered it for the purposes of composition. The Latin text which he took as a basis for his work had a resemblance to *gig* and also to the Vulgate, and may have been the common precursor of both of these, but shows a less close resemblance to *d*. The suggestion has been made that it may be the nearest extant representative of the text which Jerome used as the basis of the Vulgate. But few survivals of distinctively African renderings occur in *e*.<sup>3</sup>

Many other Latin codices contain Old Latin readings mixed with a prevailing Vulgate text, and these readings are valuable as evidence of the Greek text from which the Old Latin was drawn. The mixture in most cases was made from either Spanish (whence the characteristic Languedocian mixed Vulgate text) or Irish Old Latin sources. Of these codices the following are notable, but not the only, examples, and are sometimes counted as Old Latin:

<sup>1</sup> Juhcher, pp. 182, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Souter, *op. cit.* p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Juhcher, pp. 182-185.

c. Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 254. Codex Colbertinus. Twelfth century (second half). Believed to have been written in Languedoc.

dem. Codex Demidovianus (now lost). Twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Formerly at Lyons.

r. Schlettstadt, Stadtbibliothek, 1093. Seventh or eighth century. Lectionary.<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament lessons are from the Vulgate; but the New Testament lessons, fourteen in number, all from Acts, are Old Latin, with a text much like that of gig but also showing some resemblance to perp.

w. Wernigerode, Library of Graf Stolberg, Z.a.81. Fifteenth century. Contains a partial interlinear version in Bohemian.<sup>3</sup>

R. Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 16. Bible de Rosas. Tenth or eleventh century. Written in eastern Spain. In Acts xi. and xii. another text has been written in the margin, and Old Latin readings, often agreeing with perp, are found in these chapters, sometimes in the main text, sometimes in the margin.<sup>4</sup>

D. Dublin, Library of Trinity College. The Book of Armagh.<sup>5</sup> First half of ninth century.

lux. Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 9427. The Luxeuil lectionary. Eighth century.<sup>6</sup>

Latin  
Fathers.

Of Latin ecclesiastical writers significant for the Old Latin text mention may be made as follows:

TERTULLIAN of Carthage (ca. 160-ca. 240). The chief cita-

<sup>1</sup> The text was edited by Matthai, *Novum Testamentum XII. tomis distinctum Graece et Latine*, vol. ix., Riga, 1782.

<sup>2</sup> Text in G. Morin, *Études, textes, découvertes*, vol. i. (Anecdota Marodesolana, II.), 1913, pp. 440-456, cf. p. 49. Readings from this lectionary will be found in the apparatus of Zahn, *Urausgabe*, but not in that of Wordsworth and White.

<sup>3</sup> F. Blass, *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, LXXIX., 1896, pp. 436-471; for further remarks on this MS. see below, pp. cxxxv-cxxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> For the readings of R see Wordsworth and White; on the codex and its illustrations see W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, 1922. The Bible de Rosas was probably written at the monastery of Santa Maria de Rapoll, which had a famous library and scriptorium.

<sup>5</sup> J. Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus, The Book of Armagh*, Dublin, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Readings of lux are given by Sabatier, *Biblorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, vol. iii., Paris, 1751.

tions from the Acts found in the writings of Tertullian are printed in full in the apparatus of the present volume.<sup>1</sup> His text was of the 'Western' type.<sup>2</sup> That at least one Latin translation of the Bible existed in his time in Africa is clear.<sup>3</sup> In Tertullian's use of 1-4 Kingdoms the Greek text on which his Latin version rests is different from any known to us, and in particular shows no close relation to the Antiochian (Lucianic) text.<sup>4</sup> In the Psalms the Greek text underlying the Old African Latin was Old Antiochian mingled with Egyptian elements and others more primitive (see below, p. cxuvi). The *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* may have been written by Tertullian; in them several passages seem to show dependence on 'Western' readings in Acts (notably Acts ii. 17 *αὐτῶν* for *ὑμῶν*, twice; iv. 24, xvi. 10).<sup>5</sup>

CYPRIAN († 258; literary activity chiefly after 249). The citations of Cyprian from Acts are chiefly contained in the collection of Biblical texts arranged by topics, *Ad Quirinum testimonia*, for which Codex L (Laureshamensis, formerly at Lorsch) must be used.<sup>6</sup> These and other scattered quotations are printed in

<sup>1</sup> The text followed is that of the Vienna edition so far as the latter is available, elsewhere that of Oehler. Mere allusions of Tertullian are generally not reproduced in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Chase, *The Syriac Element in Codex Bezae*, 1893, pp. 103-105, has collected some good illustrations of this fact, which are supplemented with examples elicited by characteristically subtle reasoning in J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894, pp. 55-59. The most striking cases are the text of the Apostolic Decree (Acts xv 28 f.; see below, pp. 265-269) and of Acts xiii. 33 '*in primo psalmo*' (see below, p. 264 f.).

<sup>3</sup> This is convincingly argued afresh (against Zahn's view), and illustrated from the Psalter, by P. Capelle, *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique*, 1913, pp. 1-21. See also P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, vol. i., 1901, pp. 105 f.; Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. II, pp. 296-302; *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed., 1924, p. 800. Of Marmon's Bible also it is clear that Tertullian had a Latin text; Harnack, *Marcion*, 1921, pp. 46\*-54\*, 160\*-163\*.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 141-143.

<sup>5</sup> Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 148-153; J. A. Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua* (Texts and Studies, 1.), pp. 48-50.

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately the collation of Codex L in Hartel's edition (Vienna corpus, 1868) is not perfectly accurate; see P. Capelle, *op. cit.* p. 24; H. L. Ramsay, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III, 1901-2, pp. 585 f.; C. H. Turner, *ibid.* vol. VI, 1904-5, pp. 264-268.

the apparatus below, and from them a considerable part of the Old African text of Acts can be recovered in substantially trustworthy form.<sup>1</sup> It was an almost pure 'Western' text. On the Old Testament text of Cyprian the same statements can be made as in the case of Tertullian.

SPECULUM, or *Liber de divinis scripturis* (cited as 'm'). This collection of Biblical passages arranged by topics is known from a number of MSS., of which the oldest is of the eighth or ninth century. Formerly ascribed to Augustine, it has been included in the edition of Augustine's works in the Vienna Corpus (ed. F. Weihrich, 1887). The text of Acts (the longest quotation being Acts ix. 36-42) shows kinship to perp. It appears to be a Spanish form of the African text, probably dating from the fifth century.<sup>2</sup>

LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI, who wrote in 355-362, used in Acts, as has been pointed out above, the same Latin version which we find in gig. It is worth noting that Lucifer's text<sup>3</sup> in Luke is substantially (perhaps in an earlier stage) that of b (Codex Veronensis, fifth century); in John that of a (Codex Vercellensis, fourth century) and e (Codex Palatinus, fifth century); in Paul that of d<sup>paul</sup> (Codex Claromontanus, fifth-sixth century), except, of course, in those epistles where this ms. on its Latin side is conformed to the Vulgate; and that in the Old Testament it agrees with the Vienna palimpsest fragments (fifth century; Genesis and 1 and 2 Kingdoms). In 1-4 Kingdoms Lucifer's quotations have been shown to come from a text corresponding partly to the Lucianic Greek, partly to the (older) non-lucianic.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hans von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xxxiii.), 1909, pp. 550-567.

<sup>2</sup> P. Capelle, *op. cit.* pp. 47-50. Juloher, *op. cit.* p. 180, thinks the text of m to be a true recension, with a mixture of the textual types represented by h and gig.

<sup>3</sup> Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 4994 f., 5023; Sanday, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. II, 1886, p. 140. On the quotations of Lucifer from Luke and John, see Sanday, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. II, 1886, p. 140; H. J. Vogels, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. ciii., 1922, pp. 23-37, 183-200.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, p. 161; Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila*, 1897, pp. 19 f.;

In Lucifer's quotations from the Bible, however, attention must always be paid to the fact that he, like Lactantius and others, often derived them from the writings of Cyprian and not from his own reading of the biblical text.<sup>1</sup>

AMBROSE († 397). Ambrose must have used an Old Latin text of Acts, but his works are so largely founded on Greek sources that its nature can hardly be determined.

AMBROSIASTER (fl. 375-385) used in Acts the 'gigas-recension,' and his text is "almost to a letter identical with that of gig itself." In the Gospels the text of Ambrosiaster is to a considerable extent that of b (Veronensis), but sometimes departs from b and agrees with some other of the 'European' witnesses, especially ff<sub>2</sub>. In the Pauline epistles Ambrosiaster used a text "closely related" to that of Lucifer, but apparently more polished.<sup>2</sup>

AUGUSTINE (baptized 387; † 430). Augustine knew and used for certain purposes the Vulgate of Acts, for instance in the *Speculum*<sup>3</sup> and in debate with Jerome (Ep. 82, 9, Acts xxi 20-25). The text of Acts, however, used in the church of Hippo was Cyprianic, and Augustine quotes from this at length in *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*, i. 4-5 (A.D. 404), in *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* (397?). In these his text is almost identical with that of Cyprian's *Testimonia*. In *De consensu evangelistarum* (A.D. 399) the influence of the African text of Acts is plain, but the quotations show traces of the Vulgate rendering, and were perhaps made from memory. The most important of these Old Latin quotations are printed in this volume; but others will be found in the apparatus to the Latin

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see also L. Dieu, 'Retouches Lucianiques sur quelques textes de la vieille version latine (I et II Samuel),' *Revue Biblique*, vol. xxviii., 1919, pp. 372-403.

<sup>1</sup> Dombart, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, vol. viii., 1888, cols. 171-176.

<sup>2</sup> A. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Texts and Studies, vii.), 1905, pp. 205-214.

<sup>3</sup> That the use of the Vulgate in the texts from both Testaments formally quoted in the body of the *Speculum* (A.D. 427) was in accordance with the purpose of Augustine himself has been made plain by Burkitt (against Wehrhoh), 'Saint Augustine's Bible and the *Itala*,' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xi., 1909-10, pp. 258-268.

text of Zahn's *Urausgabe*. A complete investigation of all Augustine's quotations from Acts has never been made. The agreement which he shows with *perp* is probably due to the Old African element in that manuscript.<sup>1</sup> In some cases Augustine's text of Acts seems due to dependence on Ambrosiaster.<sup>2</sup>

This use of the Vulgate for learned and critical purposes and of the African version on other occasions accords with Augustine's practice as seen in his use of the Psalms (see below, pp. cxxiv f.) and of the Gospels,<sup>3</sup> although in the Gospels he appears to have adopted the Vulgate for habitual use about the year 398.<sup>4</sup> In the Apocalypse Augustine uses the African text, closely resembling that of Cyprian, cited in the Commentary of Primasius (sixth century) and found in the fragments of *h*, while in the Catholic epistles his text is a late African revision, also found in *h* and in *r*.<sup>5</sup> For the Pauline epistles, likewise, the revised African text of *r* (the Freising fragments, probably Spanish) is that employed by Augustine in Africa from 389 on. He may, indeed, himself have made this revised text; and it is not improbable that the Epistle to the Hebrews as found in *r* was Augustine's own rendering from the Greek. While still in Italy (early in 388) he had used a different text, similar to, and probably a precursor of, the Vulgate.<sup>6</sup>

Other writers who used an Old Latin text must be briefly

<sup>1</sup> Souter, *Text and Canon of the N.T.* p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> So in Acts xv. 29, see below, p. 266, A. J. Smith, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xix, 1917-18, pp. 170, 176; vol. xx, 1918-19, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> The Old Latin text of the Gospels used by Augustine in his earlier period is substantially the revised African type found in *e* (Codex Palatinus, fifth century); Souter, *op. cit.* p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Burkitt, 'Saint Augustine's Bible and the *Itala*; II. The Gospel Quotations in the *De Consensu*,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xi, 1909-10, pp. 447-466, esp. p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 89; Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 4997. De Bruyne, *Les Fragments de Freising*, 1921, p. xxxviii, says: "Il ne serait pas difficile de montrer qu'Augustin cite pour les Cath. un texte révisé qu'on ne trouve pas avant lui et dont il est sans doute l'auteur."

<sup>6</sup> D. de Bruyne, *Les Fragments de Freising* (Collectanea Biblica Latina v.), 1921, pp. xviii-xlvi. On Augustine see also P. Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, pp. 24 f.

mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The anonymous (pseudo-origenian) tracts *De libris sacrarum scripturarum* (edited by P. Batiffol and A. Wilmart, 1900) of the fourth century, perhaps from Spain (? Gregory of Elvira † 392); the anonymous *Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae* of the ninth-century St. Gall Codex 133,<sup>2</sup> probably African from the years 305-325 (the text is surely corrupt); the third-century pseudo-cyprianic tract *De rebaptismate*, with a remarkable text of Acts, "a third-century African text as far as regards renderings, but without the 'Western' glosses";<sup>3</sup> the tract *Contra Varrmadum*, formerly attributed to Vigilius of Thapsus;<sup>4</sup> the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei*, formerly attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, but now known to be by an African, possibly Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage, and to have been written in 440-450.<sup>5</sup>

The following names may be added. From Africa: Optatus of Mileve (fl. ca. 368); Petilianus, Cresconius, and Tyconius the Donatists (at the close of the fourth century); Fulgentius of Ruspe († 533). From Spain: Pacianus of Barcelona (fl. ca. 370), 'Priscillian' (later fourth century), and the Priscillianist tract *De trinitate*.<sup>6</sup> From Italy: Gaudentius of Brescia, Jerome,<sup>7</sup> Philastrius of Brescia, Zeno of Verona (all these are of the middle or late fourth, or early fifth, century), with Paulinus

<sup>1</sup> On their significance for the text of Acts see Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 17-25

<sup>2</sup> A. Amelli, *Miscellanea Cassinese*, II. VI., 1897, pp. 17 ff.; Zahn in *Geschichtliche Studien Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstage dargebracht*, 1916, pp. 52-63.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. 'Text and Versions,' col. 4996; Burkitt is inclined to the view "that it was not originally composed in Latin, and that we possess only the Latin translation."

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Spanish in origin. See G. Ficker, *Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus*, 1897, pp. 42-50; Capelle, *op. cit.* p. 111 note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Capelle, *op. cit.* p. 87. The text of the Psalter used by the *Liber promissionum* was substantially that of the Verona Psalter (R) and of the Old Latin Psalter of Carthage, as quoted by Augustine; Capelle, pp. 87-169, 227-233. On the attribution to Quodvultdeus see P. Schepens, *Recherches de science religieuse*, vol. x., 1919, pp. 230-243; D. Frances, *Die Werke des hl. Quodvultdeus* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München, iv. Reihe, Nr. 9), Munich, 1920, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. ciii., 1922, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> G. Morn, *Études, textes, découvertes*, vol. i. pp. 151-205.

<sup>7</sup> Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 89. In at least one instance, Ep. 41, l. § 2, Jerome quotes Acts (ii. 14-18) from a text "related to gq and p."



of Nola († 431), Valerian of Cimiez (near Nice; middle of fifth century), and Cassiodorus († 575). From Gaul: Hilary of Poitiers († 367), Gregory of Tours († 593), and Ado of Lyons and Vienne († 875); from the British Isles, Pelagius (ca. 409);<sup>1</sup> from Dacia, Niceta of Remesiana (fl. 400). To these should be added the tract *De trinitate* ascribed to Vigilius of Thapsus, the *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius, and the Latin version<sup>2</sup> of Irenaeus.<sup>3</sup> The quotations from Acts of nearly all these writers are few, and sometimes brief, but the list, which is not exhaustive, shows the abundance of available material for illustration of the history which awaits the student who will approach the Latin text of Acts with sound method, adequate knowledge, and historical sense.

History of  
Old Latin  
version.

On the complicated history of the Old Latin text of Acts two recent studies, one by Julicher, the other by Capelle, have thrown fresh light, the one by direct approach, the other indirectly.<sup>4</sup> Julicher, in an essay resting on thorough study of the documents considered, and no less full of learning and insight than it is delightful and sympathetic, has investigated the character of the six chief witnesses, and traced in this way the history of the text.<sup>5</sup> On his guidance the following account is largely, but not wholly, dependent.

<sup>1</sup> On Pelagius's text of Acts see A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*: I. *Introduction* (Texts and Studies, ix.), 1922, pp. 169-171; "the evidence suggests that the British text was related to those used in Africa and Spain rather than any others" (p. 169).

<sup>2</sup> The biblical quotations in the Latin version of Irenaeus generally follow Irenaeus's Greek text, but in the form of language adopted for this purpose a fourth-century revised African text seems to have been in the translator's mind; see A. Souter in *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei*, pp. clxix, clxv; cf. pp. xvii f., see below, pp. clxxxvii-clxxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> These Latin writers are nearly all used in the apparatus of Zahn, *Uraugabe*; most of the quotations are given by Sabatier.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the investigations of Julicher and Capelle here referred to see Paul Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, vol. i., 1901, chap. iii., 'La Bible latine en Afrique.' This comprehensive exposition by Monceaux is of great value, in spite of some misapprehensions with regard to the textual criticism and history of the Greek Bible, and although some matters would require restatement in the light of more recent studies.

<sup>5</sup> Adolf Julicher, 'Kritische Analyse der lateinischen Übersetzungen der

The earliest evidence of the translation, or translations, of parts of the Bible into Latin comes from Africa through Tertullian, whose text, so far as we can learn it, was 'Western.' The text of Cyprian and Codex h was that of the church of Carthage,<sup>1</sup> for we find it in that church, with virtually no change, cited at length by Augustine in the report of the debate with Felix the Manichee in 404, as well as elsewhere in Augustine's writings. That the earliest form of this version was native to Africa, not brought from Europe or the East, is altogether probable, although the other view has been held. What was its further history has not been determined.<sup>2</sup> The analogy of the African text of the Psalter suggests some development of the text of Acts in the later centuries, both in Africa and when it was transplanted to Spain, but of the course of this nothing definite can at present be affirmed. Such a development would doubtless show the softening of African crudities under foreign influences from Italian texts and then from the Vulgate; it would probably in certain types include the elimination of 'Western' traits and some degree of approximation to the Greek texts later current. One example of such a later Spanish-African text, retaining a strong 'Western' character, is probably what we find in the Old Latin portions of the Perpignan codex (thirteenth century) from South-western France (see above, pp. cviii-cix).

The few fragments of Donatist quotations, chiefly in passages which we are unable to compare with an earlier African text, are insufficient to show the nature of the Donatist text (after 330). They exhibit a certain contact with *gig d e* and the Vulgate,<sup>3</sup> and doubtless represent a type marked by similar

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*Apostelgeschichte*, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, pp. 163-188.

<sup>1</sup> The translation in h, Acts xviii. 2, of ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρώμης by *ab urbe* (so also *d ex urbem*) does not imply Roman origin. See Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. ii. p. 132 note 1, for evidence from many parts of the empire.

<sup>2</sup> The uncertainty as to the origin of *De rebaptismate* (see above, p. cxvii) makes it impossible to draw inferences therefrom with regard to a later form of the African version.

<sup>3</sup> Julicher, p. 180.

qualities to those found in Donatist texts from the Psalms, namely a high degree of conservatism together with some innovations.

Whether versions of the Latin Bible were made in Italy in independence of the African version is not known, but there is clear evidence that texts early used in Italy were strongly influenced by the labours of the African church in translating the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Intercourse between Italian and African Christians was active at all times; the need of a translation into Latin would be felt less early in the Greek-speaking church of Rome than in Africa; a new translator is commonly wise enough to avail himself of the aid of his predecessors' renderings, and the line between an independent translation in which such aid has been used and the revision of an earlier translation is hard, indeed impossible, to draw. Even if the line could be drawn in theory, it would be hard from any actual facts to gather which of two so nearly related processes had been employed. As time went on, however, Italian Christianity gained pre-eminence, and, moreover, the biblical text current in Italy, whatever its ultimate origin, came to present a better and more modern literary form than the African Bible, which must have sounded odd and archaic to the educated Christian in either land. Meantime Spain seems to have drawn its earliest text of the Bible, as it did its liturgy, from African sources.<sup>2</sup> This interplay of influences proceeding in the earliest period from Africa to affect Spanish and Italian Bibles (followed by a development in Italy), and then, at a later time, of counter-influences proceeding from Italy to affect the text of Africa<sup>3</sup> and Spain, goes far to account for the mingled elements which we actually find in most of the extant witnesses to the Old Latin text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sanday and Turner, *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*, pp. xvii f.

<sup>2</sup> Capelle, *op. cit.* pp. 44 f., 118 f. note, 222; Cabrol, art. 'Afnque (Laturgie),' in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, col. 613 note 1. On the service rendered by Spain in preserving and transmitting something of the secular literature current in Africa, see L. Traube, *Einführung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* (Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, ii.), Munich, 1911, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Capelle, p. 45.

The great event in the history of the Old Latin Acts was a <sup>Gigas-</sup>revision which must have taken place as early as the year 350, <sup>recension.</sup> and which speedily became widely influential. Well preserved in Codex Gigas and the ample citations of Lucifer, this revised text also appears in a fragment for liturgical use known as  $g_2$  (tenth or eleventh century); it was used in  $s$ , perhaps as the basis of the editor's work; and its influence appears in the lectionary of Toledo ( $t$ ) in the seventh century, as well as probably in  $perp$ . Further, we find it employed by 'Ambrosiaster' (fl. 375), by Niceta of Remesiana in Dacia (fl. 400),<sup>1</sup> and by Jerome himself.<sup>2</sup> Even in the ninth century it was the chief text relied on by Ado of Lyons. Where it was made is not known,<sup>3</sup> but it was intended to provide the educated reader with a text suited to his needs, conformed to Latin idiom, and clearly intelligible. African peculiarities are largely avoided; Greek barbarisms have been dropped; and its Latin is sometimes, because a less literal rendering, better than that of the Vulgate. It was plainly made with the use of a Greek text of non-western type,<sup>4</sup> and has been partly freed from 'Western' readings, especially 'Western' additions. Earlier revisions in the same direction may have preceded it; on such perhaps  $e$  and the Vulgate were founded; but this revision, made before 350, is the source of what has come in modern times to be called the 'European' Latin text of Acts. Its publication meant a much closer approximation than heretofore of the most widely used Latin text to the current

<sup>1</sup> Burkett in A. E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, pp. cxliv-cliv.

<sup>2</sup> Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 44, 89, who cites Jerome, Ep. 41. 1, § 2 (p. 312, Hilberg), a letter believed to be from the year 384.

<sup>3</sup> Julicher, p. 188, speaks of the recension as made neither in Africa nor in Rome. Africanisms have been eliminated more thoroughly than in the African revision of the Psalms of about the same date which produced the version of the Psalter used by Augustine. Doubtless the ground for supposing it to have originated outside of Rome lies in the fact that the text used as the basis of the Vulgate differed from the *gigas*-text.

<sup>4</sup> Julicher, pp. 177-180, 185 f., from which has been learned most of what is said above about the *gigas*-recension. On Lucianic elements in later Old Latin texts of the Old Testament, see Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 6; Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 93.

Greek manuscripts of the period. In considering this recension of the Latin Acts, we may recall that the fourth century was a period of increasing contact of Western and Eastern Christian leaders, and that Athanasius resided at Rome from 339 to 342 (or 340 to 343).<sup>1</sup>

Among the Old Latin texts that of the fragments of the last chapters known as s (Codex Bobiensis, fifth or sixth century) occupies a place somewhat apart. It is allied to gig, and perhaps based on a slightly different form of that recension, and is related to the Vulgate in such a way as to suggest that its editor has also used an older text on which the Vulgate rests. Yet that it was directly influenced by the Vulgate is not impossible, although it does not seem to have been proved. It is the work of a competent scholar, who has tried to produce a text in good Latin idiom which should be wholly conformed to the Old Uncial Greek text, both in omitting longer 'Western' additions and in details. The date of this work must lie in the fourth or fifth century.<sup>2</sup>

It thus appears that the two well-established landmarks (at least in the Book of Acts) for finding our way in the wilderness of the Old Latin version are the Cyprianic text, current by 240, and the gigas-revision, made before 350.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abundant evidence (Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine) shows that in the fourth century Greek texts of the Old Testament were used in the West; Rahlf, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, p. 153; *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalms*, pp. 75-79; Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For the above account of s, I am wholly dependent on Jülicher, *op. cit.* pp. 173-177.

<sup>3</sup> The Gigas-revision, as I have ventured to call it, produced much of the text which appears in the 'European' representatives of the Old Latin. I have, however, ordinarily refrained from applying to it directly the term 'European,' because the latter covers so many different forms of text, and is in itself likely to mislead by reason of its direct parallelism to the term 'African.' The term 'Italan' is also to be avoided. It was used by Augustine only with relation to the Old Testament. That he used it there to denote Jerome's translation must be accepted, especially since the remaining difficulties left by Burkitt's fundamental discussion in *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Texts and Studies, iv.), 1896, and Corssen's clear and instructive review in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1897, pp. 416-424, seem to have been once and for all removed by the acute study of De Bruyne, 'L'Itala de Saint Augustin,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxx., 1913, pp. 294-314, where it is conclusively shown that these difficulties were due to the fact that the final edition of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* differed sub-

The other study mentioned above is that of Capelle on the Latin text of the Psalter in Africa, already often referred to,<sup>1</sup> a treatise distinguished by a great elegance of method, a striking sense of the concrete reality of events and circumstances, and a comprehensive grasp of all the facts bearing on the author's field.

The Psalter  
in Africa.

The history of the African Psalter is made out as follows. By the time of Tertullian, or earlier, various local translations of the Psalms were current in Africa in written form. From one of these, not identical with that of Tertullian himself, grew up the Psalter of Cyprian, of which we have much knowledge from the *Testimonia* (Codex L). From one of the MSS. of the *Testimonia* (Codex V, known only from the collation of Latini), and from the African writings prior to and contemporary with Cyprian, it appears certain that the African Psalter was by no means uniform in the time of Cyprian, and that a variety of kindred but varying texts were in use. Later in the same century the text of the *Testimonia* followed in the quotations of Lactantius (who had probably lived only in Africa up to the date of the composition of his *Divinae institutiones*, about 290) shows some modification of the original African (for instance λόγος is *verbum*, no longer *sermo*). If one ms. of Lactantius (Codex H) gives a text which seems even more archaic than that of the original *Testimonia*, that fact bears witness to the persistent vitality of the Latin text in Africa, which had by no means stiffened into uniformity at the end of the third century or even later.

In the fourth century, about 330, the Donatist party became organized, and the controversies of that period, resting on biblical proofs, stimulated attention to the biblical text. In accordance with their theological character, the Donatists used

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stantially from the form in which it was first published. An earlier suggestion of the explanation now convincingly elaborated by De Bruyne was made by Paul Wendland, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Bibel in der Kirche,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. i., 1900, p. 289 footnote.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Capelle, *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique* (Collectanea Biblica Latina cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti, vol. iv.), Rome, 1913.

a Psalter of a generally archaic type but yet containing some innovations as compared with Cyprianic standards. About 350, perhaps partly in consequence of the Donatist controversy, there was made in the orthodox African church a revision of the Psalter in which European influences and a more cultivated Latinity were brought into the African text. This was a revolutionary, and must have been a sudden, departure from the Cyprianic text, even in the modified forms in which the first half of the fourth century had known that text. It may have been called out by the desire to unify the varying texts current among the orthodox. In a form which had been subjected to a further special revision (of but limited range) this text was that which Augustine found in use when he came to Africa in 388, and which was employed by the churches of Carthage and Hippo. It was the text of the Psalter which Augustine always continued to quote, except when for certain more learned purposes he used the translation of Jerome.

A little earlier than Augustine's arrival in Africa, Optatus of Mileve's quotations (about 370) show that he had entirely broken with the Cyprianic Psalter. The change was due to the same revision of which we see the later results in the text of Augustine. Closely related to the transformed African Psalter used by Augustine is the text of the Psalms in the African *Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei* (440-450).<sup>1</sup> It passed over to Italy also, and was long used there, for a continuous Psalter, a sister type of the same special revision used by Augustine, appears as the Latin side of the bilingual Verona Psalter (R) of the sixth century, where it has perhaps even had its effect on the Greek text opposite.

The text of Augustine and the Verona Psalter is in its whole fabric a thoroughly African text, well mixed from various African sources, "not merely a text with an African base, still

<sup>1</sup> A similar relation is found to subsist between Augustine's text of the Pauline epistles (extant in Codex r) and the text of the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum*; De Bruyne, *Les Fragments de Freising*, 1921, pp. xxxv f.

less a foreign text africanized,"<sup>1</sup> but the revision was made with the aid of European texts, although the precise type of these latter is impossible to determine. Vigorous and skilful African hands succeeded in producing a revision of the Psalter distinguished by homogeneity, by a certain purity and uniformity, by originality of apt rendering as compared with the European texts, and by great fidelity to the Greek text.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps St. Augustine himself had a share in perfecting the work.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to his use of this fourth-century African revised Old Latin, Augustine also used, especially for purposes of learning and criticism, a copy of Jerome's Gallican Psalter (made from a hexaplaric Greek text ; now included in the Vulgate). He seems to have drawn this not directly from a manuscript of the true Gallican version but from a gallicanized African Psalter.

Meantime the African text had been carried to Spain. Pacian of Barcelona (360-390) used a Psalter closely akin to that of Cyprian.<sup>4</sup> The pseudo-augustinian *Speculum* ('m' in the New Testament) and the text of Cyprian's *Testimonia* (Codex A) found with it in the same ms. (Sessorianus) show kindred, but not identical, mixed texts of the Psalter, in which the Old African type current in Spain has been nearly, but not quite, supplanted by the text of the Mozarabic liturgy. This mixture of texts in Spain probably took place in the fifth century. The Mozarabic Psalter itself was not devoid of survivals of the Old African text, foreign to its main sources (which were the Roman Psalter and in less degree the Hebrew Psalter of Jerome).

For the rest of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth, the evidence of Victor of Vita (486), Vigilius of Thapsus (fl. 484), and Fulgentius of Ruspe (468-533) gives a just notion of what was taking place in Africa. Various texts were in use, but the Gallican Psalter was extending its sway. Yet it did not succeed in completely eliminating all Old African readings from the text

<sup>1</sup> Capelle, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Capelle, pp. 120, 129-131. On all these points Capelle furnishes illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> De Bruyne, *op. cit.* p. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Capelle, pp. 44 f., 111 note.



of these writers, while Fulgentius perhaps shows some traces of the influence of Jerome's Roman Psalter. But Christian Africa was already decadent, and by 700 was in the hands of the Saracens.

It has seemed worth while to give at some length this sketch of the history of the Psalter in Africa, as worked out in the admirable book of Capelle, for although no direct application of his results to the text of the New Testament can at present be made, it is highly suggestive for New Testament textual history, both in method and conclusions. As, in the case of Acts, Cyprian and the *gigas*-recension form two trustworthy landmarks, so in the Psalter two fixed points stand out to our view, the one again the text of Cyprian, the other an African revision of about 350 which strongly reminds us of the *gigas*-revision of not far from the same date. These two fourth-century revisions, however, can probably not be brought into close relation, for so far as we know the *gigas*-revision was European, not African. Likewise, both in the Psalter and in Acts, texts passed from Africa to Spain and in that land mingled their readings with others coming from Italian or Gallic sources. And finally the work of Jerome, although only after a plainly discernible struggle, won virtually the whole ground.

Greek text  
of the  
Psalter.

As to the Greek text which underlay the African Psalter, that of Tertullian's and Cyprian's Latin versions seems to have been an Old Antiochian text (hence it sometimes agrees with the late Antiochian revision of Lucian, but never where the hand of Lucian himself is apparent), combined with readings derived from Egyptian texts, especially that of Upper Egypt, and some other ancient elements.<sup>1</sup> The respective relations of Tertullian and of Cyprian to these several constituent elements were in part, but only in part, the same.<sup>2</sup> The revised African Psalter

<sup>1</sup> A similar conclusion as to the African Latin text of the Prophets is stated by Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius* (Texts and Studies, vol. iii.), pp. cxvi f.

<sup>2</sup> Capelle, pp. 200-207. Capelle (p. 203 note 1) adds a discreet warning against the too confident assumption that these Antiochian and Egyptian readings originated in those regions, or that the text containing them was derived from those regions by the Christians of North Africa.

of 350 seems to show no large influence from any other type of Greek text than that observable in the Old African.

(b) VULGATE

The Vulgate translation of the Gospels was presented to Pope Damasus by St. Jerome in 384; the rest of the New Testament followed, but perhaps only after several years. In Acts Jerome's revision rested on an Old Latin basis, which may have been an ancestor of *gig*. In some cases he preserved African renderings foreign to *gig* (for instance xx. 17 *majores natu* for *πρεσβυτεροι*, where *d gig* have *presbyteri*; or xxvii. 3, where the peculiar reading of *vg ad amicos ire et curam sui agere* recalls *h amicus qui veniebant [ad eum] uti curam ejus agerent*, while *gig* reads *ire ad amicos et curam sui habere*), and he may well have had at his disposal a variety of manuscripts. At any rate he has retained a very large measure of Old Latin readings. But he brought in some renderings of his own, and he purged the text by the aid of a Greek text like that of the Old Uncials,<sup>1</sup> although peculiarities of no single one of the extant uncials are reflected in his translation.<sup>2</sup> Jerome's skill in departing as little as possible from Old Latin renderings, while by slight changes and rearrangement of words he yet attained, even in order, extraordinary exactness of agreement with his Greek standard, and produced an excellent translation, is worthy of the greatest admiration. Wordsworth and White believe that a series of renderings which they collect show that his Greek text differed somewhat from any known to us,<sup>3</sup> but on a close scrutiny these instances, with hardly an exception, do not seem to require this supposition.

Character  
of the  
Vulgate.

The text of the Vulgate became mixed with the Old Latin at an early date, and suffered from other corruption, as it was

<sup>1</sup> Julicher, *op. cit.* pp. 167 f., 185-188, Wordsworth and White, *Actus Apostolorum*, pp. x-xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Wordsworth and White, pp. xii f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. xi.

copied and when it was carried to distant lands. Important events in its history were the attempts of Alcuin (801) and of the Spaniard Theodulf (early ninth century) to establish a corrected text.

Codices.

The primary codices of the Vulgate which Wordsworth and White have selected as the basis of their text are G C A F D, named in order of excellence, and chosen as independent representatives from five distinct types and from widely distant localities. The agreement of these five, when it presents itself, is taken as decisive; when they differ, the internal probability of readings is invoked. The chief rules followed by the editors are that that reading is to be accepted which (1) agrees with the Greek, especially with the Old Uncials; or (2) renders the Greek best; or (3) is not found in the Old Latin; or (4) is supported by a family of codices whose readings are approved as right in the immediate context; or (5) is shorter. Attention must also be paid to obvious scribal errors. The five primary mss. are the following:

G C A F D G. Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 11,553. Codex Sangermanensis. Ninth century (first half). This ms. came from Southern Gaul, perhaps from Lyons.<sup>1</sup>

C. La Cava 14. Codex Cavensis. Ninth century. Probably written in Castile or Leon. C is the best representative of the Spanish family, and probably represents the edition of Peregrinus (450-500); it is superior to T (Codex Toletanus, eighth [tenth] century), which seems to give the text of Isidore of Seville (560-636).<sup>2</sup>

A. Florence, Bibl. laur. 1. Codex Amiatinus. Ca. 700 A.D. Written in Northumbria; shows traces in Acts of influence

<sup>1</sup> G is distinguished not only by the singular excellence of its text in some parts of the New Testament, but by containing (in expanded form) at the close of the Old Testament a colophon, elsewhere known only in the Bible de Rosas (R), which claims to be by Jerome, and may be genuine; see D. de Bruyne, 'Un nouveau document sur les origines de la Vulgate,' *Revue Biblique*, vol. x., 1913, pp. 5-14.

<sup>2</sup> D. de Bruyne, 'Étude sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne,' *Revue Benedictine*, vol. xxxi., 1914-19, pp. 373-401.

from the Latin (e) of Codex Laudianus (E). The text is of Neapolitan origin, and probably drawn from that of Cassiodorus.<sup>1</sup>

F. Fulda. Codex Fuldensis. *Ca.* 545 A.D. Written at Capua. On the text of F, which lay in Northumbria in the late years of the seventh and early years of the eighth century, is closely dependent the revision of Alcuin.

D. Dublin, Library of Trinity College. The Book of Armagh. First half of ninth century. D contains many Old Latin readings which survived from the text earlier current in Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The other codices used by Wordsworth and White fall into groups :

(1) Codex I (Iuveniani ; Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella, I M B 25<sup>a</sup> ; now in Biblioteca Vittorio-Emanuele ; eighth or ninth century) and Codex M (Monacensis ; ninth or tenth century) represent the same type as Codex A.

(2) Codex S (Sangallensis ; eighth century) and Codex U S U (Ulmensis ; ninth century), both Iro-gallic and written at St. Gall, largely agree with Codex F, but contain some of the additions current in the work of Celtic scribes.

(3) Codex T (Toletanus : originally from Seville ; now at T Madrid, Bibl. nac. ; eighth [tenth] century) <sup>3</sup> belongs with Codex C, but shows a later form of the Spanish text, probably that of Isidore of Seville (560-636).

(4) Codex O (Oxonien-sis-Seldenianus ; sometimes designated O x of the Old Latin ; seventh or eighth century, written in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, England) has a peculiar text related both to the Irish and to the Northumbrian forms.

(5) Codex Θ (Theodulfianus ; early ninth century, probably Θ copied at Fleury under the direction of Theodulf himself) best

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908, chap. ii. ; and his article, 'Cassiodorus and the Echternach Gospels,' *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxviii., 1911, pp. 283-295.

<sup>2</sup> John Gwynn, *Libri Ardmachanus, The Book of Armagh*, Dublin, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Lowe, 'On the Date of Codex Toletanus,' *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxxv., 1923, pp. 267-271.

represents the Theodulfian recension, which rested on a Spanish (or, rather, Languedocian) text akin to that of C T.

**K B V R** (6) Codices K (Karolinus, British Museum, add. 10,546; ninth century, script of Tours), B (Bambergensis, ninth century, script of Tours), V (Vallicellanus, B. vi., ninth century), R (Bible de Rosas, tenth century); written in eastern Tarragonian Spain; named in order of excellence, are the best representatives of the recension of Alcum,<sup>1</sup> and are consequently closely related to F and, less nearly, to S U.

**W** (7) Codex W (William of Hales, A.D. 1254) is taken as a good representative of the text current among scholars in the later Middle Ages.

**History of the Vulgate.** The relation of these mss. and groups is to be accounted for by the history of the Vulgate, in so far as that has been made out by the researches of scholars.<sup>2</sup>

**Naples.** Good copies of St. Jerome's translation, or of large parts of it, were early in use in Italy and Southern Spain. At Squillace in South Italy in the sixth century Cassiodorus obtained from Naples an excellent text of the Gospels and a less good one of other parts of the Bible. He seems to have used these to correct an Old Latin text, from which some, though few and unimportant, survivals remained in his text.<sup>3</sup> From this text proceeded that brought to Northumbria, probably by Ceolfrid or Benedict Biscop about 680. Among many copies of this Northumbrian text Codex Amiatinus (A) is the best.

Also in the neighbourhood of Naples at Capua, in 541-546

<sup>1</sup> Codex V in Acts i.-ii. follows the family of Codex Amiatinus rather than the Alcumian text, Wordsworth and White, pp. viii, xv; cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, pp. 197-204, 242. On this ms. see also P. Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, pp. 855-875; H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, 1<sup>ère</sup> partie, Octateuque (Collectanea Biblica Latina, vi.), 1922, pp. 266 ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893; H. J. White, art. 'Vulgate' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv., 1902; John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908; *id.* 'Cassiodorus and the Echterbach Gospels,' *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxviii., 1911, pp. 283-295, H. Quentin, *op. cit.*, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxviii., 1911, pp. 286-288.

was written Codex Fuldensis (F), which was brought to England, perhaps by the same hands as A, given to Boniface, and by him to the monastery of Fulda in Germany.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance of the text of A and F in the Gospels is thus easily accounted for by their common dependence on the text of Naples; the divergence of the two texts in other parts of the New Testament has not been definitely explained.

From Italy also, and perhaps from Rome, copies of the Vulgate, which were independent of the Northumbrian text, came to England with the mission of Augustine of Canterbury (596) and with his successors in the following century. Roman Christianity, advancing from England into Ireland, gained dominance over the earlier Irish Christianity, introduced probably in the fourth century, which had maintained itself during the centuries of heathen aggression. But this Irish church of earlier foundation had used the Old Latin version of the Bible, and was strongly attached to it, so that one product of the new Roman mission in Ireland was a combination of the Old Latin with the new Italian Vulgate text brought by the new leaders. The Irish text which thus resulted was distinct from the Northumbrian; in the great series of superb products of Irish scribes in Ireland and on the continent it had a long history and far-reaching influence, and in one of its forms it is found in the Book of Armagh (D).

On the history of the Vulgate text in Italy recent researches have thrown but little light. A Roman type must have existed, and one stage of it may be represented by the English manuscripts of the Gospels traditionally connected with Canterbury and Gregory the Great; of Acts nothing can be said. The difficulty of the problem and meagreness of the evidence are perhaps due to the long-continued use in Rome<sup>2</sup> and North Italy

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, pp. 157 f., 160 f., 188.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory the Great († 604) says that both the Old Latin and the Vulgate were alike in use at Rome in his time, *Expositio in librum B. Job (Moralium libri)*, *Epistola ad Leandrum*, 5, Migne, vol. lxxv. p. 516: *Novam vero trans-*

of the good revised form of the Old Latin (the so-called 'European'), as well as to the successive and terrible disasters which befell the city of Rome.<sup>1</sup> In Northern Italy, in the province of Milan, a definite type of text established itself as early as the eleventh century, based on texts immediately or more remotely of Spanish origin but with combination of the text of Alcuin. It appears in mss. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and may have had its origin at Rome.<sup>2</sup> Another group in the Octateuch comprises chiefly mss. written at Monte Cassino in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, which have a text derived from Spain.<sup>3</sup>

Africa. Of the history of the Vulgate text of the New Testament in North Africa very little is known. The Vulgate Gospels and St. Jerome's Gallican Psalter (in a slightly modified form) were in use there in the time of St. Augustine.<sup>4</sup>

Spain. In Spain the text of the Vulgate had its own development. As in Ireland, it came into rivalry, and then entered a combination, with the African Latin texts of earlier and of later type which had come across the Mediterranean from Africa, and with the revised 'European' text which reached the peninsula from Italy and perhaps from Gaul. At first in southern Spain, then, at the coming of the Mohammedan Moors in the eighth century (battle of Xeres de la Frontera, 711), driven to the north

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*lationem dissero, sed cum probationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem, per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui deo auctore praesideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur.*

<sup>1</sup> Codex Iuvenciani (I) and Codex Monacensis (M) may represent an Italian text akin to that of Codex Amiatinus. It does not seem to be suggested that either of them is dependent on the text of Northumbria. The participation of the text of Codex Fuldensis in the composition of Codex Sangallensis and Codex Ulmensis may be due to an Italian strain in these latter manuscripts. But in the case of Alcuin's revision the close connexion with the Italian Codex F would seem more probably due to the relation of the two, each in its own way, to Northumbria.

<sup>2</sup> H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, I<sup>re</sup> partie, pp. 361-384.

<sup>3</sup> H. Quentin, *op. cit.* pp. 352-360.

<sup>4</sup> On Augustine's use of the Gallican Psalter see above, p. cxv; cf. also P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, vol. i, 1901, pp. 180 f.

and maintaining themselves in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, the Visigothic Christians produced many copies of the Latin Bible, of which some, from the seventh century on, have come down to us. Some of these show that the Vulgate element in these mixed and interpolated texts was of excellent quality, faithful to the original which had earlier reached Spain. Codex Cavensis (C; ninth century) seems to represent the edition of Peregrinus (probably northern Spain, 450-500), Codex Toletanus (T; eighth century, perhaps completed in the tenth century) that of Isidore of Seville (560-636). From Leon and Castile (especially Toledo), and Catalonia, these texts made their way into Languedoc and up the Rhone valley to Vienne and Lyons, ancient seats of second-century Christianity which in the intervening centuries had, like Rome, exchanged Greek for Latin as the language of the Church. Spanish texts were carried even farther, to North Italy (Bobbio and the province of Milan) and so to Switzerland.

Corresponding on the other side to the entrance of the France Spanish text of the Vulgate into France was the bringing in of Irish and Northumbrian texts by innumerable missionaries who, from the seventh century on, worked in to a cordon of stations on the north and east and south-east, some of them following up the Rhine. From these centres Irish scribes and Irish texts penetrated into the very heart of the country. To name only points where the scribes or the texts are actually known, we find them at Tours and Angers, perhaps coming by way of Brittany, and in the neighbourhood of Lyons; in Normandy, at Fécamp and St. Evroult; on the east at Echternach, Würzburg, Metz; in Switzerland, at St. Gall, the neighbouring Reichenau, and Pfäfers; in Northern Italy, at Bobbio, founded by St. Columban.

In France itself no earlier type of Vulgate text had been current—indeed the Vulgate itself, especially for the New Testament, had but slowly and gradually superseded the Old Latin in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries; but endless varieties of French text resulted from the conflict of Spanish



and British (Irish and English) influences. The most distinguished example of this mixture is the Codex Sangermanensis (G; ninth century; probably from near Lyons), in which a text largely, in the Old Testament almost wholly, of Spanish origin has been mixed with an Irish strain and with a 'European' Old Latin text (especially in the Gospel of Matthew). The Acts of Codex G present a text of which neither its composition nor the ground of its excellence is fully explained, but which, on internal grounds, is accounted the best extant representative of the Vulgate of St. Jerome. Even in the Gospels those readings of Codex G which are not otherwise accounted for often possess almost unique value as survivals of the original Vulgate text. In Acts G agrees more often with A than with F.<sup>1</sup>

Theodulf;  
Aloum.

Toward a better text two attempts were made about the year 800. That of Theodulf († ca. 821), himself a Visigoth, was mingled of various elements, Spanish and British, but in Acts substantially reproduced the text of Languedoc. Far more powerful in its effects was the text of Alcuin, presented to Charlemagne in 801. For the formation of this, copies were brought from York, where he had been brought up from infancy. In the ninth century this text was multiplied in a great number of copies, but in these was immediately and progressively modified and depraved. Attempts to secure uniformity of use by a fresh revision of the text of the Bible often produce at first a new confusion, but they often mark an epoch. It was so here; Alcuin's text, in the main of Northumbrian origin, was the signal for the final disappearance of any considerable Old Latin influence in the French text.

University  
of Paris  
text.

In succeeding centuries a succession of scholars endeavoured to establish more correct texts than those current, until the thirteenth century witnessed the rise into leadership of the University of Paris, and with it, centring in Paris, an activity never before equalled in the production of Bibles, many of them

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth and White, *Actus Apostolorum*, pp. vi, xii f., xvi; *Quattuor Evangelia*, 'Epilogus,' p. 717.

characterised by their handy form and beautiful execution. The text of the later Middle Ages was this Paris text, and from some of its forms was drawn the chief part of the modern printed text of which the Clementine edition of 1592 constitutes the standard.

From this sketch it will be apparent that the grouping of Wordsworth and White's classification is due to the real working of comprehensible historical forces, although not all of these can be traced in detail.

### (c) VERSIONS MADE FROM THE LATIN

Interest and some importance attaches in Acts to certain daughter-versions of the Latin Vulgate, because they contain many 'Western' readings. These are the two Provençal versions (of Provence and of the Waldensian valleys), the German version made from the Provençal, the Waldensian Italian version, and the Bohemian version.<sup>1</sup> Their origin is but imperfectly known, but they are bound together by the heretical or sectarian character of the Christians (except the Italians) among whom they severally circulated and whose need of a translation of the Bible into the vernacular they served. In particular they illustrate the wide range of Waldensian activity in all southern Germany before the period of John Hus.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. *Provençal*<sup>3</sup>

In Languedoc a Latin text was current throughout the Middle Ages in which an important element containing many

Latin text  
of Lan-  
guedoc.

<sup>1</sup> The translation into the Catalan dialect of north-eastern Spain is in some of its forms partly based on a text containing 'Western' readings (e.g. Acts xi. 1-2), as would be expected, but its complicated history is not well understood; see S. Berger, 'Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes,' *Romania*, vol. xix., 1890, pp. 505-561, especially pp. 514 f

<sup>2</sup> S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 74: "Deux pays seulement, à notre connaissance, montrant, en plein moyen âge, un attachement obstiné aux textes antérieurs à saint Jérôme: ce sont les pays albigéens et la Bohême, terres d'hérésie et d'indépendance religieuse autant que de particularisme fier et jaloux."

<sup>3</sup> S. Berger, 'Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises,' *Romania*, vol. xviii., 1889, pp. 353-422.

Old Latin readings had been drawn from Spain.<sup>1</sup> A noteworthy example of such a ms. is the Codex Colbertinus from Languedoc (Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 254, twelfth century). In this the Gospels are mostly Old Latin (c), with some African readings. Another ms. showing considerable resemblance to Codex Colbertinus in the mixed Vulgate part of the latter, was the Codex Demidovianus (twelfth or thirteenth century), now lost, but published by Matthai, 1782-1788, which came from the Jesuit house at Lyons. Still another pure copy of this text (but not from this region) is the Codex Wernigerodensis (Library of Graf Stolberg, Z.a.81), containing interlinear Bohemian glosses, and written in Bohemia very early in the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Other manuscripts from Languedoc date from the tenth to the fourteenth century,<sup>3</sup> when this text disappears in fusion with the ordinary text of Paris. The revision of Theodulf (ninth century) probably rests in part on the Latin text of Languedoc.

Provençal  
versions.

From this Latin are derived two types of translation into Provençal.<sup>4</sup> (1) The first is a version found in two mss.: one now at Lyons (Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, No. 36), of the thirteenth century,<sup>5</sup> probably written in the modern Department of the Aude, not far from Carcassonne; the other an inferior

<sup>1</sup> S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, pp. 72-82; *Romania*, vol. xviii., 1889, pp. 354-356. It is necessary to remark that the Latin text so used was Catholic, not heretical or schismatic, although its wide spread in southern and eastern Europe was due to the fact that Languedoc was a centre from which pioneer movements spread. It is an error, although a natural one, to say that "only among heretics isolated from the rest of Western Christianity could an Old Latin text have been written at so late a period" (*sc.* the twelfth century).

<sup>2</sup> Berger, *Revue historique*, vol. xlv., 1891, p. 148; *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, p. 80; W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, Braunschweig, 1889-1892, p. 190; readings given by Blass, *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. lxxix., 1896, pp. 436-471, and in Wordsworth and White. The Latin Bible of the abbey of Werden (Rhenish Prussia) referred to by Berger, *Revue historique*, 1886, p. 487, may be another similar copy.

<sup>3</sup> "Un texte ancien dispersé dans des manuscrits récents," Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the references given in the following notes see E. Reuss, art. 'Bibelübersetzungen, romanische,' in *Protestantische Realencykl.*, vol. iii., pp. 139 f.

<sup>5</sup> According to Paul Meyer, between 1250 and 1280.

ms. at Paris (Bibl. nat., fr. 2425), of the first half of the fourteenth century, written somewhere in southern Provence. The Lyons codex <sup>1</sup> appears to have been copied directly from the interlinear Provençal gloss of a Latin ms., probably itself not much older than this extant copy. By the Catharist (Albigensian) liturgy which forms a part of it, appended to the New Testament, it is shown to have been written for the use of that sect. The Paris ms. gives a free and abridged version, by descent akin to the better translation of the Lyons ms. The margin is full of marks calling attention to the passages of Scripture especially valued by the Waldensians, and it seems to have been used by a Waldensian colporteur.<sup>2</sup> These Provençal texts both represent the same dialect. Of the origin of the translation nothing is positively known; no taint of heresy has been discovered at any point in it.

(2) The second Provençal version is in the dialect of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, and is found in copies used by the Waldensians who dwelt there. The oldest and best ms. is that of Carpentras (Bibl. municipale, 22), in a southern French hand of the fourteenth century. Other important copies are at Dublin (A.4.13, written in 1522, but almost identical with the Carpentras ms.), Grenoble (about 1400), Cambridge (University Library, Dd 15.34; early fifteenth century), and Zurich (sixteenth century). Many other late copies are also known.

These two Provençal versions <sup>3</sup> are probably, though not certainly, derived from a common original translation into

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile in L. Clédât, *Le Nouveau Testament, traduit au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en langue provençale suivi d'un rituel cathare*, Paris, 1887. See E. Reuss, 'Les versions vaudoises existantes et la traduction des Albigeois ou Cathares,' *Revue de Théologie* (Strasbourg), vol. v., 1852, pp. 321-349; 'Versions cathares et vaudoises,' *ibid.* vol. vi., 1853, pp. 65-96; S. Berger, *Romania*, vol. xviii., 1889, pp. 357-364; Paul Meyer, 'Recherches linguistiques sur l'origine des versions provençales du N.T.,' *Romania*, vol. xviii., 1889, pp. 423-429. Readings in Acts are collected by Blass, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1896, pp. 436-471.

<sup>2</sup> Berger, *Revue historique*, vol. xxx., 1886, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> See the clear brief statement of the process of events in Berger, 'Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes,' *Romania*, vol. xix., 1890, pp. 559-561.

Provençal. At any rate, although their readings are not everywhere identical, both are derived from the Latin text of Languedoc of the thirteenth century, and hence in Acts contain many 'Western' readings of Old Latin origin. Indeed, "the Provençal versions form the best witness to the [mixed Vulgate] text of Languedoc," which "goes back directly to the ancient text of the Visigoths."<sup>1</sup> It is not to be supposed that the Waldensians, Catharists, and Bohemians deliberately adopted a text of Acts because they knew it to be different from that used by the orthodox Catholics. On the contrary, the translators of these texts merely used the text of Languedoc current in their own day and locality, which happened (through contiguity to Spain) to be widely mixed with Old Latin readings;<sup>2</sup> the translators themselves may or may not have been sectaries. Nevertheless, it is for the most part because these translations were used by sectaries that they have been preserved for us.

## 2. German<sup>3</sup>

The German translation of the New Testament which was printed, with some variations, in many editions from 1466 to 1518, was probably translated in the fourteenth century in southern Bohemia from a Provençal text<sup>4</sup> brought to Bohemia

<sup>1</sup> Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> This fact is in itself an interesting illustration of the peculiar persistence in Africa and Spain of the 'Western' African text of Acts side by side with later renderings of other books (thus in the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei*, about 450; codex h of the sixth century).

<sup>3</sup> S. Berger, *Revue historique*, vol. xxx., 1886, pp. 164-169; vol. xxxii., 1886, pp. 184-190; vol. xlv., 1891, pp. 147-149; *Romania*, vol. xviii., 1889, pp. 407 f.; W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*; O. F. Fritzsche and E. Nestle, art. 'Bibelübersetzungen, deutsche,' in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, vol. iii., 1897, pp. 64-69; Karl Müller, *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. ix., 1887, pp. 571-594; and, on Müller's article, Berger's comments in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire vaudoise*, No. 3, Torre Pellice, December 1887, pp. 37-41.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Zahn, *Die Herausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, 1916, p. 16; Berger, *Revue historique*, 1891, pp. 448 f. The translator may have had the aid of a Vulgate text and of another German translation, but the instances adduced by Berger and Zahn seem to leave no doubt as to the fundamental

perhaps by Waldensians or Cathari. In any case it represents a Latin text of the type current in Languedoc in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, containing many 'Western' readings in Acts. It is found in several mss., of which two, the Codex Teplensis and the Freiberg ms., contain Acts.

The Codex Teplensis<sup>1</sup> (Library of the Praemonstratensian monastery, Tepl, in Bohemia, V. VI. 139) is a little copy, with pages hardly more than two inches by three. It was evidently meant to be carried in the pocket of a Waldensian missionary, for whose use a great number of marks in the margin direct attention to useful passages, while other appropriate matter is added at the end, including a German translation of a Waldensian catechism. It was written, probably, toward the end of the fourteenth century.

The Freiberg manuscript<sup>2</sup> (Library of the gymnasium, Freiberg in Saxony, I. Cl. ms. 18) closely resembles the Codex Teplensis in size and hand, as well as in text, and is to be assigned to a date not far removed from that ms. It is not, however, derived from the same immediate exemplar, and its history seems to have been different, for soon after it was written it was in the possession of a Catholic pastor, who gave it in 1414 to a monastery, probably one of those from whose books the Freiberg Library was brought together.<sup>3</sup>

With these two mss. is to be associated the text of the first German Bible (Strassburg, Joh. Mentel, 1466), which is drawn from a different, but similar, German ms.

The peculiar readings of all these texts in Acts, often

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relation to the Provençal. That Latin mss. containing this text were actually brought to Bohemia from Provence may be inferred from the Codex Wernigerodensis (see p. cxxxvi). Codex Gigas and the Bohemian version make it clear that the Latin copies which the Bohemians had were of various types.

<sup>1</sup> [Klimesch], *Der Codex Teplensis, enthaltend 'die Schrift des neuen Gezeuges'*, Munich and Augsburg, 1884; readings are given by Wordsworth and White.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rachel, *Die Freiburger Bibelhandschrift* (programme), Freiberg, 1886; facsimile and comparison with Codex Teplensis in W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 1889-1892, cols. 154 ff.

<sup>3</sup> K. Müller, *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. LX., 1887, p. 517.

4. Olmütz, Czecho-Slovakia (Moravia), Studienbibliothek. 1417.

These mss. are all believed to give the oldest recension of the Bohemian text. Still older is :

5. Nikolsburg, Czecho-Slovakia (Moravia), Chapter library of the Collegiate Church of St. Wenzel. 1406. But this is said to give a revised form of the version.<sup>1</sup> Whether the underlying Latin text may be the same is not known.

In the fifteenth century further revisions were made, of which many mss. are known.

#### 4. *Italian* <sup>2</sup>

A translation of the New Testament into Italian was made, probably in the thirteenth century, from a Latin text like that of Languedoc, and under the influence of the Provençal New Testament. It includes, like those texts, some 'Western' readings in Acts. That it was made by a Waldensian is not improbable, but it circulated among Catholics and was revised with glosses by Domenica Cavalca, a Dominican of Pisa († 1342), as well as by others. From the translation of Cavalca the Waldenses took over the Book of Acts and rendered it into their own dialect, and in this guise it is still found for the second half of Acts (from the middle of chapter xvi.) in the Grenoble and Cambridge Vaudois mss. mentioned above. Truly a strange piece of history, and instructive in more than one aspect !

### § 2. EGYPTIAN

The complicated textual history of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions has never been investigated. The material at hand, however, makes it possible to know with tolerable certainty what forms these translations respectively had at relatively very

<sup>1</sup> Leskien, *l.c.* p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> S. Berger, 'La Bible italienne au moyen âge,' *Romania*, vol. xxiii., 1894, pp. 358-431, cf. especially pp. 387, 390-395, 418.

early dates, forms not much altered from that of the original rendering.

(a) SAHIDIC <sup>1</sup>

The Sahidic version of Acts is found in a large number of Codices mss. and fragments, from which substantially the whole book is known. A full list will be found below, pp. 322 ff. The most important mss. are the following:

B. London, British Museum, 7954. A.D. 350. Papyrus.

V. Vienna. A.D. 400. Parchment.

W. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. huntington. 394. Twelfth-thirteenth century. Paper.

The other mss. are to be dated in the seventh (?) -thirteenth centuries.

The analysis of the collation of the Sahidic with the Greek Underlying  
Greek  
text of Codex B given below (pp. 325 ff.) shows that the Greek text on which it rested consisted largely of the readings of the Old Uncials, but also contained, besides some other elements, a distinct 'Western' strand.<sup>2</sup> Since the 'Western' readings with but few exceptions are small unimportant variants, it seems likely that the Greek from which the Sahidic of Acts was translated was a copy of a ms. in which a 'Western' text had been almost completely corrected by a standard of the B-type. It is hardly conceivable that these trifling 'Western' variants should have been specially selected for introduction into a non-western text and the great mass of interesting and important variants passed by. And indeed this current from 'Western' to B text must

<sup>1</sup> [G. Horner], *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*, vol. vi., Oxford, 1922; with list of mss., pp. 666-672.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 5010. A peculiarly instructive case is to be found in Acts x. 33, where the Sahidic (Codex V) reads 'to us' for *προς σε*. This is evidently a fragmentary survival from *παρακαλων ελθειν προς ημας*, which the 'Western' text (Codex Bezae perp hel ✕) added to the sentence. In the process of correcting the Greek ms., or of using it after the correction, the wrong prepositional phrase was taken over; and so this passed into the Sahidic without the accompanying verbs, which were necessary in order to justify its presence.



have characterized the adaptation and production of Greek mss. in Egypt and elsewhere from the third century on. The Sahidic gives perhaps the most striking exhibition of it to be found in the New Testament.

Date. Nothing seems to prevent the assumption that the Sahidic version of Acts was made in the third century,<sup>1</sup> but a date earlier than 300 is not indicated by any decisive positive evidence. The fact that the "White Monastery" (*dér el-abjad*) was founded about 350 is perhaps not without significance in this connexion.

Character- The Sahidic translator frequently added personal pronouns istics. not found in Greek, often made small omissions, and had a curious habit of reversing the order of two words in a composite phrase (for instance, Acts i. 7, 'seasons and times'; xxviii. 2, 'cold and rain,' for 'rain and cold'). As for the order of words in general, "Coptic grammar requires a word-position of its own, and the translation is rarely of any use in such a case." In the use of the collation printed below, it is to be borne in mind that it is made with Codex Vaticanus, but that no distinction is made between the renderings which positively imply the text of that codex and a certain number of neutral readings which might have proceeded equally well from that Greek text or from one of the known Greek variants. Thus, the Sahidic always writes the name 'Jesus' with the definite article, so that in Acts i. 1 no inference can be drawn as to whether the Greek text before the translator read *ἰησοῦς* (BD) or *ο ἰησοῦς* (NA 81). Similarly, in Acts the Sahidic "never uses any form but *ἱεροῦσαλημ* (otherwise in the Gospels)." Again, "Coptic has no word for *τε* when used with following *καί*, and does not reproduce *τε* itself except very rarely; it is merely omitted."<sup>2</sup> Other remarks and warn-

<sup>1</sup> So J. Leipoldt, according to Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1924, pp. 63 f. note 14, on the ground of the old-fashioned linguistic forms employed; but in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1923, p. 352, Leipoldt refers the Sahidic translation of Acts to "the time about A.D. 300."

<sup>2</sup> The statements about Coptic idiom here made are from Sir Herbert Thompson.

ings with regard to the use of the Sahidic for textual criticism will be found in the paragraphs introductory to the Tables.

(b) BOHAIRIC <sup>1</sup>

The Bohairic version of Acts is known from eleven MSS. Codices (besides some others), of which six are from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and five from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see below, pp. 357 f.).

The mss. of chief importance for the text are :

A. London, British Museum, or. 424, A.D. 1307, said to be copied from a text written *ca.* 1250. From this codex Horner's text is printed and translated.

B. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana. Fourteenth century.

Γ. Deir el Muharrak, Egypt. Twelfth century.

"A is an eccentric ms., with many peculiar and often corrupt readings"; "B is a very close follower of the Greek Codex Vaticanus." The text of Γ belongs to a different family, which "seems to be somewhat influenced by the Sahidic version."<sup>2</sup>

A digest of the collation is given below (pp. 360 ff.). It will show the extraordinary fidelity of this version to the text of the Old Greek Uncials, which extends in some cases to Codex Vaticanus in particular. The date of the version is variously estimated by different scholars. It was made later than the Sahidic, and a date as late as 700 is possible, although a date earlier in the seventh century, not too long after the Mohammedan conquest, is not unlikely.<sup>3</sup> The earliest Bohairic mss. (fragment-

Character  
and date.

<sup>1</sup> [G. Horner], *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic*, vol. iv., Oxford, 1905; for the list of mss. see vol. iii. pp. x-lxviii.

<sup>2</sup> H. Thompson.

<sup>3</sup> "Erst als auch Ägypten von dem grossen Reichsverbande loszulösen begann, waren die Bedingungen gegeben, unter denen eine volkstümliche Litteratur auch im Delta entstehen konnte," Johannes Leipoldt, 'Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur,' in Brockelmann, Finck, Leipoldt, and Littmann, *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients* (Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen, vol. vii. 2), 2nd ed., 1909, p. 179.

ary) of any part of the New Testament date from the ninth century. Certain counsels of prudence, in view of the nature of Bohairic idiom, with regard to the use of the Bohairic for textual criticism, are given in connexion with the Tables.

### § 3 ETHIOPIC

**Codices.** Of manuscripts containing the Ethiopic version of Acts thirteen are mentioned in Gregory's list. No date is assigned to four of these, of the others, one (Paris, Bibl. nat., aeth. 26 [Zotenberg 42]) is of the fifteenth, one of the sixteenth, four of the seventeenth, and three of the eighteenth century.

**Editions.** The Ethiopic New Testament was published at Rome, 1548-1549 (reprinted in Walton's Polyglot, vol. v., London, 1657), and by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1830 (edited by Thomas Pell Platt). The manuscript of Acts used for the Roman edition was defective, and the editors were compelled to translate from Latin into Ethiopic considerable parts of the book. The edition of Platt was made, doubtless from the manuscripts in London, for missionary rather than critical purposes.

**History.** The Ethiopic version was made from the Greek (both in the Old and New Testaments) in the period from the fourth to the seventh century. In more recent times (perhaps in the fourteenth century) it was revised by the aid of the Arabic (the 'Alexandrian Vulgate'), through which a Syriac influence recognizable in the later text may have been introduced.<sup>1</sup> Most mss. are of very late date, and give a revised form of the text, in various types of combination with the earlier form.

**Character.** An analysis of the Ethiopic version of Matt. i.-x., as found in the oldest and best ms. (Paris, Bibl. nat., aeth. 22 [Zotenberg 32], thirteenth century), shows that it contains a combination of 'Western' and Antiochian readings.<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament text

<sup>1</sup> J. Schäfers, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Jeremias* (Breslau dissertation), 1912, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> L. Hackspall, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xi., 1897, pp. 117-196, 367-388.

in Genesis agrees largely with the Sahidic and Bohairic ;<sup>1</sup> in Joshua it has a text like Codex Vaticanus for its basis (as does the Coptic) ;<sup>2</sup> in Judges it follows the older Greek version, not that found in Codex Vaticanus ;<sup>3</sup> in Ruth it is in the main pre-hexaplaric, and resembles Codex B, but has been subjected to hexaplaric and other later influences.<sup>4</sup> In the four Books of Kingdoms, the Ethiopic text is specially valuable, for it forms a compact group with B and the non-hexaplaric quotations of Origen ; in cases where B and Origen differ, the Ethiopic stands almost always on the side of Origen, and it gives in some respects a better text than does B.<sup>5</sup> In 1 Esdras the Ethiopic generally agrees with B, the Syro-hexaplaric version, and Codex 55, as against A and the minuscule text.<sup>6</sup> In the Psalter the Ethiopic stands closer to B than any other witness except the Bohairic and Codex 8 ; in its original form it may have been even nearer.<sup>7</sup> In Jeremiah the oldest form of the Ethiopic belongs to the type of Codex 8.<sup>8</sup> In Ezekiel it largely agrees with the oldest and best mss. of the Septuagint.<sup>9</sup>

The excellence and usefulness of at least many parts of the Ethiopic text of the Old Testament and the character of its New Testament readings in Matthew i.-x. justify the expectation that an investigation of this version in Acts and in other parts of the New Testament would produce interesting and valuable results.

<sup>1</sup> A. T. Olmstead, 'The Greek Genesis,' *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxxiv., 1918, p. 153 ; O. Procksch, *Die Genesis* (Sellin's Kommentar zum A.T.), 1913, p. 14. Codex Vaticanus is lacking for nearly the whole of Genesis ; the Ethiopic closely agrees with the group f (53), i (56), r (129).

<sup>2</sup> Professor Max L. Margolis.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Moore, *Commentary on Judges*, 1895, p. xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, 1922, pp. 134 f.

<sup>5</sup> Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern*, 1904, pp. 79, 84 f.

<sup>6</sup> Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910, pp. 100 f.

<sup>7</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, pp. 37, 56.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Schafers, *op. cit.* p. viii.

<sup>9</sup> Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, p. 42.

§ 4 SYRIAC<sup>1</sup>

## (a) OLD SYRIAC

The existence of an early translation of Acts into Syriac is known from the Armenian translations of two works of Ephrem Syrus (Nisibis and Edessa ; † 373), namely, his Commentary on the Acts, of which a translation is printed below, pp. 380 ff., and his Commentary on the Epistles of Paul.<sup>2</sup> These have to be employed with caution, since the Armenian translator may have made Ephrem's quotations conform to the Armenian Vulgate ; nevertheless it is clear that the Syriac text used by Ephrem was distinctly, and doubtless thoroughly, 'Western.' The few slight allusions to Acts found in the Homilies of Aphraates do not permit any inference as to the character of the Syriac text which he used. There seems nothing to show that the Syriac translation may not have been made before the end of the second century. The most natural source from which the Syrians could draw the Greek manuscripts they used would perhaps be Antioch, but it might have been Palestine, or possibly Rome.<sup>3</sup>

## (b) PESHITTO

Under Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411-435), a great re-organizing churchman, the Syrian New Testament was made more complete, and the translation thoroughly revised, both

<sup>1</sup> For detailed information of every sort relating to Syriac literary history reference can now be made to an invaluable thesaurus, A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> *Ephraem Syri Commentarii in epistolas Pauli ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem a Mekitharistis translati*, Venice, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> On the evidence of the use of Acts in the Syrian church, see Zahn, *Die Herausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutest. Kanons, ix), 1916, pp. 203-220. Zahn's view (p. 205) is that Tatian brought from Rome not only the Gospels, but also the Acts and the Epistles of Paul. The *Doctrina Addae* (ed. Phillips, p. 44) refers to "the Acts of the Twelve Apostles, which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus" ; this would seem to indicate that in circles which still knew the Diatessaron (p. 34) Acts was believed to have been in the possession of the Syrian church from the earliest times.

with reference to the Syriac form and by the aid of Greek mss., the latter probably being drawn from Antioch. The resulting Peshitto text of the Acts is analysed below (pp. 292 ff.), and shows considerable survivals of a more primitive 'Western' Old Syriac, in the midst of a text substantially like that of the Old Uncials. The rendering is often very free, somewhat after the manner of the 'Western' text (cf. for instance Acts xii. 6 in the Peshitto); the translator has a habit of expressing one Greek word by two Syriac ones. He but rarely omits anything that was in his Greek text. The readings which depart from the Old Uncial text and follow the Antiochian are usually also found in 'Western' witnesses, and there seems no trace of the peculiar and distinctive selection of readings which is the chief recognizable characteristic of the Antiochian text.

The text of the Peshitto itself has been preserved with extraordinary fidelity from the earliest times; moreover, at least one ms. of Acts is extant, and used for Gwilliam's text (1920), which may have been written in the very century in which the version was made.

### (c) PHILOXENIAN

As the influence of a great Syrian ecclesiastic of the first half Origin of the fifth century, Rabbula of Edessa, had produced the Peshitto in Edessa, so, a little less than a century later, the next important revision of the Syriac New Testament was due to the instance of a great and militant leader of the Eastern monophysite Christians, Philoxenus (Mar Xenaia, † 523), bishop of Hierapolis (Mabog, Bambyce), who, with his contemporary, Severus of Antioch, founded Jacobite Monophysitism. The work of translation was performed in 508, in the period when the prestige of Philoxenus was at its height, by Polycarp, chorepiscopus in the diocese of Mabog; it included, apparently for the first time in Syriac, the four minor Catholic epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) and the Book of Revelation.<sup>1</sup> These the

<sup>1</sup> John Gwynn, art. 'Polycarpus Chorepiscopus,' and Edmund Venables, art. 'Philoxenus,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; Gwynn, *Remnants of*

church of Edessa in the days of Rabbula, following its Greek authorities, had not accepted, and they had accordingly not formed a part of the Peshitto. This enlargement of the canon was in itself an indication of monophysite accessibility to Greek influence and of alienation from the old-fashioned Syrian ways of the Nestorians. It is instructive to observe that Philoxenus himself did not know Greek,<sup>1</sup> while Severus of Antioch, who was in manifold communication with the Alexandrian monophysites, was a Greek. What parts of the Old Testament were comprised in the revision is uncertain, although certain fragments of Isaiah found in a British Museum ms. (Add. 17,106) have been somewhat doubtfully supposed to be from this version, partly on the ground of a scholion in the Milan Syro-hexaplar codex. Even of the New Testament the only books which seem to have come down to us in the Philoxenian version are the five which it added to the Syriac Bible.<sup>2</sup>

The four minor Catholic epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) in Syriac were first published by E. Pococke in 1630, from a ms. now in the Bodleian Library (Or. 119, Catal. 35), were inserted in the Paris Polyglot of 1645, and have since appeared in all editions of the Peshitto. They were recognized by John Gwynn

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*the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible*, London, 1909; Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version hitherto Unknown*, Dublin, 1897. The arguments of Gwynn must be accepted in spite of the contentions of J. Lebon, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. xii., Louvain, 1911, pp. 412-436. Lebon's view rests on the articles by H. Gressmann, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. v., 1904, pp. 248-252; vol. vi., 1905, pp. 135-152, who tried to draw from the Syriac (Karkaphensian) masora evidence that the express ascription of the version in the mss. to Thomas of Harkel is a mistake. Adequate replies to this view are given in the criticism of Lebon (by Lagrange ?) in *Revue Biblique*, vol. ix., 1912, pp. 141-143, and the article of L. J. Delaporte, 'L'Évangélaire héracléen et la tradition karkaphienne,' *ibid.* pp. 390-402.

<sup>1</sup> J. Lebon, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. xii., 1911, p. 417 note 1 (with references).

<sup>2</sup> N. Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, Rome, 1828, pp. 178 f. note, cites five brief passages from Romans, Corinthians, and Ephesians, which are ascribed to the Philoxenian in a ms. of the Karkaphensian material. The renderings closely resemble those of the Harclean, but are not identical with the text of our Harclean mss.

as drawn from the Philoxenian.<sup>1</sup> The Apocalypse in the Philoxenian was discovered by Gwynn in the Crawford ms. now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest extant notice of the Philoxenian version of the New Testament is that of Moses of Aghel<sup>3</sup> in a letter prefixed to his translation of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril of Alexandria, a work containing interpretations of passages in the Pentateuch :

Moses of  
Aghel.

And I ask the reader to attend to the words of this book, for they are deep. And when he finds quotations from the Holy Bible which are cited in this translation, let him not be troubled if they do not agree with the copies of the Syrians, for the versions and traditions<sup>4</sup> of the Bible vary greatly. And if he wishes to find the truth, let him take the translation of the New Testament which [and of David]<sup>5</sup> Polycarp the chorepiscopus made into Syriac (rest his soul!) for the worthy and for good works ever memorable 'Faithful' man and teacher, Xenaias of Mabog. He will be astonished at the differences which exist in the translation of the Syriac from the Greek language. But as for us, inasmuch as we are now translating from the Greek language into Syriac (with the aid of Christ), we here indicate the word as it is in the Greek, by the hands of the brethren, our young pupils; and when they make mistakes in the syllables or the points, and are observed, well-instructed readers will correct as the text ought to read.

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv., 1887, pp. 432 f.; *Hermathena*, vol. vii., 1890, pp. 281-314.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *The Academy*, June 18, 1892, p. 592, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx., 1893; *Apocalypse of St. John*, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, ii. p. 83. The Syriac text is printed by I. Guidi, in the *Rendiconti* of the Accademia dei Lincei, ser. 4, vol. II., Rome, 1886, p. 404. The sole ms. known (divided between the Vatican and the British Museum) is of the sixth or seventh century. Evidence for dates in the life of Moses of Aghel is meagre. His prefatory letter above mentioned was written after the death of Philoxenus in 523. One of his other works was probably already current in 570, since it is included in a collection made at about that date.

<sup>4</sup> Translated by Merx: 'Ausgaben und Recensionen.'

<sup>5</sup> The words 'and of David' (*we-david*), here put in brackets, are to be regarded either as an interpolation or as a corruption of some other word. Not only do they stand in a wholly unnatural position, but it is doubtful whether in any case the Psalms could be called 'David' in such a context as this. They constitute, it may be noted, the only known ground for supposing that the Philoxenian version included the Psalms except for an allusion in a Syriac Psalter belonging to the Harvard Semitic Museum (No. 133).



The 'differences' here referred to seem plainly to be those readily observable between the Philoxenian version, conformed to a different Greek text, and the Peshitto. But the statement of Moses throws no direct light on the reason why Philoxenus instituted a new translation.<sup>1</sup> We may assume that, incidentally to his general labours in consolidating the monophysite Syrians, he wished to provide them with a translation according both in text and in contents with approved Greek copies. But the meagre evidence does not point to an agreement in the Greek text used with that employed by Cyril of Alexandria.

Harleian  
subscrip-  
tions.

The other chief evidence relating to the Philoxenian version is found in the subscriptions to the Gospels, Acts and Catholic epistles, and Pauline epistles, of the later revision by Thomas of Harkel (616). Reference is there made to the version (on which that of Thomas is founded) made from the Greek at Mabog in the year 508 in the days of Philoxenus, bishop of that city. In the subscription to the Pauline epistles it seems to be stated that the Philoxenian version of that portion rested on a Caesarean MS. written by Pamphilus with his own hand.<sup>2</sup> The subscription to the Gospels directly states, and that to the Pauline Epistles implies, that the Philoxenian version was made from the Greek.

Later Syriac writers, Bar Salibi († ca. 1171), Bar Hebraeus

<sup>1</sup> The view of Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. lxxi note (cf. *Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. p. 432), that Philoxenus was led to have the new version made because he observed "discrepancies between the Peshitto text and that of the citations of Cyril of Alexandria from LXX and N.T.," rests on a different understanding of the participle translated above 'he will be surprised.' Gwynn took this as a causal participle referring to Polycarp, but the interpretation followed above is better. The latter interpretation is also followed by A. Marx, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xii., 1898, p. 350 note.

<sup>2</sup> In view, however, of the details of the form of statement employed in the colophon, it is probable that here, as in Codex H<sup>paul</sup>, the reference to the codex written by Pamphilus was drawn from the well-known statement to the same effect in the 'Euthalian' material, and cannot be taken as evidence for the actual Greek text used by Polycarp; cf. Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1899, pp. 670 ff. That the Philoxenian of the Pauline epistles was supplied with 'Euthalian' apparatus is shown by E. von Dobschütz, 'Euthaliusstudien,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xix., 1899, pp. 116-154. See also F. C. Conybeare, 'On the Codex Pamphilii and Date of Euthalius,' *Journal of Philology*, London and Cambridge, vol. xxiii., 1895, pp. 241-259.

(† 1286), and an anonymous life of Thomas of Harkel of uncertain date, make similar statements about the Philoxenian version, but seem to have had no further knowledge than could be drawn from the Harklean subscriptions.

Of the greater part of the Philoxenian New Testament, that, Style and text. namely, in which it was possible for the reviser to use the Peshitto, nothing has been surely recognized in existing Syriac texts. It would be possible, however, to draw some safe inferences from the character of the four smaller Catholic epistles and the Apocalypse, of which a fresh translation had to be made. The style of these books is a free and fluent Syriac idiom, not slavishly conformed to the Greek, and clearly showing the influence of the style and diction of the Peshitto.<sup>1</sup> With regard to text, in the four epistles the Philoxenian does not seem to belong with B or with KLP (Antiochian).<sup>2</sup> But an adequate study of the Philoxenian text of these epistles remains to be made. In the Apocalypse the Philoxenian text contains a considerable Antiochian element in agreement with Q (046 ; formerly B) and the minuscules, but apart from that it gives an ancient text of mixed character, in part agreeing with the best uncials, not infrequently in accord with peculiar readings of  $\mathfrak{s}$ , and showing a striking measure of agreement with the distinctive readings of the African Latin of Primasius.

Since the version was made at Mabog, a place of Syrian speech, and for practical ecclesiastical use, not for learned purposes, it is more likely that an existing Greek text was obtained and translated than that a new one was constructed out of varied

<sup>1</sup> Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, p. cv: "We justly claim [for the Philoxenian], as regards its general tone and manner, that it approaches the excellence of the Peshitto ; and in point of force, directness, and dignity, that it gives worthy expression to the sublime imagery of the Apocalypticist. It has strength and freedom such as few translations attain." Cf. also the interesting general descriptions in Gwynn, *Remnants*, Part I, pp. xxxii f. ; *Apocalypse*, pp. xvii-xxviii. Philoxenus himself is said to be "one of the best and most elegant writers in the Syrian tongue" (Gwynn, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. p. 393, citing Assemani).

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions*, Part I, p. lxx. Merx's idea, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xii., 1898, p. 358, that the true Philoxenian text gives the text of Lucian, is not well founded.

materials assembled for the purpose. Consequently it may well be that the text of the four epistles and the Apocalypse, the latter evidently containing a remarkable 'Western' element, would, if studied in the light of the knowledge now available, acquaint us with a highly archaic Greek text,<sup>1</sup> and throw important light on the history of the text.

For the rest of the New Testament there is no means of reconstructing the lost Philoxenian version. It must have shown an affinity to the Peshitto at least as great as that to be observed in the choice of language found in the books not previously translated.<sup>2</sup> It would be natural to expect it to stand somewhere between the Peshitto and the final Harclean revision.

One circumstance is noteworthy. Wholly unlike the Peshitto, the Philoxenian, like the Greek texts, was subject to much scribal modification and corruption. For the four epistles Gwynn used twenty different mss., the oldest being dated 823. They fall into two groups, an older (ninth-twelfth century), and a later (fifteenth-seventeenth century; from this the usual printed editions have been taken), besides several of intermediate character. There is also an Arabic version of the Philoxenian, contained in a ninth-century ms. from Mt. Sinai (Catalogue, No. 154), which mainly, but not exclusively, agrees with the later group of Syriac mss.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the suggestion that the Philoxenian derived archaic elements from the Old Syriac, see below, p. clxxvii note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, pp. xix-xx. Burkitt is disposed to think that the Philoxenian version made very few changes in the Peshitto, and that Polycarp's work consisted almost wholly in adding 'kephalaia' to the Gospels and equipping the Acts and Epistles with 'Euthalian' apparatus. Such a substantial identity of text with the Peshitto is believed to account for the remarkable disappearance of all mss. of the Philoxenian except for the five freshly translated books. This theory makes it necessary to suppose that Moses of Aghel, in referring to the translation made by Polycarp for Philoxenus, really had in mind the Harclean version of 616. But in view of what is known of the period of Moses' activity, it is difficult to believe that his letter prefatory to the *Glaphyra* could have been written at so late a date.

<sup>3</sup> As between the two families, Gwynn has argued for the older, while A. Merx, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xii., 1897-98, pp. 240-252, 348-381; vol. xiii., 1898-99, pp. 1-28, relying especially on the evidence of the Arabic version, thinks that the later family (which is in less close agreement with the Harclean version) better represents the original Philoxenian.

No reason exists for supposing that the Philoxenian version was supplied with marginal readings, or other critical apparatus except the 'Euthalian' material.<sup>1</sup>

(d) HARCLEAN

In the period following Philoxenus of Mabog and Severus of <sup>Origen.</sup> Antioch the monophysite churches of Syria were subjected to stern imperial persecution and were rent by internal theological faction. From the state of weakness and disintegration which resulted they were rescued by the untiring apostolic labours of Jacob Baradaeus (b. before 500, † 578), honoured from that day to this by the monophysites of the East—Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian. The later years of the sixth century, however, witnessed the rise of grave quarrels between the Syrian and Alexandrian monophysites, which were not healed until early in the seventh century, when the hostile advance of the Persians under Chosroes II. ravaged the chief seats of the monophysite Syrians in Mesopotamia and northern Syria. At that time the monophysite titular "patriarch of Antioch," Athanasius I. (Camelarius; 595–631), whose actual residence had been at a monastery near Callinicus on the Euphrates, more than once visited Alexandria in the interest of peace; and about 613, when the Persians were in full occupation of his own country, he came again, with five of his bishops. Welcomed by the 'Faithful' of Alexandria, they seem to have consummated their ministry of reconciliation between the two branches of the

<sup>1</sup> Considerable fragments of a reconstruction of the 'Euthalian' material for the Pauline epistles are found in the Peshitto manuscript, Brit. Mus. add. 7157, and are probably derived from the Philoxenian. The Harclean Codex Ridleyanus (Oxford, New College, 333), used by White, contains a 'Euthalian' apparatus to these epistles, drawn from the same Greek text as is the Philoxenian and not independent of the latter in rendering, but brought closer to the Greek original in arrangement and expression, and supplied with an apparatus of asterisks, obeli, and marginal notes. This seems to be the revised form by Thomas of Harkel. See White, *Actuum apostolorum et epistolarum . . . versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, vol. II., 1803, pp. ix–xiv; E. von Dobschütz, 'Euthaliastudien,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vol. XIX., 1899, pp. 107–154.

monophysite church, and some at least of the visitors remained for several years.<sup>1</sup>

Among the monophysite bishops whom Athanasius brought with him, or found, as fugitives, already at Alexandria,<sup>2</sup> were Paul, bishop of Tella, and Thomas of Harkel,<sup>3</sup> bishop of Mabog, who had been expelled from that see in 602 by Domitian of Melitene. Athanasius, Paul, and Thomas lived together for a considerable period in the monastery at the nine-mile relay-station (Enaton) near Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> Here, at the

<sup>1</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, pp. 185-189; J. Gwynn, articles 'Paulus Tellensis' and 'Thomas Harklensis' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> That Thomas had come to Alexandria earlier is the view of Jean Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (518-616)*, Paris, 1923, pp. 316, 322, 329-332, on the ground of positive Syriac testimony.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek for Harkel seems to be Heracles; the place may have been a town east of Antioch mentioned by Strabo xvi. p. 751; but see Georg Hoffmann, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxii., 1878, p. 740, who thinks it was an outlying village of Mabog.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the name 'Enaton,' much discussed in the past, has now been more fully elucidated by F. M. Abel, 'TO ENNATON,' *Oriens Christianus*, vol. I., 1911, pp. 77-82. The term (or its equivalent 'Nonum') is found in various parts of the world (Italy and Gaul, as well as Syria and Egypt) denoting one of the 'relay-posts' (*mutationes*) established for remounts and changes of beasts of burden at suitable intervals on the road between two main 'stations' (*mansiones*). The *mansiones* were usually at larger towns, and distant from one another about one day's journey. Between them relays (*mutationes*) were strung along at an average distance of twelve Roman miles, but in a number of instances, apparently as a matter of habitual regulation, the first *mutatio* is known to have been situated nine miles from the *mansio*. Around the stables and stable-men's quarters of such a relay-post would spring up a small village with taverns and shops, sometimes with barracks, and (as is known from a variety of other definite testimonies) at the Alexandrian *Nonum* a monastery was situated. It may be noted that in 613 Athanasius's host, the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Anastasius Apozygatus, was not allowed within the city limits, and is stated to have received his guests "in a monastery by the eastern seashore." Other views are mentioned in Gwynn's full note in art. 'Paulus Tellensis,' *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. iv., 1887, p. 267. For references to the *Nonum*, or *Ennaton*, of Alexandria, see H. Rosweyd, *Vitae patrum*, Antwerp, 1628, lib. V, libell. vii., par. 7; libell. xi., num. 11; libell. xii., num. 9. It was by Professor Burkitt that my attention was called to Rosweyd, who (pp. 1043 f., cf. pp. 1028 and 1055 f.) was himself in complete confusion as to the meaning of the term. See also Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1870, Part I., cols. 34, 586, 641, where will be found convincing evidence that the Syrians knew the correct vocalization and aspirate of the Greek word. J. Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 48 note 3, points

instance of Athanasius, Paul with assistance from others translated the Old Testament from the Greek hexaplaric and tetraplaric text of a copy made by Eusebius and Pamphilus. Successive parts of the translation are dated in the years 616 and 617. A certain Thomas (doubtless Thomas of Harkel) was his chief assistant in translating Kings. We may assume that it was likewise at the instance of Athanasius, and as part of a comprehensive plan for a new translation of the Bible, that at the same date Thomas of Harkel with certain associates produced his revision of the Philoxenian New Testament (including all the twenty-seven books), which was completed in 616. The two Testaments are translated in exactly the same manner<sup>1</sup>—a painfully exact imitation of Greek idiom and order of words, often in disregard of Syriac modes of expression, and so completely and conscientiously carried through that doubt scarcely ever arises as to the Greek text intended by the translator.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this great undertaking must have been to provide for Syrian monophysites a Bible agreeing with that used and approved by their Greek fellow-believers. Made with this intent it was a fitting part of the policy of reconciliation which Athanasius is known to have been pursuing at this time.

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out that another monastery referred to by the same term seems to have been situated within Alexandria in the 'Ninth Quarter'; but the famous and important monastery, so often mentioned in the sources, was the one (*El Zadjadj*) nine miles out from the city. Hither, on a 6th of December, were transferred the venerated remains of St. Severus, patriarch of Antioch (†538), and here dwelt the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Peter IV. (575–577), as well as his vigorous successor Damian (578–604), himself a monk of the Enaton. On the identification of the monastery and the Arabic references, see J. Maspero, *op. cit.* pp. 158–160 note 5; cf. also 'Enaton' in his Index; also Evetts and Butler, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, 1895, p. 229 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Other Jacobite works, such as the Hymns of Severus, as revised in 675 by James of Edessa, are translated in much the same way. See E. W. Brooks, *James of Edessa: the Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others* (Patrologia Orientalis, vi. 1; vii. 5), Paris, 1911. In this collection of hymns the text of Acts used was not the Peshitto, and deserves investigation. This reference is due to Professor Burkitt.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of this peculiar Harclean style, see Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, pp. xxvii–xxxv; *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. iv. p. 1016; Marsh's transl. of Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1802, chap. vii. sect. xi.

Codices.

The Harclean Syriac of the Gospels is found in many manuscripts, including several of great relative antiquity, at least one being ascribed to the seventh century itself, while another is dated 757. A critical examination of all these mss. ought to be made, and White's edition (1778, based on the two New College, Oxford, mss.) supplemented by the additional knowledge now available.

Of the Acts and Epistles (the seven Catholic as well as the Pauline) two manuscripts are known : <sup>1</sup>

Oxford, Library of New College, 333 (now deposited in the Bodleian Library). Eleventh century. Lacks Heb. xi. 28-xiii. 25 and the subscription to the Pauline epistles. This was the source of White's edition (1799, 1803).<sup>2</sup>

Cambridge, University Library, add. 1700. The "Mohl Manuscript." A.D. 1170. From this the missing close of Hebrews and the subscription to the Pauline epistles have been published by Bensly.<sup>3</sup>

These two copies do not appear to differ substantially in text, but the Cambridge copy lacks the diacritical signs and the marginal readings with which the Oxford copy is furnished.

In addition a twelfth-century fragment, containing Acts i. 1-10, is included in Codex canon. or. 130 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

For the Apocalypse several mss. (all late) are known, from one of which (Leyden, University Library, cod. scalig. 18) the

<sup>1</sup> In addition one ms. (belonging to Dr. J. Rendel Harris) contains the four minor Catholic epistles in the Harclean, and one other (British Museum, add. 14,474; eleventh or twelfth century) contains 2 Peter in that version. In both cases the rest of the text is Peshitto. Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions*, Part I., Appendix II. pp. 146-153. Gregory's statements about the Harclean mss. of Acts and Epistles are beset with inextricable confusion.

<sup>2</sup> So far as is known, this New College, Oxford, ms. is unique for the Book of Acts, and a facsimile publication is highly desirable. A complete set of photographs of the pages containing Acts, of full size, is in the Library of Harvard University.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. Bensly, *The Harclean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Chap. xi. 28-xiii. 25, now edited for the first time with Introduction and Notes on this Version of the Epistle, Cambridge, 1889.

text was published by De Dieu in 1627, and has thus passed into all later editions of the Peshitto.

Subscriptions by the editor have been preserved for three of the four sections of the New Testament in one or more of the mss., and there is convincing evidence that a similar subscription once existed for the Apocalypse.<sup>1</sup> To these the statements of Bar Salibi (who used the Harclean version as the basis of his commentary on the Apocalypse, Acts, and seven Catholic epistles<sup>2</sup>), Bar Hebraeus, and other Syriac writers add scarcely anything for our present purpose.

The subscription to Acts, substantially in the translation of White (pp. 274 f.), is as follows :

Explicit liber sanctus Actuum Apostolorum et Epistulae Catholicae septem.<sup>3</sup>

Descriptus est autem ex exemplari accurato eorum qui versi sunt diebus (memoriae piae) sancti Philoxeni confessoris, episcopi Mabog. Collatus est autem diligentia multa mea Thomae pauperis ad exemplar Graecum valde accuratum et probatum in Enaton Alexandriae, urbis magnae, in monasterio Antonianorum, sicut reliqui omnes libri, socii ejus<sup>4</sup>

The other subscriptions are to the same purport,<sup>5</sup> but contain some further statements, including the date 508 for the

<sup>1</sup> J. Gwynn, 'On the Recovery of a Missing Syriac Manuscript of the Apocalypse,' *Hermathena*, vol. x., 1898, pp. 227-245.

<sup>2</sup> The commentary of Bar Salibi is edited with translation by J. Sedlacek in *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, Series II, vol. ci., 1909, 1910. An examination of it with reference to the text of Acts might be instructive; cf. Gwynn's observations, *Apocalypse*, pp. lxxxiv f.

<sup>3</sup> These last three words do not seem to be in the genitive in the Oxford MS. as published by White.

<sup>4</sup> The 'other associated books' seem to be the other sections of the New Testament. A similar reference to the 'associates' of the section in hand is found in the Harclean subscription to the Gospels in several mss. (not, as it happens, in that followed by White in his edition, but see White, pp. 644 f., 647, 649 f.). Likewise in the subscription to the Pauline Epistles express mention is made of the work of Thomas and his associates on "the Gospel and Acts." On the interpretation of these subscriptions see J. G. Eichhorn, 'Über den Verfasser der hexaplarisch-syrischen Übersetzung,' in *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Literatur*, Theil vii., 1780, pp. 225-250.

<sup>5</sup> The subscriptions to the several parts of the Syro-hexaplar Old Testament of Paul of Tella are of the same general type.



Philoxenian version and 616 for the work of Thomas. While Acts and the Catholic Epistles were compared with one accurate copy, the Gospels are stated to have been compared with three (other mss. read 'two'), and the Pauline epistles with two. In the subscription to the Pauline epistles it is said that the present edition has been made "for the study and use . . . of those who are zealous to learn and preserve the accuracy of the apostolic (that is, the divine) words and meanings."<sup>1</sup>

Text These subscriptions make it clear that the Harclean Syriac text was a revision of the Philoxenian, and was made in 616 with the aid of 'accurate and approved' Greek copies accessible at Alexandria. The Harclean text itself, in so far as it has been studied, does not belie this. In the Apocalypse it has been largely, though not completely, conformed to the Antiochian text (represented by Q and most minuscules); in the Gospels<sup>2</sup> and Acts, likewise, apart from certain words and phrases marked with an asterisk, it appears to give substantially the Antiochian text;<sup>3</sup> and this seems to be the view of Hort with regard to the epistles also.<sup>4</sup> It would thus appear that the 'accurate and approved' Greek copies (which, be it noted, are nowhere said to have been ancient) were manuscripts of the Antiochian text. Nothing in Thomas's statement implies that they were used for

<sup>1</sup> Similar phrases are found in the subscription to the Gospels, as given in some mss.; see J. G. C. Adler, *Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae*, Copenhagen, 1789, pp. 46 f.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. iv. p. 1018: in the Gospels "the text represents (on the whole) a Greek basis akin in the main to the Constantinopolitan or 'Received' Greek text, while the margin inclines strongly to the Western Greek text, as represented by D and the Old Latin, and not seldom (though less decisively) towards that of the other older uncials, mostly B and L, sometimes A, C, and others."

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in Acts i., of all those departures of the Antiochian text from that of Codex Vaticanus which are capable of ready expression in Syriac, only one (vs. 14, the addition of *καὶ τῇ δειψεί*) fails to appear in the Harclean. Moreover, in so far as I have made examination, the departures of the Harclean from the text common to the Old Uncials and the Antiochian are few and trivial, although occasionally a striking ancient reading, not marked (in our single annotated copy) by an asterisk, will stand out conspicuously against the general Antiochian background.

<sup>4</sup> Compare what is said by Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 156.

any other purpose than to bring the Syriac text into substantial conformity with that current and approved in the seventh century in Alexandria. No hint is given which suggests that they were made a source for marginal glosses or for the insertion of asterisks and obeli.

The evidence of the four minor Catholic epistles and the Apocalypse, where the two versions can be compared, makes it probable, as is explained below, that in the Harclean text not only turns of Syriac expression, but also renderings which imply a non-antiochian Greek text, have in some cases survived from the Philoxenian. The general style, however, of the peculiar Harclean mode of expression has been imposed by the reviser upon the whole, including asterisked phrases.

The influence of the Peshitto, clearly observable even in the extant books of the Philoxenian, where no direct dependence was possible because the Peshitto did not contain them, was undoubtedly strong in those parts where the Peshitto had preceded the Philoxenian; and through the latter, and perhaps directly also, it reached the Harclean. But, for these books, it is impossible to say how far the Harclean version was derived from the Philoxenian.

As merely reproducing an Antiochian text, mixed with some ancient (often 'Western') readings, the Harclean version can claim but little interest, far less than the Philoxenian (if that could be recovered). But the apparatus which was attached to it by Thomas has made it, at least for the book of Acts, one of the most important witnesses to the 'Western' text that have come down to us. This apparatus consists of two parts. (1) In the text itself many words, parts of words (such as pronominal suffixes), and phrases, with a few longer sentences, are marked with an asterisk (\*) or with an obelus (—), the termination of the reference being exactly indicated by a metobelus (✓). The probable significance and origin of these will be discussed presently. (2) In the margin, with points of attachment in the text marked by various characters, are found a great number of

Asterisks  
and obeli;  
marginal  
notes.

notes.<sup>1</sup> These vary in nature. Some are variant renderings not affecting the Greek text. In the four minor epistles and the Apocalypse several cases of this kind occur, where the Harclean margin seems to give the rejected rendering of the Philoxenian (notably 2 Peter ii. 4; 3 John 6),<sup>2</sup> and that may well be the source of the marginal variant renderings in other books. In Acts i. 25 the margin renders λαβεῖν by the use, characteristic of the Philoxenian, of the future with the prefix , while the text uses the infinitive with the prefix Δ in accordance with the regular Harclean custom.<sup>3</sup> In Acts i. 3 the margin gives اف)Δ for δία as a substitute for the unidiomatic and literal حم of the text. In other cases the margin gives explanations or statements of various kinds. Thus on Acts i. 20 the margin gives a reference to Psalm lxxviii. (i.e. according to the Syriac enumeration) and quotes the verse in question in a text corresponding, as would be expected, not to the Peshitto but to the Syro-hexaplar of Paul of Tella, from which it differs only in a more pedantic imitation of the Greek than is exhibited by the extant Syro-hexaplaric ms. On Acts x. 1 the note gives the derivation of the name Κορνήλιος as κόρην ἡλίου. Sometimes a Greek word, rarely a Hebrew one, is written in the margin or between the lines, to justify the rendering or explain a transliteration, but these may not all be from the same source as the other notes, and are negligible for any further critical purposes.<sup>4</sup> Other notes are of what may be called a Masoretic character, and relate to deliberate omission of plural points, to spelling, and to pronunciation.

Longer notes sometimes occur, some of which are instructive.

longer  
notes.

<sup>1</sup> The best account of these notes is that given by G. C. Storr, 'Von der philoxenianisch-syrischen Übersetzung der Evangelien,' in *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Literatur*, Theil vii, Leipzig, 1780, pp. 15-48. On the Harclean see also G. C. Storr, 'Supplemente zu Wetsteins Varianten aus der Philoxenischen Übersetzung,' *Repertorium*, Theil x., 1782, pp. 1-58.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *Remnants*, pp. xxxvii f., *Apocalypse*, p. lxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, p. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Storr, in *Repertorium*, vii, 1780, pp. 15-18, gives a list of many of these, and points out that in some cases in the Gospels the Greek notes do not correspond with the actual Syriac of the text.

In quoting these and the words from the continuous text with which they are connected by the scribe, it will be convenient to use White's Latin translation (slightly corrected).

Matt. ii. 17. The text reads *per Jeremiam*, to which a note is attached · *Græcum dicit 'a Jeremia,' non 'per.'*

Matt. xxv. 1. The text reads *et sponsae* √. On this the note: '*Sponsa*' *non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur, et nominatim* (ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ) *in Alexandrino.*

Matt. xxvii. 35. The continuous text includes the quotation from Psalm xxii. 18, with the marginal note: *Haec periocha prophetae non inventa est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis, neque in illo antiquo Syriaco.*

Matt. xxviii. 5. The text reads *Jesum* × *Nazarenum* √, with the note: *In tribus exemplaribus Graecis et uno Syriaco, illo antiquo, non inventum est nomen 'Nazarenum.'*

Mark viii. 17. The text reads: × *in cordibus vestris pusilli fide* √, with the note: '*In cordibus vestris pusilli fide*' *non inventum est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis neque in illo antiquo Syriaco.*

Mark x. 48. To the words *fili Davidis* of the text is attached the note: *In duobus exemplaribus Graecis 'filii filii Davidis' inventum est.*

Mark xi. 10. The text reads · *patris nostri Davidis* × *pax in caelo et gloria in excelsis* √ *hosanna in excelsis*, with the note attached at the word *pax*: '*Pax in caelo et gloria in excelsis*' *non in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis invenitur neque in illo Mar Xenaiae; in nonnullis autem accuratis, ut putamus, invenimus illud.*

Mark xii. 14. The text reads × *dic nobis igitur* √, with the note: '*Dic nobis igitur*' *non invenimus in Graeco.*

Luke vi. 1. To the words *sabbatho secundo primi* of the text is attached the note: '*Secundo primi*' *non in omni exemplari est.*

Luke viii. 24. The text has *tranquillitas* × *magna* √, with the note: '*Magna*' *non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur.*

Luke viii. 52. The text reads *non* × *enim* √ *mortua est*

✕ *puella* <, with the note: 'Enim,' 'puella,' non in omni exemplari invenitur.

Luke ix. 23. The text reads ∴ *quotidie* <, with the note: 'Quotidie' non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur.

Luke ix. 50. The text reads ∴ *non enim est adversus vos* <, with the note: 'Non enim est adversus vos' non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur.

Luke xix. 38. The text reads < *benedictus est rex Israelis* <, with the note: 'Benedictus est rex Israelis' non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur.

Luke xix. 45. The text reads ∴ *et mensas numulariorum effudit et cathedras eorum qui vendebant columbas* <, with the note: 'Et mensas numulariorum effudit et cathedras eorum qui vendebant columbas' non in omni exemplari est ita hic.

Luke xx. 34. To the word *fili* of the text is attached the note: *In exemplari antiquo est 'gignunt et gignuntur' et in Graeco non est.*

Acts iv. 30. To the words *per nomen* of the text is attached the note: *Sunt exemplaria in quibus non est 'nomen.'*

Acts ix. 4. The text reads: ✕ *durum est tibi calcitrare ad stimulos* < with the note: 'Durum est tibi calcitrare ad stimulos' non est hic in Graeco sed ubi enarrat Paulus de se.

Jude 12. To the words *in refectonibus* of the text is attached the note: *εν ταις αγαπαις. In Graeco 'in dilectionibus' est.*

Philippians iii. 18. The text reads — *alter* < *ambulant*, with the note: *In duobus exemplaribus accuratis Graecis non invenitur 'aliter.'*

Colossians ii. 1. The text reads *is qui Laodicaeae* ✕ *et is qui Hieropoli* < with the note: *εν ιεροπολει 'Qui Hieropoli' non in omni exemplari invenitur.*

In these careful notes the editor calls attention to differences between the reading which he has allowed to stand in his text (usually with an asterisk) and some or all of the Greek copies which he is using for correction. In some instances he also refers to "the old Syriac," "the old copy," phrases which are to be

interpreted in the light of the note on Mark xi. 10 as referring to the Philoxenian basis of his revision. Nothing in these notes need suggest a direct comparison with the Peshitto; any agreement with the Peshitto in readings adopted or referred to is fully accounted for by the fact that the Philoxenian must have derived many of its renderings from that translation, and at many points may well have coincided with it in underlying Greek text. Every one of the notes (except those on Mark x. 48, Luke vi. 1, and Acts iv. 30, and the exegetical note on Jude 12) relates to a reading allowed to stand (usually under asterisk) in the Harclean text but at variance with the Antiochian Greek text to which the great mass of the Harclean version corresponds. In nearly all the cases the word or phrase is found in the Harclean and absent from the Antiochian. The very close similarity of the Greek copies used by Thomas as a standard may be seen from the fact that the readings in Mark x. 48 and Acts iv. 30 which he attributes respectively to 'two copies' and 'some copies' are not found in any Greek ms. known to us.

In other cases, not very numerous, the margin adds a word or phrase, not attested in other versions or in any Greek text, such as might naturally be supplied by a translator to complete the sense in Syriac—a pronoun with its preposition (so Acts iii. 6 *ad eum*), or a word amply suggested by the context (for instance, vi. 7 *evangelii*, vii. 60 *Jesu*). These are closely similar to the words and phrases marked in the text by obeli and to the lesser portion of those marked by asterisks, as will presently be explained.

Other  
marginal  
notes.

But more numerous than the various types of notes hitherto mentioned (especially in Acts) are the great number of marginal notes which simply give without comment the Syriac rendering of a Greek reading different from that followed in the continuous Syriac text of the editor's version. In the Book of Acts these, taken together with the portions of the continuous text marked with an asterisk, constitute a delectus of 'Western' readings of

great purity and of a value for the reconstruction of the 'Western' recension second only (and in some respects superior) to Codex Bezae. The question why in a few cases the editor chose to add a special comment to these variants cannot be answered. Before discussing further their significance and origin it is necessary to speak of his use of asterisks and obeli.

Asterisks  
and obeli.

The meaning of these signs has been much discussed ever since the publication of White's edition, which contains them. The earliest assumption that the signs indicated some relation to the Peshitto was mistaken,<sup>1</sup> and made satisfactory conclusions impossible, in spite of a great amount of careful work; and the observation that the Peshitto should be left wholly out of account in the study of the signs has greatly facilitated the investigation. A further embarrassment arose from the supposition that the signs were used by Thomas in exactly the same way as by Origen in the Hexapla. That Thomas was familiar with the hexaplaric signs is unquestionable, and from them he probably derived the suggestion for his own practice; but it is not certain that he understood the purpose of Origen exactly as we do, and indeed Origen's own use is not perfectly simple.<sup>2</sup> In any case the different conditions prescribed some differences of application.<sup>3</sup> As his subscriptions show, the primary task of Thomas, unlike that of Origen, was to revise the existing translation so as to bring it into accord with the best current mss. of the original. The Philoxenian version can have inspired no such reverence as Origen seems to have had for the LXX,<sup>4</sup> and to have followed

Difference  
from  
Hexapla.

<sup>1</sup> A good example is Acts xxviii. 14, where Harclean reads ✕ *apud eos* √. The phrase is also found in the Peshitto, but that such asterisks as this were meant to indicate cases of agreement with the Peshitto would be obviously an absurd hypothesis. In fact this asterisk calls attention to the retention of the older reading (*ὑπὸ αὐτοῖς*) in addition to *ἐν αὐτοῖς* of the Antiochian text. That Hcl. text has also retained *ἐν αὐτοῖς* (814, cf. gg) for the Antiochian *ἐν αὐτοῖς* is not brought to the reader's notice.

<sup>2</sup> Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting attempt by a mediaeval Latin editor to use Origen's signs for a similar purpose in a different way is described by Rahlf, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 130-134.

<sup>4</sup> Origen, *Ad Africanum*, 4 i.

Origen's example by trying to record all the points at which the Syriac exemplar of Thomas had been improved would have been a useless, as well as a desperate, undertaking. His asterisks and obeli are to be interpreted, as well as may be, from the facts, not from the rules followed by Origen.<sup>1</sup>

Such an examination of the facts shows certain general tendencies for both margin and signs, but some confusion. The latter, although it must probably fall in part to the account of Thomas, is partly to be explained by our lack of a critical edition of the Harclean Gospels, where alone the available material makes such an edition possible. Concerning the two Oxford mss. of the Gospels much information is given in White's Notes, and something is known of the Paris ms. It appears that not seldom text and margin have exchanged places in one or another ms. (so Luke xviii. 9; John xix. 3), while in some cases the fact that the margin offers a stricter rendering than that of the text gives rise to the suspicion that such an exchange has taken place. Occasionally the 'Western' character of the reading in the text, where the Antiochian reading is given in the margin, suggests the same conclusion.<sup>2</sup> In the Paris ms. at Matt. i. and Luke iii. 23 ff. it is expressly stated that the grecizing readings there found in the margin are the Harclean.<sup>3</sup> It is also possible that some inconsistencies in the use of asterisks and obeli are due to a scribe's lack of care in a very complicated matter.<sup>4</sup> It would be almost a miracle if no signs had been omitted from the text; and what were originally marginal notes may now appear

<sup>1</sup> Storr's painstaking and instructive discussion, *Repertorium*, Theil vii., 1780, pp. 1-77, which is still valuable, is vitiated by both the errors mentioned above. The view of Wetstein, who supposed a comparison with the Peshitto to be indicated, was effectively disproved by White in the *Praefatio* to his edition of the Gospels, pp. xxvii ff., but White was himself led astray by his use of Origen's practice as a guide.

<sup>2</sup> So, for instance, Acts xviii. 5, where the marginal reading *in spiritu* is Antiochian.

<sup>3</sup> Storr, *l.c.* pp. 22-26, from J. G. C. Adler, *Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae*, pp. 56 f.

<sup>4</sup> In some mss of the Syro-hexaplar Old Testament asterisks have been substituted for obeli and *vice versa*; Gwynn, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv. p. 1018.



in the text designated with an asterisk or obelus.<sup>1</sup> The mss. also vary greatly in the completeness with which the apparatus is supplied. In the very carefully written Cambridge ms. of the Acts and Epistles there is no vestige of it.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, some of the marginal notes may be (in a few cases they certainly are) from a date later than that of Thomas.

Between the marginal notes and the words in the text distinguished by an asterisk, or even all of the words marked with an obelus, it is not possible to make a complete distinction.

Obeli in  
Acta.

In the Book of Acts *obeli* are found in about forty-five instances in chaps. i.-xviii. (none in chaps. xix.-xxviii.), marking off a single word, or in a few cases two words. In virtually every case<sup>3</sup> the word or words are mere supplements required by Syriac idiom or desirable in order to complete the phrase—exactly like the italicized words of the English Bible. The obelus is, indeed, here used, as by Origen, to denote words of the version to which nothing in the original corresponds, but it is negligible for textual criticism. One half of the cases are single pronouns, and although many of these find parallels in one or other Latin or Egyptian version, only seldom does any Greek ms. show the same expansion of phrase. Three-quarters of these little supplements are found in the Peshitto also, and it may be assumed that most of them stood in the Philoxenian.

Asterisks  
in Acts.

*Asterisks* are found in the Book of Acts in about 150 places,

<sup>1</sup> A case where this seems almost demonstrable is Acts ix 6. Here the long gloss in the text under asterisk ends with '*surge*,' followed by the metobelus. The continuous text then proceeds, '*sed surge*,' etc. The gloss is plainly intended as a substitute for these following words of the text, not as a part of the same continuous text with them.

<sup>2</sup> For similar confusion and omission in the hexaplaric signs see Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, pp. 54-67.

<sup>3</sup> Two exceptions only appear. In Acts x. 25 we read: — *et prociidit < ad pedes ejus*. This is evidently a mistake of some kind, for the words are indispensable to the sense, and no text in any language omits them. Perhaps the sign originally applied only to the conjunction *et*. In Acts xiii. 25 we read: *calceamentum — pedum ipsius < solvere*. For this (on which no Greek text or version throws any direct light) no explanation is forthcoming, although it is worth mentioning that the Peshitto here reads, by harmonization with Mark i. 7 and Luke iii. 16, 'the thongs of his shoes' instead of 'the sandal of his feet.'

and are applied usually to a word or brief phrase, but sometimes to a long sentence. In all but two cases (xix. 35, where  $\times$  *curtatis*  $\times$  and  $\times$  *ejus*  $\times$  are fragments of the free rendering of the Peshitto that have survived in the Harclean) they indicate what is, or might be, a variation of underlying text, not merely of rendering. But on scrutiny it appears that about 30 of the additions thus marked are small expansions, chiefly pronouns, made incidentally to the translation for the sake of smoothness of Syriac idiom, so that in these cases the use of the asterisk is not to be distinguished from the characteristic use of the obelus just described, and is equally negligible for our purpose.<sup>1</sup> All but four of the cases of this type were already present in the Peshitto. This use of the asterisk does not seem to yield any parallel whatever to Origen's practice.<sup>2</sup> But the large bulk—about 95—of the words or phrases marked with an asterisk are substantial additions to the editor's Antiochian text, and are of 'Western' origin.

Rarely the words under asterisk have been so introduced as to make a conflation with the neighbouring continuous text; <sup>3</sup> for the most part they are sheer additions, and the glosses which are direct substitutes for words of the text are commonly relegated to the margin.

Again we see that the Harclean use of asterisks is not the same

<sup>1</sup> A. V. V. Richards, in a valuable review (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. II, 1900-1, pp. 439-447) of A. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wur-quelle*, 1900, points out (p. 443) the suggestive fact that the obeli do not occur in our MS. after the close of chap. xviii., and that all but a small number of the asterisks used in the same way as obeli are found after that point.

<sup>2</sup> A few of these little additions are also attested in Greek or in some version, and might be regarded as the product of Greek variants. The two processes of translating and of corrupting a text work alike at this point, and either might be responsible for the result; and translators into different languages will independently duplicate each other. It is safer to ascribe the whole of these thirty cases to a translator's activity.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, xiii. 19 *eorum*  $\times$  *alienigenarum*  $\times$ ; xvi. 39: also xii. 21 and xv. 11, in both which passages the repeated *autem* makes an awkward succession. In xv. 5 the difficulty created by the mention of the Pharisees in both vs. 1 and vs. 5 lies deeper, for it is present also in Codices 383 and 614. On Acts ix. 6 see above, p. clxvii note 1.

as that of the Hexapla. The more common use of the Harklean asterisks, as just described, is not to show the excess of the original over a standard translation, but to preserve on the page of the translation those readings of another (the 'Western') type of text side by side with those of the (Antiochian) standard adopted by the editor. It is also evident that the obeli and the greater part of the asterisks pertain to two wholly distinct systems of annotation, each having its own purpose—the obeli to exhibit differences of the version from the original, the asterisks to record differences between two types of the original. This is well illustrated by xi. 1, where, in the middle of a long passage covered by an asterisk, a single word (*et*, evidently added in the translator's reconstruction of the sentence) is marked with an obelus. That in thirty cases the force of the asterisks does not differ from that of obeli is either a mark of inconsistency on the editor's part, not surprising in so elaborate an undertaking, or the result of the work of copyists, who through failure of understanding confused what may originally have been an integral system. It is to be borne in mind that we are dependent on a single ms. of a date more than four centuries later than that of Thomas of Harkel.

But besides the two classes of asterisks already explained nearly twenty cases remain which show various peculiarities. Of these seven (ix. 37, xv. 30, xv. 36, xv. 37, xxi. 31, xxvii. 41, xxviii. 7) are glosses similar to the 'Western,' and may be true 'Western' additions which have survived only here. In eight other instances (vii. 10, xxv. 10, xxv. 16, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 7, xxviii. 16, xxviii. 29, xxviii. 30) we find under asterisk readings of the Antiochian text which are absent either from B and other Old Uncials or from some of the witnesses whose peculiarities are usually 'Western.' This phenomenon may be due to the fact that Thomas had a slightly different Antiochian text from ours, or it may be that in these cases he had no other way of indicating that his standard contained what others omit—or some other explanation may be the true one. The two or three

still remaining instances of peculiarity in the use of the asterisks need not be discussed.

Finally, our attention is again claimed by the marginal <sup>Marginal</sup> readings. The bulk of these, as described above (pp. clxy-vi), <sup>readings</sup> in Act cannot be distinguished in character from the ninety-five asterisked phrases of the text. This conclusion is unavoidable, as is made especially clear in such a passage as Acts xviii. 26, 27, where Codex Bezae has a long expansive paraphrase. The greater part of this expansion is found in the margin of the Harclean, but the words εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν (in the later position, vs. 27), which plainly belong to the same paraphrastic text, are included in the Harclean continuous text under an asterisk, with the result that the same phrase occurs twice in the same verse. Similarly, in Acts xxiii. 24 a long addition in the text under an asterisk is a part of the same reading as the marginal gloss to vs. 25, which gives a brief paraphrastic substitute for the first words of that verse.

The exactness of the translation of these 'Western' readings and their large extent make them, next to Codex Bezae, the most important single witness to the 'Western' text of Acts. With the aid of the parallel, less complete, witnesses, chiefly Greek and Latin, it is almost always possible to make a trustworthy reconstruction of the Greek from which the Harclean asterisked and marginal readings were drawn. In many instances the Harclean evidence is better than that of Codex Bezae. Not only does it cover the whole book, including the long sections lacking in D, but it gives a text free from conflation with the Antiochian or Old Uncial text and from adjustment to a parallel Latin—those two traits which everywhere mar the text of Codex Bezae and diminish the student's confidence in its witness. Examples of 'Western' fragments lacking in D but attested by the Harclean apparatus and confirmed by Greek mixed mss. may be found in xii. 12, xii. 25, xiii. 43, xiii. 47, xv. 23, xx. 32, and many other places. In other instances, such as xi. 17, the Harclean apparatus has preserved 'Western' readings attested

in no Greek ms., but in the Old Latin rendering. In such cases as xvi. 4, xvi. 39, it gives the 'Western' text in a form free from the conflation found in D. In a large number of these cases the Greek corresponding to the Syriac of the Harclean apparatus is found in Codex 614 or in others of the group of minuscules which contain 'Western' elements, and in the parts where D is lacking nearly every gloss of the Harclean, as will be seen in the text of the present volume, can be matched from these codices by the corresponding Greek. With what degree of completeness the Harclean apparatus gives the 'Western' readings, and what relation its selection of these readings bears to the selection found most fully in 614 but in parallel fashion in other minuscules, is a problem which could be worked out. Thomas clearly had at hand a larger body of 'Western' readings than is found in any one of the extant mixed mss. so far examined. The study of these questions would throw light on the dissemination and locality, and possibly on the origin, of the 'Western' text.

In this connexion it is not to be overlooked that a number of 'Western' readings are to be detected in the continuous text of the Harclean unmarked by any sign. Such cases as I have observed will be found mentioned in the Harclean apparatus of the present volume. There are doubtless many others which I have not noted. Possibly some of these readings were once marked by asterisks now omitted, but this can hardly be true of all.

source of  
arcan  
Western  
adings

The important question which now presents itself is what was the source from which these 'Western' readings came into the Harclean. An answer commonly given is that Thomas of Harkel found these readings in the "accurate and approved copy" of the Greek text of Acts and the Catholic Epistles (or, respectively, in one or more of the two or three "approved and accurate copies" of the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul) which he mentions in his subscriptions as having been used for his work. But this view is forbidden by several decisive objections. In the first place, the language of the subscriptions does not natur-

ally suggest it. The verb used (فُصِّلَ) means 'made like,' 'compared,' 'collated,' and seems to refer to the construction of his text,<sup>1</sup> not to the apparatus of variants, of which the subscription gives no definite explanation. The statement of Thomas is fully accounted for by the observation of his procedure, demonstrable in the Apocalypse (where we have at hand for comparison the Philoxenian text which he was revising) and in the other books made probable by the character of his continuous text; he was revising the older text to bring it more closely into agreement with the Greek Antiochian text used in the seventh century. Moreover, the 'approved' copies are nowhere stated to be 'old,' and it is difficult to believe that a scholar writing in 616 in Alexandria would have described copies of the New Testament containing a 'Western' text as notably 'approved and accurate.' The presumption from his language is that these were good current mss., such as were produced by the best scriptoria of the period.

A further reason against the explanation mentioned is to be drawn from the express statement of the note to Philippians iii. 18, already cited (p. clxiv), that a certain reading (*aliter*) put under an obelus in the text (and not, in fact, found in any other witness known to us) was not found "in (the) two accurate Greek copies." The two copies are therein implied to be those used for comparison (as stated in the subscription to the Pauline Epistles), and we find that they are expressly not used for the apparatus but that the apparatus here represents a reading drawn from another source. From this it may be inferred that "the Greek copies" or "the Greek" referred to in other notes means the copies used for comparison and mentioned in the subscriptions. Of the twenty-one notes cited above, all but two<sup>2</sup> refer to the absence of the reading in question (almost always a reading under asterisk) from "the Greek," or from some of the Greek copies. In four notes it is

<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to the regular use of ἀντεβλήθη by Greek scribes.

<sup>2</sup> That on Mark x. 48, which relates to a meaningless corruption of the Greek text, and that on Jude 12, which gives a different and more exact rendering of the same Greek word translated differently in the Syriac continuous text,

stated that the reading is also absent from the Syriac (always described as "the old Syriac" or as "the copy of Mar Xenaia"), and in one that the reading is found in "the old copy" (i.e. the Syriac). These notes make it practically certain that the apparatus of margin and asterisks was not constructed in order to contain the readings in which the Greek "approved copies" departed from the text adopted by Thomas, but rather to exhibit readings known to him, of which he wished to preserve some record, but which were not found in the 'approved copies,' and therefore not adopted into his continuous text. As Corssen points out, the reference in the note on Matt. xxv. 1 to "the Alexandrian copy" (and general probability as well) makes it altogether likely that these notes all proceed from Thomas himself.

If the Harclean apparatus was not drawn from the 'approved copy,' the obvious alternative suggestion is that it represents rejected readings of the Philoxenian, which Thomas was revising and to which several of the notes cited above (pp. clxiii-iv) refer, expressly or probably.<sup>1</sup> This view is on the whole supported by what can be observed in his treatment of the four minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, although the light they shed is less abundant than could be desired. In the four epistles the amount of text is small, and the inquiry is embarrassed by the lack of a clearly defined 'Western' text in these books for comparison, but the Harclean is clearly dependent on the Philoxenian, and seems to have been in some cases assimilated to the Antiochian text. The apparatus (including both asterisks and margin) contains several readings which seem certainly to have come from the Philoxenian, and in nearly all cases its readings (with some of the variant marginal renderings) are capable of such an explanation.<sup>2</sup> In the Apocalypse the text of the Philoxenian

<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion which seems to be suggested by P. Corssen in his acute and instructive article, 'Die Recension der Philoxeniana durch Thomas von Mabug,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. II., 1901, pp. 1-12. Corssen, however, inclines to the unlikely view that the readings now found under asterisk in the text originally all stood in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions*, Part I. pp. xl-xli.

includes two elements, one, less extensive, agreeing with the presumably Antiochian text of 046 (formerly B, or Q) and most minuscules, the other, more pervasive, agreeing with the Old Uncials, and in a conspicuous degree with the very ancient African Latin;<sup>1</sup> that the two elements had already been combined in the Greek copy used by Polycarp for the Philoxenian would seem to me a likely supposition. The Harclean has extensively revised this Philoxenian text so as to produce a Syriac version largely agreeing with the Antiochian. In the Apocalypse but one marginal reading of the Harclean has been reported; yet that gives a variant known elsewhere only in the Philoxenian.<sup>2</sup> For the asterisks no full statement is available,<sup>3</sup> but Gwynn observes: "In much the greater part of the places where the asterisk occurs in  $\Sigma$  [*i.e.* the Leyden ms. of the Harclean Apocalypse], it can be understood as referring to something inserted in, or omitted from, the text of  $\Sigma$  as compared with that of S [*i.e.* the Philoxenian Apocalypse of the Crawford ms.]. In one or two of these places it cannot be accounted for by comparison with any other known textual authority."<sup>4</sup>

At least once in the four epistles (2 Peter ii. 13), where the Harclean margin seems to represent the Philoxenian, the facts show that the later (Harclean) translator was guided in his work by a Greek text which also contained the reading; and in two of the three reported cases of asterisks in the Apocalypse the Philoxenian reading preserved under asterisk has plainly been

<sup>1</sup> Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, pp. lxx-lxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. i. 10  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ}$ , which seems to refer to the unique reading of the Philoxenian  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ}$ ; cf. Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, p. lxxxiv, who also points out that the comments of Bar Salibi on the Apocalypse seem occasionally to rest on Philoxenian renderings learned from the now lost Harclean margin. The Dublin ms. contains a few marginal notes; a marginal apparatus is found in the Florence ms. and in the Vatican ms.; see Gwynn, *Hermathena*, vol. x., 1898, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> About forty asterisks are present in the Leyden ms.; the British Museum ms. (Nitrian) contains one asterisk.

<sup>4</sup> Gwynn, *Apocalypse*, p. lxxxiii. The three cases mentioned by Gwynn are as follows: Apoc. viii. 9,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ} \times$  (Philoxenian,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ}$ ); xix. 16,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ} \times$  (Philoxenian,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ}$ ); v. 5,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ} \times$  (Philoxenian,  $\text{ܕܡܫܚܐ}$ ).



modified to conform to the grecizing manner of the Harclean. In the two cases last mentioned this can have been done without any actual reference to a Greek manuscript

The evidence from the books in which the Philoxenian is extant is thus in accord with the supposition that the Harclean apparatus in the other epistles and in the Gospels and Acts is largely derived from the Philoxenian ; but the array of facts is too meagre to furnish convincing proof<sup>1</sup> If this view be held, however, it does not follow that the ' Western ' material, liberally assembled in the Harclean margin and under the asterisks, came ultimately from the Old Syriac used by Ephrem nearly two

<sup>1</sup> The interesting view adopted by Theodor Zahn and made the basis of his treatment of the text of Acts in *Die Herausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, ix.), 1916, would accept the apparatus of the Harclean as giving direct information of the Old Syriac text which preceded the Peshitto. Zahn thinks that a copy of this lay before Thomas, and was the one referred to in his notes as " the old Syriac " This conception of the matter rests chiefly on the view that the work of Thomas was to copy exactly, and annotate, the Philoxenian Syriac text, not to revise it. This view, however, which was that of White and other older scholars, is not required by the language of the subscriptions. Especially the subscription to the Pauline Epistles shows the non-technical character of the expressions employed ; the same word ( *فهم* ) *collatus est* ) is there used to denote Thomas's use both of the Philoxenian *from which*, and of the Greek mss. *according to which*, his text was written. Moreover, the idea that the Philoxenian and Harclean texts were substantially identical is contradicted by Bar Hebraeus, who speaks of the Harclean as the ' third ' translation, the Peshitto and Philoxenian being the first two. And, finally, the idea is made impossible for all who have been convinced by the patent evidence adduced by Gwynn that the Philoxenian is still extant for the four minor epistles and the Apocalypse, and that the Harclean was a drastic revision of it. That Zahn's discussion of the purpose and nature of the Harclean apparatus is thus at many points open to criticism does not diminish the great value of the textual discussions in connexion with which he uses it, although it often influences the form in which he couches these. Zahn's theory that the Harclean marginal and asterisked ' Western ' readings were drawn from the Old Syriac direct can, indeed, be held even on the usual view that a considerable revision of the Philoxenian was made by Thomas and appears in the Harclean text. But under such a theory it has to be assumed, as explained below, that the Old Syriac renderings were completely reconstructed and grecized by Thomas, so that the free style of the Old Syriac has disappeared. For this process it is probable that he would have required the aid of a Greek MS. containing these readings. That being so, the theory that Thomas used also an Old Syriac MS. becomes otiose, for he could equally well have drawn his ' Western ' readings from his Greek ms. alone.

centuries before the time of Philoxenus. The probability would rather be that Polycarp had made his translation from a Greek ms. either completely 'Western' in character or else combining, as does 614, much 'Western' matter with a text of the more usual type.<sup>1</sup> That such a manuscript should have been found in Mesopotamia at that period does not seem to be rendered impossible by anything that is known.

A natural interpretation, then, of the facts would be as follows: (1) The Philoxenian translation of the New Testament of 508 was made at Mabog from a Greek text containing a great number of 'Western' readings, the question being indeterminate whether the copy from which Acts was drawn was consistently and completely 'Western' or contained a mixed text. The translation was written in free and idiomatic Syriac. (2) Thomas of Harkel revised it in 616 by the aid of Greek mss. of the Antiochian type, putting into his margin or marking with an asterisk some of the Syriac renderings, together with many words and sentences which were inconsistent with the Greek copies used for his revision. Although he and his associates did not succeed in making their main text (apart from the asterisked portions) in all respects a perfect equivalent of their Greek standards, yet an essential part of their aim was to make the Syriac represent in detail with slavish literalness the Greek text, including the order of words. Where Syriac idiom seemed to require an added pronoun or other word, Thomas marked these with an obelus, or sometimes (if our ms. of Acts can be

<sup>1</sup> That the 'Western' readings of Acts now found in the Harclean apparatus were, if contained in the Philoxenian, drawn by the latter from the Old Syriac rather than from a Greek ms. used by Polycarp, is unlikely. For (1) the consistent Syrian tradition, beginning within a century of the date at which the Philoxenian version was made, held that Polycarp made it from the Greek. (2) In the books not previously translated, Polycarp clearly had for the Apocalypse a Greek ms. containing a strong 'Western' element and for the four Catholic epistles a Greek text that was at any rate unusual. It is natural to suppose that the Greek text he used in the other books was of similar character. In our ignorance of the actual Philoxenian text it is impossible to say with confidence what sources besides the Peshitto (with which he was thoroughly imbued) and a Greek ms. Polycarp may have used, but nothing at present known seems to point to his use of the Old Syriac Acts.

trusted) with the same asterisk ordinarily used by him for a different purpose. Of this threefold apparatus a large part has been preserved for us in one of the two known mss. of his Acts, how accurately and completely we cannot fully judge. The conditions in the other books show that there the apparatus was only imperfectly transmitted in the copies now known, although the oldest copies of the Gospels do not seem as yet to have been studied with reference to this question.

Such a view as this would entitle us to regard the 'Western' readings in the margin and asterisked portions of the Harclean Acts as derived from a Greek ms. used in Mabog in 508.<sup>1</sup> But to this conclusion a serious objection presents itself. The 'Western' glosses of the Harclean apparatus are written, at any rate in certain details, in the same peculiar grecizing style as the Harclean text itself. It is evident that in the form which they now wear they could not have stood in the original Philoxenian. One of the most pervasive traits of Thomas's mode of translation is the use of **ܐܘܬܪܐ**, etc., for *αὐτοῦ*, etc., instead of the mere pronominal suffix. This separate genitive pronoun is, indeed, found in the Philoxenian correctly enough where special emphasis is intended, and an appeal to that explanation would account for many of the cases where it appears in the Harclean margin, but it is also there found in contexts where no emphasis at all is required or permissible (e.g. Acts xii. 3). Similarly, the use of **ܡܡ** for *διά* in *διὰ νυκτός*, Acts xxiii. 24 margin, and in *διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου*, Acts xi. 1 \*, is a glaring grecism. And the characteristic preferences of the Harclean appear in the apparatus. In Acts xvi. 39 \* **ܐܬܝܬܝܢ**; **ܐܬܝܬܝܢ**; **ܐܬܝܬܝܢ** all belong to the expressions which in the Apocalypse Thomas regularly substitutes for the corresponding words of the Philoxenian. In Acts xix. 1 *mg* **ܕܡܝܬ** with the infinitive is used, rather than **ܕܡܝܬ**, with the finite verb, just as in the Harclean Apocalypse. So, Acts xi. 5 *mg*, **ܠܝܠܝܬܐ** is used for *λαμπρός*, just as, in the Apocalypse,

<sup>1</sup> With such a view would agree the facts relating to the Syriac 'Euthalian' apparatus to the Pauline epistles mentioned above, p. clv note 1.

Thomas has substituted it for the Philoxenian ܐܘܡܐ as the rendering of that Greek word; and likewise, Acts xiv. 1 *mg*, ܡܠܬܐ is used, not the Philoxenian ܡܠܬܐ. In the margin of Acts xiv. 18 *εἰς τὰ ἴδια* is represented by ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ, and xiv. 19 ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ seems intended to imitate the Greek article in τοὺς ὄχλους. In Acts xxiv. 14 the Harclean attaches a mark to the word ܕܡܠܬܐ, and in the margin writes ܐ, evidently with reference to a Greek reading λεγουσιν και (so the Greek codex 1611); in Syriac idiom the meaning of the Greek could not be so expressed, but ܐܘܢ ('also') would be required. These are but illustrations.<sup>1</sup>

This evidence of grecizing, however, which has been sufficiently illustrated in the last paragraph, does not positively prove that the Harclean apparatus was merely added by Thomas from Greek sources, independently of the Philoxenian. Our best guide is to be found in the facts of the Philoxenian books which have come down to us. In the four minor epistles and the Apocalypse, although the material is meagre and the apposite cases few, yet it is clear that the Harclean margin and asterisked words in many cases certainly do, and in nearly all cases may, owe their origin to the Philoxenian text, and at the same time that some among them, whose Philoxenian origin is unmistakable, have been grecized. The grecizing process in those five books may have been applied either under the influence of a corresponding Greek ms. or, without the use of such a ms., merely by making the language conform to the general principles of Harclean grecizing style.<sup>2</sup> Whether the far more extensive Harclean apparatus in Acts requires the assumption that Thomas used a Greek ms. in preparing it is a question which can only be answered by Syriac scholars. There are three possibilities: Either (1) this apparatus

<sup>1</sup> Some of these illustrations I owe to Professor F. C. Burkitt and Mr. Norman McLean.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the cases from the Apocalypse (Rev. v. 5) the grecizing seen in the addition of ܐܘܢ, *and*, is unmistakable, but seems not to have been guided by a Greek ms., for no known Greek ms. has that reading.

consists of Philoxenian readings transformed into the Harclean grecizing style on general principles, without the aid of a Greek ms. ; or (2) the readings of the Philoxenian adopted for preservation in the apparatus were modified by the aid of a Greek ms. ; or (3) the readings in question were not in the Philoxenian, and are drawn solely from collation with a Greek ms. of utterly different type from that "accurate and approved copy" which Thomas adopted as a standard for his text. Whether the first or the second of these three possibilities is to be adopted is not certain. The third, however, I am disposed to reject, and that for two reasons : first, because of the facts observable in the case of the Apocalypse and the four epistles, and secondly, because it is hard to see why Thomas in the seventh century in Alexandria, having adopted the Antiochian text as a standard, should have gone out of his way to preserve in Syriac a record of 'Western' readings, unless something in the Syriac version which he was revising suggested such a procedure and made it seem desirable.

Harclean  
Western  
Readings  
Alex-  
andrian.

Interesting as it would be to have this question settled, an answer to it is not an indispensable prerequisite to the use of this body of readings. They are certainly 'Western,' and were certainly in existence in the early seventh century. Yet they do not testify to a text used by Alexandrians. There is no evidence, and it is not likely, that Polycarp's Greek ms. was produced or preserved in Alexandria ; and, since the source of the Harclean apparatus of Acts was not the Greek ms. referred to in the subscription, and since thus no evidence exists that the 'Western' readings of Thomas's apparatus were drawn from any ms. which he obtained in Alexandria, the Harclean version indicates nothing as to the currency of the 'Western' Greek text in Alexandria in the early seventh century. Thomas's 'Western' Greek ms., if he had one, he may have brought with him from Mesopotamia ; for aught we know, it may have been the identical copy used a century earlier by Polycarp.

## (e) PALESTINIAN

In (probably) the sixth century, pursuant to the proselytizing activities begun by the Emperor Justinian, translations from the New Testament, intended for the use of Aramaic-speaking Christians of Palestine, were made into the dialect used by Palestinian Samaritans and Jews. A few fragments of Acts in this translation, doubtless made from the current Greek text of Byzantium, have come down to us in the form of church-lessons, in mss. of which the oldest are ascribed to the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> The published fragments from Acts cover i. 1-14; ii. 1-36; xiv. 5-13, 15-17; xvi. 16-35; xix. 31-xx. 14; xxi. 3-14, 28-30, 38-39; xxiv. 25-xxvi. 1; xxvi. 23-xxvii. 27.<sup>2</sup>

## § 5. OTHER VERSIONS

(a) ARMENIAN<sup>3</sup>

An Armenian version of the New Testament is said to have been made not later than A.D. 400. A translation of the Gospels may have been in existence in the days of St. Gregory the Illuminator († 332), but it would not follow that the Acts had been translated at that time. As might be expected, the translation of the Gospels, Pauline epistles, and Acts was made from

<sup>1</sup> F. C. Burkitt, 'Christian Palestinian Literature,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. II, 1900-1, pp. 174-183; cf. also *ibid.* vol. VI, 1904-5, pp. 91-98.

<sup>2</sup> The texts are to be found in J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv., Leyden, 1875, Syriac p. 168; G. Margolionth, 'The Liturgy of the Nile,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1896, pp. 702 f., 718-720; A. S. Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* (*Studia Sinaitica*, vi.), London, 1897, pp. 131-135; H. Duensing, *Christlich-palastinisch-aramaische Texte und Fragmente*, Göttingen, 1906, pp. 149-151; A. S. Lewis, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (*Horae Semiticae*, viii.), Cambridge, 1909, pp. 84-101.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Conybeare, art. 'Armenian Version of N.T.,' in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898; F. C. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 172-174; J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (*Texts and Studies*, iii.), 1895, pp. 72-98; H. Gelzer, art. 'Armenien,' in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, vol. ii., 1897, pp. 75-77. F. Macler, *Le Texte arménien d'après Matthieu et Marc* (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque des études*, xxviii.), Paris, 1919, presents new materials and fresh views for the Armenian text of the Gospels; cf. R. P. Blake, *Harvard Theol. Review*, xv., 1922, pp. 299-303.

the Syriac, which in Acts presented, at any rate largely, a form of the 'Western' text. Later, after the Council of Ephesus (431), the Armenian version was revised by the aid of Greek mss. brought, it is said, from both Constantinople and Alexandria, and this revision is doubtless the version known to us from later copies<sup>1</sup> The revision, it is clear, left unchanged a large number of ancient 'Western' readings.

The Armenian Bible was edited by Oscan, Amsterdam, 1666, and again by Zohrab, Venice, 1805. The latter edition is the source of the readings cited by Tischendorf, who obtained them from Tregelles. An edition with critical use of older mss. than those employed by Zohrab, or at least with a critical investigation of the mss. and a comparison with his edition, is greatly needed; all the more because of the importance of the Armenian translation of the Commentary of Ephrem on Acts, of which a translation is printed in the present volume.

### (b) GEORGIAN

Another version, neighbour to the Armenian, from which also, if it were adequately studied, profit might be derived for the textual criticism of Acts, is the Georgian, as used by the Georgians (also called Grusinians and Iberians) of the Caucasus, north-west of Armenia.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Church of Georgia is alleged to date from the early fourth century, the first translation of the Bible from the fifth. The translation has been subjected to later revision, and moreover the printed editions do not well

<sup>1</sup> The present Armenian text is said to show that the revision was made with the use of a Greek text resembling that of B<sup>1</sup>; F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 5011. Compare what is said below of the Georgian version of Acts.

<sup>2</sup> F. C. Conybeare in *The Academy*, February 1, 1896, pp. 98 f.; *id.*, 'The Georgian Version of the N.T.', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xi., 1910, pp. 232-249, *id.*, 'The Old Georgian Version of Acts,' *ibid.* vol. xii., 1911, pp. 131-140; Theodor Kluge, 'Die georgischen Übersetzungen des "Neuen Testaments,"' *ibid.* vol. xii., 1911, pp. 344-350; H. Goussen, 'Die georgische Bibelübersetzung,' *Oriens Christianus*, vol. vi., 1906, pp. 300-318; Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4th ed., vol. ii., 1924, pp. 761 f.

represent the oldest extant mss. Whether the version was originally made from Armenian or Syriac is disputed, but at least in certain parts of the Bible it is closely akin to the Armenian, although in its present form bearing evident traces of revision from the Greek.<sup>1</sup> The text of Acts in older mss. seems to be very close to the Old Greek Uncials, with occasional Antiochian divergences. In a minute proportion of instances its departures from the Old Uncials may possibly be derived from a 'Western' text, but the small number of these, and the intrinsic unimportance of most of them, make it impossible to draw any inference whatever from them.<sup>2</sup>

### (c) ARABIC<sup>3</sup>

The Arabic versions, although found in many mss., apparently yield but little for the purposes of textual criticism. All are comparatively late. "It was not till after the success of the Koran had made Arabic into a literary language, and the conquests of Islam had turned large portions of Christian Syria and Egypt into Arabic-speaking provinces, that the need of translations of Scripture in the Arabic vernacular was really felt."<sup>4</sup>

Of the Acts the following versions are known :

(1) A Sinai ms. of the ninth century contains a text which is a free translation from the Peshitto ; published in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. VII., Cambridge University Press, 1899.

(2) A version in two different recensions is found in the

<sup>1</sup> See the important article of F. C. Conybeare, 'The Growth of the Peshittâ Version of the New Testament illustrated from the Old Armenian and Georgian Versions,' *American Journal of Theology*, vol. i., 1897, pp. 883-912.

<sup>2</sup> The portions examined on which these statements rest are Acts v. 37-vii. 23, vii. 38-viii. 20, as rendered into Greek by Conybeare from an Athos ms. of A.D. 965 (not 13th century as Conybeare supposed), together with Acts xviii., of which Professor Robert P. Blake has furnished me with a translation from a tenth-century Tiflis ms. (Library of the Georgian Literary Society, No. 407).

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Burkitt, art. 'Arabic Versions,' *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. pp. 136-138 ; Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 928-932.

<sup>4</sup> Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 136.



Arabic New Testament of Erpenius, Leyden, 1616, and in that of Faustus Naironus, Rome, 1703. The former was chiefly drawn from an Egyptian ms. dated 1342-43; the latter was derived from a ms. brought from Cyprus, is in the Carshunic writing, and was intended for the use of the Maronites. This version is said to be from the Coptic, supplemented by readings drawn from the Peshitto and from the Greek.

(3) The Arabic text printed in the polyglots (Paris, 1645; Walton's, London, 1657) is said to be taken from a ms. brought from Aleppo, and to be a version made from a Greek text.

### 3. GREEK FATHERS

THE chief Latin and Syriac writers whose quotations come under consideration for the text of Acts have already been discussed in connexion with those versions. It remains to speak of the early Greek writers. For many of them no thorough investigation of their biblical text is available, and although the material to be examined is abundant, the student has at present to content himself with incomplete, merely general, or tentative, statements.

#### (a) EPISTLE OF BARNABAS ; POLYCRATES OF EPHESUS ; JUSTIN MARTYR ; DIDACHE

Barn. 5, 8-9 *πέρας γέ τοι διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Barnabas.*  
*τηλικάυτα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶν ἐκήρυσεν, καὶ ὑπερ-  
ηγάπησεν αὐτόν. ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς  
μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας  
ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν  
καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς, τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν  
εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ.*

It seems likely that this is an allusion to the 'Western' text of Acts i. 2, which (as retranslated from Augustine's quotation in *Contra Felicem*) seems to have read: *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐξελέξατο διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*<sup>1</sup>

In the letter of Polycrates of Ephesus on the paschal contro- *Polycrates.*  
versy, written in the last decade of the second century (Eusebius,

<sup>1</sup> This was pointed out by J. Chapman, 'Barnabas and the Western Text of Acts,' *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxx., 1913, pp. 219-221.

*H.e.* v. 24, 7), the sentence from Acts v. 29 is quoted in the usual form *πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις*, not in the interrogative form of the 'Western' text (fully attested only in Latin witnesses, see Textual Note, below, pp. 50 f.).

**Justin.** Justin Martyr has left no express quotations from Acts, but his references to historical events and certain apparent reminiscences of phrases confirm the presumption afforded by his abundant use of the Gospel of Luke that he was acquainted with the book. Since in the Gospels he uses the 'Western' text,<sup>1</sup> the same would be expected in Acts, and some measure of evidence of this may perhaps be found in the circumstance pointed out by Zahn<sup>2</sup> that (*Apol.* i. 40) he treats Psalms i. and ii. as a single piece (cf. Acts xiii. 33, 'Western'), and (*Dial.* 87 fin.) cites Joel ii. 28 f. as *ἐν ἐτέρᾳ προφητείᾳ*, without naming the prophet, as in the 'Western' text of Acts ii. 16.<sup>3</sup> Justin's well-known practice of drawing his Old Testament quotations from Paul without acknowledgment lends probability to the view that in these instances he is dependent on the 'Western' text of Acts.

**Didache.** In the Didache the (negative) Golden Rule is quoted (*Did.* 1, 2) in a form corresponding not to Tobit iv. 15 but to the 'Western' text of Acts xv. 20, 29: *πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει* (cf. also Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* vi. 34, and the conflate form in *Const. Apost.* vii. 1). It is not unlikely that the Didache drew the Rule from Acts; similarly Didache 9 corresponds with the 'Western' (and

<sup>1</sup> E. Lippelt, *Quae fuerint Justinī Martyris Ἀπομνημονεύματα quaque ratione cum forma evangeliorum syro-latina cohaeserint* (Dissert. philol. Halenses xv.), 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 234-236. For Justin's use of Acts see Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i. 2, 1889, pp. 579-581.

<sup>3</sup> It should, however, be noticed that our text of Justin, *Dial.* 87, has the addition to the Old Testament of the words *καὶ προφητεύσουσι* (as in Acts ii. 18), which are not found in D or in Old Latin witnesses, nor in the chief LXX mss., and which may be a 'Western non-interpolation'; see Textual Note, below, p. 17.

probably original) text of Luke xxii. 17-19 in putting the cup before the bread at the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup>

(b) IRENAEUS (ca. 185)

The copy of Acts used by Irenaeus was, like his copies of the Gospels and the Pauline epistles, a Greek manuscript with a thorough-going 'Western' text, showing but few departures from the complete 'Western' type. If we can trust the present text of the Latin translation of Irenaeus, his copy occasionally omitted a 'Western' gloss, for instance, x. 39, 'the Jews rejected and'; x. 41 *καὶ συνανεστράφημεν, ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα*; xv. 26 *εἰς πάντα πειρασμόν*; xvii. 28 *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*; and in rare instances contained a reading positively of the non-western type, as in iii. 8, where *ambulans et saliens et* does not belong to the 'Western' text, or in iii. 17, *scio* for *ἐπιστάμεθα* of D h arm. *codd.*

The date of the Latin translation of Irenaeus's great work is disputed, as between the second or early third century and the latter half of the fourth or early fifth, but probability seems to lie with the view that it was made between 370 and 420, in North Africa.<sup>2</sup> The first writer who certainly used it is Augustine. In the citations from the Bible the translator, as has been proved, followed closely the Greek text as quoted by Irenaeus, but is thought to have aided himself by the use of an Old Latin version, which in Acts appears to have been "a copy closely related to h, which had sustained revision and had also

<sup>1</sup> Lake, *Classical Review*, vol. xi., 1897, pp. 147 f.

<sup>2</sup> So A. Souter in *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei* (Old-Latin Biblical Texts, No. VII.), 1923, see esp. pp. xv-xviii, lxx-xxi. In this work will be found full discussion from various points of view of the questions relating to the Latin of Irenaeus. The quotations of Irenaeus from Acts are given in full in the present volume from the text of *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*, through the generous courtesy of the surviving editor, Professor C. H. Turner, and of the publishers. See B. Kraft, *Die Evangelienzitate des heiligen Irenäus* (Biblische Studien, xxi.), 1924, who is inclined to assign the translation to about the year 300 (p. 47), and points out certain precautions which need to be observed in the use of the biblical quotations of Irenaeus.

been later to some extent brought into line with *gig*.”<sup>1</sup> It is, however, relatively seldom that the translator is generally believed to have been drawn away from the biblical text of Irenaeus’s Greek by that of the Latin Bible which he used.

With regard to Irenaeus’s text of the Old Testament, all that is known seems to be that in 1-4 Kingdoms, for which the evidence is meagre but distinct, Irenaeus goes with B, the Ethiopic, and the ancient base of the Lucianic text, against both the hexaplaric text and the common text of the later mss.<sup>2</sup>

(c) CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (ca. 150-ca. 215)

The few, but distinct, direct quotations from Acts found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria follow a text substantially like that of B<sup>s</sup>, but with occasional variations from those mss.<sup>3</sup> In several instances of divergence Clement’s text had a reading similar to, though not always quite identical with, that attested by one or more of the extant ‘Western’ witnesses. Thus, Acts x. 11 (*Paedag.* ii. 1, Potter, p. 175), ἐκδεδεμένον (where the ‘Western’ text seems to have read δεδεμένον), xvii. 23 (*Strom.* i. 19, Potter, p. 372), ἱστορῶν for ἀναθεωρῶν (D διυστορῶν); xvii. 26 (*ibid.*), γένος (614 minn), xvii. 27 (*ibid.*) τὸ θεῖον (D *gig*

<sup>1</sup> Souter, *l.c.* pp. clxii-clxv. Souter suggests (p. xcvi) that the translation of Irenaeus is by the same hand (a Greek) from which we have the Latin of Origen’s Commentary on Matthew. J. Chapman, ‘Did the Translator of St. Irenaeus use a Latin New Testament?’ *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxxvi, 1924, pp. 34-51, holds that the translator always rendered the Greek text as quoted by Irenaeus, and never altered the text under the influence of any Latin version, although he knew a Latin version (but one wholly indeterminate by us), and it “occasionally, but rarely, ran in his head”; our mss. of Irenaeus, according to Chapman, have all been somewhat influenced by the Vulgate.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 116-118, 138.

<sup>3</sup> P. M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles* (Texts and Studies v.), 1899, with ‘Introduction’ by F. C. Burkitt (esp. p. xvii); the passages from Clement are given in full, pp. 62-64. The quotations by Clement on which the statements in the text above are founded are Acts i. 7 (*Strom.* iii. 6), ii. 26-28 (*Strom.* vi. 6), ii. 41 (*Strom.* i. 18), vi. 2 (*Paedag.* ii. 7), vii. 22 (*Strom.* i. 23), x. 10-15 (*Paedag.* ii. 1), x. 34 f. (*Strom.* vi. 8), xv. 23 (*Paedag.* ii. 7), xv. 28 f. (*Paedag.* ii. 7; *Strom.* iv. 15), xvii. 22-28 (*Strom.* i. 19, v. 11-12), xxvi. 17 f. (*Strom.* i. 19).

Iren). The most noteworthy citation is that of Acts xv. 28 f. (*Paedag.* ii. 7, Potter, p. 202; *Strom.* iv. 15, Potter, p. 606), where Clement's text is closely like B $\kappa$  and almost identical with A. This passage is the earliest witness to the inclusion of *καὶ πνικτῶν*, and seems to show that Clement did not read in his text the (negative) Golden Rule.

In the Gospels Clement's text was predominantly, but not completely, 'Western,' not that of B $\kappa$ :<sup>1</sup> in the Pauline epistles, as in Acts, it corresponds in general with the type of B $\kappa$ .<sup>2</sup>

For the Old Testament, in Judges Clement follows the older text of A, not the Egyptian revision found in B;<sup>3</sup> in 1-4 Kingdoms his text has close contact with B,<sup>4</sup> in the Psalter his text shows clear agreement both with that of Upper Egypt (see above, pp. xciii-v) and with B, although, as found in our mss. (tenth and eleventh centuries), it seems also to have been in part corrected to agree with the Psalter of the later minuscules.<sup>5</sup> Since the text of Upper Egypt in the Psalter bears somewhat the same relation to the text of B as does the base of the 'Western' text in the New Testament (see above, p. xciv), the analogy of the combination of ancient elements in Clement's Psalter with the well-known corresponding combination in his Gospels is striking.<sup>6</sup>

(d) ORIGEN (ca. 185-254)

Origen's text of Acts<sup>7</sup> was that of the Old Uncials (B $\kappa$ AC 81).

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, *l.c.* pp. vii-xix.

<sup>2</sup> Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Moore, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, p. xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 118-122, 138.

<sup>5</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, pp. 208-210.

<sup>6</sup> The general conclusion of Otto Stahlin, *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta*, Nurnberg, 1901, p. 77, is: "Durchweg zeigt sich eine Verschiedenheit zwischen dem Bibeltext bei Clemens und dem Codex B." Of this conclusion Rahlfs would make some qualifications for certain books of the Old Testament.

<sup>7</sup> The evidence as to Origen's text of Acts can be gathered by the aid of the full indexes of the Berlin edition and of De la Rue. It is carefully given by Tregelles; Tischendorf's statements are not always correct. The observations of von Soden (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1836 f.) are not substantially different from the judgment stated above, when translated into language not framed from his own theory. He holds that Origen in the Acts (as in the

This is clear, notwithstanding his freedom of citation<sup>1</sup> and the brevity of most of his citations from Acts. Thus (*Contra Celsum*, ii. 1) he quotes Acts x. 9-15 in a text which consistently follows B<sup>NA</sup>C81 against both 'Western' and Antiochian readings, and numerous other citations and allusions, mostly brief but occurring through a wide range of his works, evince the same source.

A few cases of trifling importance where his citation agrees with the Antiochian text (for instance, *Comm. in Matt.* x. 18, Acts i. 8 *μοι* for *μου*, *πάση* for *ἐν πάση*, *De orat.* xxvii. 12, Acts x. 12 *ἐρπετὰ καὶ θηρία*) are not significant exceptions; they sometimes stand in free summaries, and may be explained on any one of several theories. His text shows no specific 'Western' character, although here and there it agrees with D or d against the Old Uncials (for instance, *Contra Celsum*, i. 5, vi. 11, Acts v. 36 *μέγαν*; *Hom. in Jerem.* xiii. 3, Acts vii. 39 *om αὐτῶν*), but these agreements are very few in number, and most of them are explicable as inaccuracies of quotation or the combination in memory of two parallel passages. Moreover, the currency of such a reading as Acts v. 36 *μέγαν* was by no means limited to the circle of 'Western' authorities (cf. A<sup>corr</sup> minn Cyril Alex.).

As between the texts of the several Old Uncials, no close relation of Origen to any one can be certainly shown in view of the scantiness of the evidence. But his reading frequently agrees with B.

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Gospels, pp 1510-1520) used the I-H-K text, that is (p. 1520), the text current in the third century, in distinction from the special recensions which can be recognized.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of differences of text in the copies of the Bible used by Origen's several amanuenses has been shown by E. Klostermann, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1901, pp. 267-269, to lack the support which E. Preuschen, *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vol. iv., 1903, pp. 67-74, and *Origenes Werke*, IV. *Der Johanneskommentar*, 1903, pp. lxxxviii-c1, thought he had found for it; and it is in itself highly improbable that a critical student of the text like Origen should have failed to regulate the copies provided in his own scriptorium for his assistants, or their practice in the use of them. Streeter's discovery (see below) of the use of two distinct texts by Origen (Old Uncial and Caesarean) has put this whole matter in a new light.

A few instances are here given, of which the most noteworthy is the first :

- ii. 44 (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xv. 15) om ῆσαν, om  
καί before εἰχοι' . . . . B min  
xvi. 17 (*Comm. in Joh.* tom. xxviii. 16) om τῶ  
before Παύλῳ . . . . B  
xxi. 23 (*De orat.* iii. 4) ἀφ' for ἐφ' . . . . B<sup>s</sup>  
vii. 43 (*Contra Celsum*, v. 8) om ὑμῶν . . . . BD  
" " " ῥόμφα . . . . BS  
xii. 13 (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xiii. 28 ; De la Rue,  
iii. p. 608) προσῆλθεν . . . . B\*A 81 D  
ii. 44 (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xv. 15) πιστεύοντες . . AC 81 D

In the Gospels Origen used for some purposes an Old Uncial text, but for others, after his removal from Alexandria, employed the Caesarean text (the so-called 'fam Θ').<sup>1</sup> In the Old Testament, in so far as Origen does not quote his own hexaplaric text, he uses in 1-4 Kingdoms a text closely like that of B (with which agree the Ethiopic, the ancient base of the Lucianic, and in a less measure the Sahidic),<sup>2</sup> in the Psalter a text like that of B (and the Bohairic). On the text used by Origen as the basis for the Septuagint column of the Hexapla, see above, pp. xci-xcvii.

#### (e) DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM ; APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS I.-VI.

The Didascalia Apostolorum (third century ; Syria or Palestine) is the source which has been expanded, interpolated, and corrected by a writer of ca. 400 (Syria) to produce Books I.-VI. of the Apostolic Constitutions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the highly significant investigation of B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels : A Study of Origins*, 1924, pp. 78-102, 585-589 ; also Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 83. E. Hantsch, *Die Evangelienzitate des Origenes* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xxxiv.), 1909, p. 4, from a study of the Gospel quotations, reached the conclusion that in his several works, written under varying conditions, Origen used different copies of the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 129 f. ; *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* (Septuaginta-Studien, 1), pp. 47-87.

<sup>3</sup> F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1903, contains a full index of Scripture passages.



alia. The Didascalia contains a number of citations from Acts, of which the most important occur in vi. 12, where the writer has curiously interwoven parts of Acts x. and xv. His text of Acts was plainly not the Antiochian. Thus for xv. 17 f., xv. 23, he clearly is not using that text, and he nowhere uses any reading certainly distinctive of the Antiochian text. Of 'Western' readings positive traces are to be observed, for instance :

Acts x. 11 the omission of *καταβαίνον* from its proper place early in the phrase ;<sup>1</sup>

xv. 1 'except ye be circumcised and walk according to the law of Moses' (D *hel.mg sah*) ;

xv. 10 'the necks,' plural (d *vg. codd*) ;

xv. 11 'through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' (CD) ;

xv. 23 'writing by their hands this letter' (cf. D *hel mg sah*) ;

xv. 29 *πράξατε* for *πράξετε* (CD).

It must not be overlooked that virtually all our knowledge of the Didascalia comes from a Syriac, and from a fragmentary Latin, translation of a Greek text, and that the amount of evidence is small at best. Occasional non-western readings are found in the Syriac Didascalia, but in at least three such passages (and those the most important), Acts x. 9, 11, xv. 1-5, and xv. 20 (all found in Didascalia vi. 12, where the Latin is not available), there are reasons for suspecting that the original reading of the

<sup>1</sup> *καταβαίνον* properly belongs only in the text (Old Uncial) in which the sheet-like vessel is said to be 'lowered by the four corners' In the 'Western' text the vessel was said to be 'tied by the four corners and lowered (*καθιέμενον*)' This latter was clearly the basis of the text found in the Didascalia, but from the other text the word *καταβαίνον* (with the necessary *καί* preceding) has been added redundantly after *καθιέμενον* in the Didascalia. By the Antiochian revisers, with a similar, but different, conflation, the Old Uncial text adopted by them as their basis was modified by adding the 'Western' *δεδεμένον* (with following *καί*) before *καθιέμενον*. It would seem that the reviser of the Didascalia whose hand we detect in the Syriac version, did not venture completely to substitute the Antiochian text (with its wholly different structure) for the 'Western' which he found in his exemplar, but tried by his addition to produce a text which should be in substantial (although not formal) agreement with the Antiochian. The method which he employed made it impossible to complete the process by inserting the *ἐν αὐτόν* with which the Antiochian revisers had supplemented *καταβαίνον*. See below, pp. cxliii, cxviii, 93.

Didascalia has been modified so as partially to accord with a non-western (probably Antiochian) text.

These reasons depend on the well-established fact that the Didascalia is the source which the author of the Apostolic Constitutions has expanded to form Books I.-VI. of his comprehensive work, and may be presented as follows :

(a) In Acts x. 11 such tampering with the text is disclosed by the fact that the present text of the Didascalia is not the true non-western, but is both defective (in omitting *ὡς ὁ θόνην μεγάλην*) and confused (through the introduction of *καταβαίνον* not in its proper place, but after *καθιέμενον*, as has been explained at length in the note on p. cxcii).<sup>1</sup>

(b) Acts xv. 1-5. The facts here can best be made clear by parallel columns.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the other instances it is natural to suspect that when the Syriac Didascalia reproduces Acts x. 9, 'I went up on a roof to pray,' in language closely like that of the usual text, the original form was, as in the Constitutions, *ἦν ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ προσευχόμενος* (or something closely like it), but of this hypothesis no particular confirmation suggests itself from either document.

CODEX BEZAE.	ΥΠΟΔΟΧΕΙΑ.	ANTIOCHIAN TEXT.	APOSTOLIO CONSTITUTIONS.
ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε καὶ τῷ ἔθει. Μωσέως περι- πατῆτε,	Except ye be circumcised and walk according to the law of Moses and be cleansed from meats and from all the other things,	ἐὰν μὴ περιτέμνησθε  τῷ ἔθει. Μωσέως,	ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε  τῷ ἔθει. Μωσέως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθουσιν οἷς διετέτατο περιπατῆτε,
οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι.	ye cannot be saved.	οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι.	οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι.
XV. 4-5			
παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀπήγγελλάν τε (MS. ἀπηγ- γελαντες)	And when they were come to Jerusalem, they told us	παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀνήγγελλάν τε	οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀνήγγειλυν ἡμῖν
· · · · · ·	about the dispute which they had in the church of Antioch ;	· · · · · ·	τὰ ἑτηθέντα ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόχειᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
· · · · · ·	and there arose some who believed, of the doctrine of the Pharisees, and said, It is necessary to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses.	ἐξανέστησαν δέ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρι- σαίων πεπιστευκότες, λέγοντες ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς παραγγέλλειν τε τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωσέως.	καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θυνείας παραφυλάττειν.

Here for Acts xv. 1 the Didascalia has a free paraphrase, obviously based on the expanded 'Western' text, but still further enlarged by the noteworthy phrase 'and be cleansed from meats and from all the other things,' this being apparently the original (and not at all unsuitable) addition of the writer of the Didascalia himself. The author of the Constitutions, with his summary *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθεσιν οἷς διετάξατο*, made this more conventional and less striking, and further, in conformity to his Antiochian standard, connected τῷ ἔθει Μωυσέως with *περιμηθῆτε* (notice, however, the aorist tense, as in the Old Uncials and D), but has not wholly eliminated the influence of the 'Western' text due to the Didascalia. At the opening of verse 5 the Syriac Didascalia (like Codex Bezae) has added (doubtless from the Antiochian text) the reference to the converted Pharisees, which the Constitutions do not have and which (see below, p. 140) probably was not a part of that verse in the 'Western' text. Further, in verse 5, where the closing phrase of the Didascalia is 'and to keep the law of Moses,' just as in the ordinary text of Acts (except for the omission of *παραγγέλλειν*), the Constitutions present the remarkable paraphrase *τὰς ἄλλας ἀγνείας παραφυλάττειν* (without *παραγγέλλειν*). These words are in no way derived from the Antiochian, or any other, text of Acts, and hence are unlikely to be an original alteration by the author of the Constitutions; their obvious resemblance to the enlargement introduced at verse 1 in the Didascalia gives the key. Probably words closely like those now found in the Constitutions originally stood in the Didascalia, and were left with little or no change by the author of the Constitutions, while in the Didascalia itself the Syriac translator (or possibly a preceding Greek reviser) substituted for the original paraphrase a phrase drawn from the current biblical text of his day.

(c) In the reproduction of Acts xv. 20 in the Didascalia, 'and what is strangled' stands in its usual (third) place among the four provisos, while the Constitutions, by the unusual position of *καὶ πνικτοῦ* at the end of the list, betray that these words are

an addition.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to suppose that the order of the Didascalia, which is in accord with the general custom, was altered by the Constitutions so as to produce a unique text. We must conclude either that the peculiar order was found in the original Didascalia and taken over by the Constitutions, or else (what is far more likely) that the Didascalia originally contained the 'Western,' text with only three provisos, and that this was modified by the author of the Constitutions, who made the sentence conform in substance, though not in order, to the Antiochian text that he was following as his standard. In either case the text of the Syriac Didascalia is seen to be an alteration of the original Greek.

Thus every one of these passages leads to the conclusion that the text of the quotations from Acts in the Didascalia was originally completely 'Western,' and has been occasionally modified in our Syriac version. The conclusion needs to be further investigated as to its applicability to quotations drawn from other books of the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

In the Old Testament the Didascalia in 1-4 Kingdoms likewise shows itself not under the influence of the Lucianic text, and here again the Constitutions have in one case (4 Kingdoms xxi. 13) preserved portions of the old text which are not certainly to be identified in the Syriac and Latin Didascalia.<sup>3</sup> The Didascalia quotes Ezek. xxxiv. 4 from Theodotion, doubtless from an hexaplaric Greek manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The quotation is not changed in the Constitutions (ii. 18 and 20).

<sup>1</sup> Later (vi. 12, 15), in quoting the words of the decree itself, Acts xv. 29, both Didascalia and Constitutions observe the usual order of the four specifications.

<sup>2</sup> Flemming, in H. Achelis and J. Flemming, *Die syrische Didaskalia übersetzt und erklärt* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xxv.), 1904, p. 251, expresses the conviction that in not a few cases, other than in biblical quotations, it is possible to emend the text of the Didascalia from the corresponding reading of the Constitutions. This method was employed in an exaggerated manner by Lagarde in his reconstruction of the Greek text of the Didascalia in Bunsen's *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, vol. ii, 1854, but the validity of it within suitable limits has not been sufficiently recognized by many later scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 130-137, esp. pp. 136 f.

<sup>4</sup> E. Nestle, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. x, 1900, pp. 176 f.

In the Apostolic Constitutions, Books I.-VI., evidence as to the text of Acts employed by the interpolator and editor is to be found in some briefer citations, but especially (as in the Didascalia) in the extensive quotations from Acts x. and xv. in Const. vi. 12, where the interpolator has added much biblical matter not found in the Didascalia which he had before him. The interpolator lived in a time and country in which, we are told by St. Jerome, the Lucianic text of the LXX was dominant, and it is natural that his work should show that he had at hand an Antiochian text of Acts, for instance, in Acts xv. 18 (ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, where the Didascalia rests on a text that lacked the sentence). But other passages of the Constitutions, probably derived from the Didascalia, show the influence of the 'Western' text. In Acts x. 11 the Constitutions (vi. 12, 6) quote in full, and almost exactly, the 'Western' text which, in agreement with d, must have stood on the lost page of D.<sup>1</sup> Other specifically 'Western' readings (see above) are :

- viii. 19 ἵνα + καὶ γὰρ (Const. ap. vi. 7, 3; D perp);
- viii. 21 τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτον] τῇ πίστει ταύτη (Const. ap. vi. 7, 4; cf. perp gig Aug pesh).
- xv. 1 Μωυσέως + καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθεσιν οἷς διετάξατο περιπατῆτε (Const. ap. vi. 12, 2; cf. D hcl.mq. sah).
- xv. 20 The very unusual, and probably unique, position of καὶ πνικτοῦ (note the singular, which is Antiochian) at the end of the list in Const. ap. vi. 12, 13 suggests that it may have been added to a 'Western' text including only the three provisos.

In its abridgment of Acts xv. 1-5 the account in the Constitutions (like the 'Western' text) does not involve the inconsistency of the ordinary text (here by contamination found also in Codex Bezae), in which the controversy seems to be initiated first at Antioch (v. 1) and again independently at Jerusalem (v. 5).

<sup>1</sup> See Textual Note, below, p. 93.

The most natural explanation of all the facts is clearly that stated above, that the 'Western' readings and allusions of the Constitutions are due to 'Western' readings in the underlying Didascalia (of the original Greek of which we have but imperfect knowledge) which the interpolator, using for himself the Antiochian text, failed to eliminate.<sup>1</sup> This fully accounts for the otherwise most surprising citation of the pure 'Western' text of Acts x. 11 by the Constitutions alone among Greek sources. But the evidence is meagre.

(f) EUSEBIUS; CYRIL OF JERUSALEM; EPIPHANIUS

These three writers show, at least in some parts of the New Testament, a certain relation to the 'Western' text, but evidently in a weakened form.

Eusebius (*ca.* 265–340), who used in the Gospels a text with distinctly 'Western' character,<sup>2</sup> had a text of Acts lacking Antiochian tendency, but for the most part (so far as his quotations permit a judgment) agreeing with one or more of the Old Uncials against the 'Western'—in both these respects much like the text of Origen.

Cyril of Jerusalem (*ca.* 315–386) is said to show for Acts the use of a text of 'Western' affinities.<sup>3</sup>

Of Epiphanius (*ca.* 315–403) the same can be said, but his text occasionally agrees with the Antiochian readings.<sup>4</sup>

(g) ATHANASIUS; DIDYMUS; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA;  
COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

Of these writers all except Cosmas are known to have had their birth, education, and activity in Alexandria, while the merchant,

<sup>1</sup> A similar situation seems to be present in the Old Testament citations from the books of Kingdoms; Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 136 f.

<sup>2</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, p. 1759.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* It is not impossible that a renewed study of the text of these writers would throw fresh light on the locality and history of the text contained in the various groups of manuscripts designated as I by von Soden.

and later monk, Cosmas, chiefly notable as a traveller, was perhaps a native of that city, at any rate found in it the stable centre of his roving earlier period, and spent his later years of devout retirement at no very great distance from it. All four used an Alexandrian text of the Bible similar to that of our Old Uncials, and from their citations, if these are ever thoroughly studied, fuller knowledge than is now at hand may be expected with regard to the history of that text. Such knowledge would furnish instruction for the study of the codices themselves, and ought to throw light on the very important questions of how far the text of the Old Uncials and their minuscule successors is to be attributed to learned recensions, and of the significance of Antiochian readings in the Old Uncials.

The demonstrated relation of Codex Vaticanus to Athanasius (295-373) invites the hope that a study of his citations, made with due regard to the problem of the text of Athanasius's own writings, would be of value. He uses for Acts, as elsewhere, the Old Uncial text, in clear distinction from the Antiochian and the 'Western.' Of his relation to our several extant codices nothing appears to be known.<sup>1</sup> The same statement seems to be the only one that can be made at present with regard to his contemporary Didymus (313-398), and to Cyril of Alexandria († 444).<sup>2</sup>

Cosmas Indicopleustes (wrote 547) likewise uses a text of the Old Uncial type in his extensive quotations from Acts. The copy from which these were taken was not specially related to any one of the group B<sup>2</sup>AC 81, and shows nothing whatever of the peculiarities of B, with which he never agrees except in company with one or more of the other members of the group. Antiochian readings seldom occur except when they are found in one or

<sup>1</sup> Von Soden, pp. 1672 f. Von Soden's mention of Migne's edition of Athanasius seems to imply that he used that only in his study; if so, this puts an unfortunate limitation on the sufficiency of his results. A similar question arises with reference to Didymus and Cyril.

<sup>2</sup> Von Soden, pp. 1673 f. Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 141, says: "At Alexandria itself the Alexandrian tradition lives on through the fourth century, more or less disguised with foreign accretions, and then in the early part of the fifth century reappears comparatively pure in Cyril."



another of the Old Uncial group. For the Gospels Cosmas is said to have used "a late Alexandrian type of text, like L."<sup>1</sup>

Early in the seventh century Alexandria became the prey of the Arabs, and Greek Christian writers, who might have used the text of the Old Uncials, no longer appear.

#### (h) CHRYSOSTOM

The text of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles used by Chrysostom was substantially, but not exclusively, Antiochian. The other element seems to have come from the late text (the 'I-text' of von Soden) found in mixed minuscules,<sup>2</sup> not from the Old Uncial text (the 'H-text'). In the Acts, Chrysostom's text is likewise mainly Antiochian,<sup>3</sup> but his homilies on Acts (delivered ca. 400) show abundant reference to characteristic 'Western' glosses.

The homilies are found in two forms, and these may go back to distinct originals; it is possible that we have reports written down by two different hearers. One form is found in the New College, Oxford, ms., used by Savile for his edition (1612, vol. v.); the other was printed by Fronto Ducaeus and his successors (Paris, 1609-1636), and reprinted by Montfaucon (Paris, 1718-1738, vol. ix.) and Migne. The excerpts from Chrysostom of the Armenian Catena on Acts (Venice, 1839)<sup>4</sup> represent the same text as the New College ms., possibly somewhat reinforced by 'Western' readings drawn from Ephrem. This text contains more allusions to 'Western' readings than does that of Fronto Ducaeus. The text used by Chrysostom as found in the homilies calls for further investigation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Von Soden, pp. 1480 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> The same Catena of which the sections drawn from Ephrem are printed in the present volume, pp. 381 ff

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Conybeare, 'On the Western Text of the Acts as Evidenced by Chrysostom,' *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii, 1896, pp. 135-171. In this article (pp. 149-170) the full evidence from the Armenian Catena and from Savile's Greek is given in the case of many readings of Acts. See also

The text of Acts used by some others of the Greek fathers would doubtless, if better known, give aid in understanding the relations of our best MSS. and in determining their value. The most ancient of these MSS. are hardly, if at all, older than the works of Alexandrian, Palestinian, Antiochian, and Constantinopolitan writers whose works are extant but whose evidence as to the New Testament text has been largely neglected. The Cappadocian fathers, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and others,<sup>1</sup> as well as those of whom something has been said above, need to be investigated in order that the history of the text after the rise of the Antiochian recension in the fourth century may be understood. Only through knowledge, or at least through a detailed and well-grounded theory, of that history can the wilderness of the later New Testament MSS., into which von Soden's great work has now cut some vistas, be adequately explored and mapped.

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Conybeare's notes to the translation of the Commentary of Ephrem, below. It is to be observed that the views presented by Conybeare in 1896, that Chrysostom used the commentary of an older father to whom the 'Western' readings were due, and that the Armenian rests on a fuller text than that of the New College MS. and Savile, are withdrawn in his later discussion, as now published.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch, ca. 323-330, used a 'Western' text; see H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version*, London, 1911, pp. 118 f.

## II. THE CRITICISM AND HISTORY OF THE GREEK TEXT

### 1. INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

THE witnesses to the text described above fall naturally, for Acts as for the other chief books of the New Testament, into three major groups, the members of each of which so often agree with their fellows within the group as to make it certain that the group draws its text largely from a common Greek ancestor. The three texts to which these groups point are called in this volume :

- (a) the Old Uncial text ;
- (b) the ' Western ' text ;
- (c) the Antiochian text.

The first two take their name from the most important extant representatives of the text ; the third from the place where the text was definitely formed. The term ' Old Uncial ' is used to cover what Westcott and Hort included in their " Neutral " and their " Alexandrian " text ; the term ' Antiochian ' has been preferred to their name " Syrian " as less likely to cause confusion. The unsatisfactory nature of the term ' Western ' is acknowledged, but a more convenient, and at the same time exact, name for the text in question does not present itself.

Within each of these major groups sub-groups disclose themselves, marked by participation in definite series of variant readings. To elicit these sub-groups and determine their relation to one another constitutes a large part of the work (much of it not yet performed) of preparing the material for the history of

the text of the New Testament. Fortunately textual criticism properly so called, the determination of what are to be accepted as the original words of the authors, can generally be pursued with sound results by observing merely the major grouping of the witnesses. With hardly an exception the difficulty arising from the mixed character of the text in our witnesses of older and middle date is to be met, as Westcott and Hort pointed out, by dealing primarily with the common readings of notable groups, not with the evidence of single witnesses. But in order that criticism may be thoroughly convincing, it requires to be reinforced by a well-established view of textual history, adequate for the rational explanation of the origin of the various types and of their relation to the supporting witnesses. The task will not be completely absolved until in this way the whole history of the text has been elucidated, including the later development down to the period of the printed New Testament. Only when all the late witnesses are fully understood and explained will the study of textual criticism lose its significance. The practical importance, however, of the study of the later forms of the text is chiefly to ensure that all out-of-the-way survivals of ancient texts which may conceivably be genuine readings, have been discovered and registered.

In the text of the Greek Bible, in both Testaments, the forces at work in producing the existing situation have been two : (1) free variation (both accidental and deliberate) and rewriting ; (2) learned recension intended to produce a definite, and in some cases an authoritative, text, together with the influence of scholars who have preferred some definite type of text and promoted its use. In both Testaments some of these recensions or preferred texts can be recognized and identified ; others will no doubt be determined by future inquiry. From the point of view of the study of these forces the following brief sketch of the history of the text of Acts is here outlined. The aim is to direct attention in the history to the succession of what may be called ' phases ' of the text. These are not exactly chronological stages

Phases in  
the history  
of the  
text.

or events, following one another (although they correspond in part to such stages), for the documents in each group in many cases had their actual origin at dates separated by long intervals of time. Many strokes in such a picture have to be guided by knowledge as yet imperfect, and in its details the sketch is presented with due reserve. Yet the general lines are, I believe, true to the history. It differs from Westcott and Hort's account chiefly in its method of grouping, rather than in the judgments of fact on which it rests.

For other books of the New Testament than Acts the sketch would require some modification. It will be observed that the classification reached in this way is different from that stated above, and it is presented as historically significant and suggestive, not as a practical classification of texts, adapted for direct use in textual criticism proper. For the latter purpose the familiar distribution into families noted by Bengel—designated by Griesbach as Alexandrian, Western, and Byzantine, and carried further by Westcott and Hort through their division of the Alexandrian family into Neutral and Alexandrian—is appropriate and, indeed, necessary.

(1) *The Primitive Phase.* In this phase the text was subject to free variation, both accidental and deliberate, and to elaborate rewriting; many variants were present in different documents; and the actual copying was far less subject to control than at a later time, and was often very inaccurate.<sup>1</sup> Here substantially belong most of the papyrus fragments, Codices B&D, the Greek

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Hug, *Einführung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., 1847, pp. 121-127, recognized this phase of the history of the text, and applied to it the term *κοινή εκδοσις*, which he drew from the Alexandrian grammarians (cf. also Jerome, *Ep.* 106, *ad Sunniam et Fretellam*, 2). To it he referred Codex Bezae, but he failed to see that D represents a *rewriting* (though not in the proper sense a learned 'recension') within this primitive phase and period. The term *κοινή* properly designates 'the unrevised text' (like Westcott and Hort's name, 'neutral') in contrast to a definite recension or recensions. The use of K(oiné) by von Soden to denote the Antiochian text was not in accord with ancient usage, although, as it happens, Jerome (*Ep.* 106) states that many applied the name 'Lucianic' to the 'common' text of the LXX, both terms alike serving to mark a distinction from the hexaplaric recension; see Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 170 f.

text underlying the African Latin, the text, partly conformed to a standard, from which the Sahidic was drawn, and the text used by Clement of Alexandria and (in somewhat less degree) that of Origen.<sup>1</sup> Attempts at recension were doubtless made within the limits of this phase; in some centres standard copies were recognized; and the early mixture which is unmistakable thus arose. But such early recensions have not as yet been identified by clear evidence. The 'Western text' is included in this phase: it was an ancient rewriting, not, like the later recognizable recensions, an attempt to select the best among extant variants, only incidentally accompanied by occasional improvement on the editor's own part. The 'Western' text and what may for convenience be called the 'B-text' are two divergent types of this phase, and both go back to a very remote antiquity.

This phase of the history of the text was not brought to an end by the Antiochian recension. The most valuable single representative of it is Codex Vaticanus, which, with the Bohairic version, offers in Acts a non-western text of great freedom from 'Western' readings, and, on the other hand, shows fewer traces than any of its kin—probably, indeed, none—of influence from the Antiochian text. On these two characteristics, as has already been remarked above, not on any unique purity within its own non-western and non-antiochian field, rests, in Acts, the pre-eminence of this codex. Its relation to early, free, non-western variation, and the question whether its text was created by a recensional process in which the shorter reading was consistently preferred, have not as yet been determined. This position of Codex B both explains its superiority and accounts for its many recognizable individual faults. Many other faults, shared with other mss. of its own type, it may also be suspected to contain, but no internal criticism enables us to detect them.

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, p. 201, remarks that the evidence of Clement of Alexandria shows that in ancient times a greater number of different types of text of the Greek Psalms were current than have been preserved for us.

(2) *The Antiochian Recension and its Successive Modifications.*

The formation of the Antiochian recension in the fourth century constituted a fateful epoch in the history of the text both of Old and New Testaments. Through all the centuries beginning with the ninth the great bulk of Greek mss. contain this text, mostly in a fair degree of purity. The most important question with regard to it is how far it has preserved non-western readings derived from the earlier stage of free variation and otherwise unknown to us or insufficiently attested.

(3) *The Phase of Later Mixture and Supplementary Recension.*

Here belong Codices AC 81, most of the mss. assigned by von Soden to his H-text and I-text, and probably the Greek copies underlying the Latin 'gigas-recension' and the Latin Vulgate. Whether the Greek ms. from which came the marginal and asterisked readings of the Harclean Syriac was of this nature or was a pure 'Western' text cannot be determined in the present state of knowledge. The extant Greek mss. here mentioned show a character of their own. They make the impression of having been written under definite control of various kinds; in orthography and grammar they are more accurate by the standards of the grammarians than those of the earliest phase; and, apart from mere accidents, they contain relatively few individual readings peculiar to the several codices.

In this great and heterogeneous mass many distinct types of mixture can be identified, and now that the fundamental spadework of von Soden has been done, their relations and history will probably be more and more accurately and instructively elucidated as the laborious research required for this study makes further progress. Within this phase will probably be discovered the text of Pamphilus and Eusebius; if so, that will form an excellent illustration of what took place at many centres. Some of these texts had as one of their component elements noteworthy readings of great antiquity in considerable abundance, and it is here that the chief use of the minuscule codices, when fully investigated, will lie. Which are the useful minuscules will appear when all

those codices that are incapable of such use (constituting, in fact, the great majority) are removed from the critic's horizon.

The textual history of the New Testament and that of the Septuagint have been parallel. In both Testaments the period of Origen and that of Lucian of Antioch are the great landmarks. Comparison  
of New and  
Old Testaments. In both, a phase, or period, of free variation was interrupted, but not fully terminated, by the effect of great recensions; and in both the critic's task is to determine the best extant text which preceded these recensions, and, as well, to discover and adopt any sound readings preserved in the recensions, though lacking strong, or even any, attestation outside them. In both cases the conclusion of criticism advises the adoption of Codex Vaticanus as in large measure, but only in large measure and to a degree varying greatly in different groups of books, the best single survivor of the earliest phase of textual development.

But there are important differences. Thus in the Septuagint the Lucianic text appears to contain many precious readings drawn from its ancient base and sometimes known to us from no other source, while in the New Testament it is capable of rendering a similar service, if at all, only within narrow limits.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Origen made no recension of the New Testament, and the difference between the fortunes of the Septuagint and of the New Testament in his period is the cause of a far-reaching difference in the later history of the two texts. The outcome may have been partly due to Origen in the New Testament as well as in the Old, but in the latter case his new and powerful recension entered at this time on its career as an active power, whereas in the New Testament what happened was that an ancient but neglected type of text was brought to new prominence, and the 'primitive phase' of the text prolonged. In the Septuagint, well before the middle of the third century the recension put forth in the fifth column of the Hexapla provided a restrictive

<sup>1</sup> Even von Soden's method of criticism, which allows one vote out of three to the Antiochian text, does not permit that text to outweigh the combined votes of the H-text and the I-text.



force to check free variation, although it became in itself the source of a fresh type of mixture. No similar great repressive force was at work in the New Testament at anything like so early a date. For the Book of Acts, to limit the statement to the special field of our present inquiry, what we seem to see is that not long after Origen's date a change in usage took place. In the second century the text of Acts commonly used had been the 'Western.' It penetrated to the Latin-speaking world and to the Syrian church, was long used in Palestine, and is found in Egypt at Oxyrhynchus in the third or fourth century, while the traces of it in the copy from which the Sahidic was made likewise attest its use in Egypt. But under some influence (we may guess that this was not unconnected with Origen), and before the time of Athanasius, the old B-text won the day in Alexandria over the old 'Western' text, was used as the chief basis of the recension made at Antioch, was employed by Jerome for the revision of the Latin translation, and later showed its position of full authority in Egypt, where it provided the copy from which the Bohairic version was made. One effect of this change of public favour must have been that many 'Western' copies were corrected over to a B-standard, and so gave rise, by reason of incomplete correcting, to a progeny of descendants with a mixed text. In the codex from which the Sahidic was translated many remnants of the 'Western' base survived here and there, chiefly in unimportant minor details, amid the general mass of B-readings.

Another fact of Septuagint history to which the New Testament offers no counterpart is that the influence of the Hexaplaric and of the Lucianic recensions in the Old Testament can be easily detected. Their readings stand out conspicuous against any alien background. In the New Testament the 'Western' text has something of that quality, but it belongs to the phase of primitive, free rewriting, not to that of learned recensions. Hardly any other type can be recognized by familiar features in any single sentence taken alone. The Antiochian selection of readings is, indeed, easily recognized in any considerable passage,

but for a given single reading it is hardly ever possible to say whether it is Antiochian or merely a part of the older text (‘ Western ’ or, more often, Old Uncial) which the Antiochian revisers used. No one will be able to tell what the text of the Codex of Pamphilus, followed in Eusebius’s copies, was like, until by some external evidence it shall be determined what that text was.<sup>1</sup>

Other important differences between the two Testaments can be pointed out. Except in the Psalms, nothing in the textual history of the Old Testament corresponding to the ‘ Western ’ text of the New Testament is known to us. And in the later phases of the Old Testament text the most commonly adopted type was not (again with the exception of the Psalms) the Lucianic recension, but rather a modified form of the older current text.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius need not be mentioned here. He is a figure shadowy enough even for the Old Testament, and for the New Testament we know nothing whatever about his work.

## 2. PAPYRI AND OTHER FRAGMENTS

ALTHOUGH no essential difference separates papyrus mss. from others, yet in the present state of our knowledge of the text the papyri and certain associated fragments require separate mention. This is partly because a large proportion of them are of great antiquity, partly because their place of origin or currency is in most cases known to be Egypt.

### § 1. PAPYRI AND EGYPTIAN FRAGMENTS

In the Acts the following fragments from Egypt come in question (for fuller statements see pp. xvii-xxi). Only the four specifically so designated (Pap.) are papyri.

Pap. 29 (Oxyrhynchus 1597 ; third or fourth century).

Pap. 8 (Berlin, P 8683 ; fourth century).

057 (Berlin, P 9808 ; fourth century).

0165 (Berlin, P 271 ; fourth or fifth century).

0166 (Heidelberg 1357 ; fifth century ; bought at Akhmim, but of uncertain provenance).

0175 (Florence, Oxyrhynchus fragment, vol. ii. No. 125 ; fifth century).

076 (Amherst VIII ; fifth or sixth century).

Wess<sup>59c</sup> (Vienna ; Sahidic and Greek ; sixth century).

Pap. 33 (Vienna ; Pap Wess<sup>190</sup> ; sixth or seventh century).

Pap. Wess<sup>237</sup> (Vienna ; graeco-sahidic ; eleventh or twelfth century).

Of these the earliest (Pap. 29) is certainly older than our oldest codices. The text of the fragment is given in full below, pp. 235, 237 ; its chief variants from B are :

xxvi 7 ἐλπίζει] ἐλπίδι. This implies a finite verb instead of λατρευων B; so *deservunt in spe pervenire* gig; whether in Pap. 29 the noun was preceded by ἐν cannot be known.

8 Seems to have omitted βασιλευ τι απιστον κρινεται παρ υμιν.

20 ιεροσολυμοις] + και. The editors suggest, in view of the space, that what followed was τη ιουδαία for πασαν τε την χωραν της ιουδαιας B; the reading *judaëis* of c and perp<sup>corr</sup> suggests also the possibility of ιουδαιοις

απηγγελλον] εκηρυξα (cf *praedicavi* h, *annunciavi* gig, instead of the usual *annuntiabam*).

These indications are meagre, but decisive; they prove the presence of 'Western' readings in Oxyrhynchus as late as the third or fourth century. The rest of the ms. would beyond reasonable doubt furnish abundant parallels to D and the Old Latin. The fragment includes only verses which are now lacking in D.

The other nine fragments mentioned above represent texts current in different centuries, from the fourth to the seventh, and in various Egyptian localities. For all except 057 the text is known, and so far as practicable their readings are included at the proper places in the apparatus below. In view of the broken condition of most of them, inferences from the silence of the apparatus in any verse need to be verified from the published texts of the fragments (see above, pp. xvii-xx).

No one of the fragments (except the minute bit designated 1066) agrees perfectly with any known ms., but it is nevertheless plain that all of them, except Pap. 29, represent forms of what in this volume is called the 'Old Uncial' text. They are conspicuously different from the Antiochian type of text, and show hardly anything that is capable of being ascribed even to sporadic Antiochian influence. In several cases (notably Pap. 8, 0165, 076) their readings show special agreement with B, but none of them shares any of the peculiar idiosyncrasies of B against all other uncials. In Pap Wess<sup>237</sup> (from the Fayoum, eleventh or twelfth century) a distinct 'Western' element is included in the text.

The fragments are too limited in extent to justify at present any conclusions as to the history of the Old Uncial text in Egypt from the time of Athanasius to the date of the Arab conquest.

From the study of the Gospel papyrus fragments of the third and fourth centuries (mostly from Oxyrhynchus) it has been observed that, although these conform to the Old Uncial type, they never agree perfectly with any one uncial, and that in the passages (brief as those are) where the fragments overlap, they do not agree perfectly with one another.<sup>1</sup> It is further remarked that most of the papyri contain some unique readings, as well as not a few which elsewhere find support only in very late copies.<sup>2</sup> With these findings the facts of the Egyptian fragments of Acts, so far as they permit a judgment, are not out of accord.

## § 2. OTHER FRAGMENTS

Ten other fragments of varying date, origin, and character are known as follows (see pp. xvii-xxi).

At Petrograd are three palimpsests, the upper writing being Georgian :

- 066 (I<sup>3</sup> ; fifth century),
- 096 (I<sup>5</sup> ; seventh century),
- 097 (I<sup>6</sup> ; seventh century).

<sup>1</sup> Victor Martin, 'Les papyrus du Nouveau Testament et l'histoire du texte,' *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, N.S., vol. viii., 1919, pp. 43-72.

<sup>2</sup> A similar situation is found in papyrus mss. of classical writers; B. P. Grenfell, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxxix., 1919, pp. 16-36; *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iii., pp. 119 f.; vol. v. pp. 243 f.; vol. xi. pp. 156-164. Grenfell says that the changes took place before the second century after Christ, and to but small extent after that. On the corrupt text of a papyrus of the Phaedo of Plato written within a century of Plato's death, as compared with the Bodleian Plato dated 895, and the causes of the superiority of the later manuscript, see H. Usener, 'Unser Platontext,' *Nachrichten*, Göttingen Academy, 1892, pp. 25-50, 181-215. For a like view for the New Testament see E. von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*, 4te Auflage, 1923, p. 8.

Also at Petrograd :

095 (G ; seventh century ; from the binding of a Syriac ms.),  
0123 (Apl 70 b ; eighth century).

At Sinai are :

077 (fifth century),  
0140 (tenth century).

There remain :

048 (ⲁ ; fifth century, palimpsest, from Rossano),  
093 (sixth century, from the Cairo genizah),  
0120 (G<sup>b</sup> ; ninth century, palimpsest, from Grotta Ferrata).

Of the above the text of 0140 and 048 has not been published ; 0123 and 077 are too fragmentary to be used.

The Petrograd fragments from Georgia, 066, 096, 097, come from texts of varying type. 066 (fifth century) has an Old Uncial text, which, so far as revealed by the fragment, is virtually identical with that of 81 (von Soden, p. 1672) ; 096 is Old Uncial with a slight ' Western ' trace (von Soden, p. 1672) ; 097 is from a mixed text including a strong Antiochian element, and is assigned by von Soden to his I-group (p. 1687). The other Petrograd fragment 095 has an Old Uncial text, with noticeable resemblance to AC. The most instructive observation at present to be made on these oriental fragments is of the contrast their variety affords to the distinctive, relatively homogeneous, Old Uncial character of most of the fragments found in Egypt.

The two remaining fragments 093 and 0120 both give the Antiochian text. 0120 is of the ninth century, and adds nothing of consequence to the testimony of the other Antiochian mss. of the same period, although it occasionally departs from them to agree with the Old Uncials. But 093, though but a single leaf, is of great value, for, being of the sixth century, it is the oldest known piece of pure Antiochian text of Acts.<sup>1</sup> The fragment

<sup>1</sup> Codex Laudianus (E) of about the same date is mainly Antiochian, but has a Greek text largely conformed to its parallel Latin columns.

was found in the genizah at Cairo, but need not have been produced in Egypt.

The main use of these fragments is to enrich the background of knowledge in which the oriental non-antiochian mss. of Acts are to be set. From the earliest of the fragments, with the similar fragments of the Gospels, we can see that in the third century the New Testament was copied with constant minor variation, so that hardly ever can two copies have been identical. The tendencies of variation perceptible are those commonly attributed to copyists, and due to carelessness in omission and alteration, and to small additions, rearrangements of order, and other changes, in accordance with personal taste. Yet in Egypt from the earliest time known to us and during the whole period of Christian domination of that country, and indeed for long after the Arab conquest, a definite but not rigidly fixed type of text was widely used by Greek-speaking Christians. Our oldest example of this text, and probably our best, is Codex Vaticanus. The type as a whole does not show signs of being a recension, although doubtless recensions were from time to time attempted within it, and from one or more of these some of our extant witnesses may come. Mingling with this text are traces of the ancient 'Western' text, of which purer copies lingered here and there, such as Pap. 29, perhaps of the third century, from Oxyrhynchus; and of the Antiochian recension also copies were brought to Egypt. For no other region is an equal amount of evidence available.

### 3. THE 'WESTERN' TEXT

#### § 1. WITNESSES

OF the 'Western' text of Acts we have no pure representative for any large part of the book, if indeed any one of our witnesses can be called pure. The authorities may be arranged in three groups : 1. The chief witnesses, with a substantially 'Western' text. 2. Mixed texts with definite and considerable 'Western' elements. 3. Mixed texts with occasional 'Western' survivals.

1. Codex Bezae stands alone as the only continuous Greek MS. containing nearly the whole book in a substantially 'Western' text; but the defects and limitations of D have already been sufficiently illustrated in the general description of the codex (above, pp. lxix-lxxxiii). It is disfigured by errors; and in using it the possibility of conformation to the accompanying Latin and of contamination from the non-western text must be kept in mind at every stage. Such facts as the frequent agreement against D of Peshitto and h, or Peshitto and g<sup>ig</sup>, seem to show a greater degree of degeneration in the 'Western' text of D than has usually been suspected. Next in importance to D are the readings under asterisk and in the margin of the Harclean Syriac. These are almost purely 'Western,' are sometimes obviously better than the readings of D, and come in some cases from chapters where D is defective; but they are not continuous, although they contain a very large proportion of the most important 'Western' variants, especially in the way of addition. The African Latin version, again, was almost purely 'Western,' and where we have the evidence of Codex h, Cyprian, or Augustine, the critic is on

Codex  
Bezae :  
Harclean  
apparatus  
African  
Latin.  
Pap. 29.



firm ground, but this is the case for only a small part of the book.

These three—D, Harclean apparatus, African Latin—may be called the chief witnesses to the ‘Western’ text, and their readings, in the absence of special indications to the contrary, are generally to be taken as representing it. With them may be put the readings implied in the Armenian version of the commentary of Ephrem Syrus, as printed below (pp. 380 ff.). The use of these is subject to some limitations because of the probability of influence from the Armenian New Testament, but they serve at least to confirm readings known from other and more trustworthy sources.

The papyrus ms. from which the fragment Pap. 29 (Oxyrh. 1597) has been preserved would probably also show itself as belonging to this group, if we had more of it.

2. Next to these chief witnesses come two groups of mixed documents, Greek and Latin, which also contain definite ‘Western’ elements of great importance.

I-codices

(a) A large number of Greek mss. are included by von Soden in his I-group, and many of these, especially those of the sub-groups I<sup>01</sup> and I<sup>02</sup>, contain a larger or smaller number of ‘Western’ readings. The codex containing the largest number appears to be 614 (formerly 137; *a* 364), now at Milan, which is included in the apparatus of Tischendorf, Hilgenfeld, and von Soden. Of importance is also 383 (formerly 58; *a* 353; Oxford, Bodleian Library, clark. 9), in which the ‘Western’ readings are found almost exclusively in chapters xvii.-xxii.<sup>1</sup> The other codices of the groups I<sup>01</sup> and I<sup>02</sup> are named above (pp. xxvii.f.) in the order of value assigned by von Soden. A full investigation of these mixed texts containing ‘Western’ readings, most of which are easily

<sup>1</sup> August Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wirquelle*, Leipzig, 1900, has tried to explain the ‘Western’ readings of 614 and 383 as due to the persistent influence of the ‘We-source’ on the text of the completed Book of Acts. For effective criticism of his theory see H. Coppieters, *De historia textus Actorum Apostolorum*, Louvain, 1902, pp. 60-68, and A. V. V. Richards, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. II., 1900-1, pp. 439-447.

accessible, is one of the greatest needs of the textual criticism of Acts.<sup>1</sup> The impression made by them, so far as they are known, is that their character is due to the introduction of striking 'Western' readings into an Antiochian text, while they also show a certain Old Uncial element of which the precise nature and channel has not been at all determined.<sup>2</sup> That the minutiae of the text are almost perfectly Antiochian makes it difficult to believe that we have the remains of a 'Western' base incompletely corrected to an Antiochian standard. Such a theory would imply an Antiochian corrector meticulously careful about introducing every minor detail of his new text and yet so careless as to leave standing a great number of glaring readings of a character obviously foreign to it.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, for instance in codex 614 in Acts xxii. 29 f., xxiii. 24 f., 34, xxiv. 27, the 'Western' reading stands by conflation side by side with the other reading for which it was intended as a substitute. In such a case as xix. 9 the 'Western' addition *των εθνων*, properly attached to *πληθους* in D e pesh hcl \*, is in 614 383 misplaced and connected with the previous *τινες*.<sup>4</sup> These 'Western' readings might have stood in the margin of the exemplar, which would thus have been a copy constructed somewhat after the fashion of the Oxford MS. of the Harclean Syriac.

<sup>1</sup> It is understood that Mr. A. V. Valentine Richards of Christ's College, Cambridge, is engaged on an edition and investigation of 614. His work will throw greatly needed light on the origin and significance of this group of Greek mss. A. Schmidtke, 'Festlegung der Evangelienausgabe Zion,' *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien* (T.U. xxxvii.), 1911, pp. 1-21, is an instructive discussion of one group of I-codices of the Gospels. A. Vaccari, *La Grecia nell'Italia meridionale* (Orientalia Christiana, m.), Rome, 1925, treats of the Calabrian mss. of LXX and N.T.

<sup>2</sup> Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, pp. 79-107, 572-584, has shown that for the Gospels Caesarea was probably the centre of diffusion of at least one type of the I-text (that chiefly used by Origen in his later period). So perhaps with Acts, for which Origen does not supply much evidence. On this text in the Gospels see also K. Lake and R. P. Blake, 'The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi., 1923, pp. 267-286.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Coppieters, *op. cit.* pp. 60-68; also A. V. V. Richards, *loc. cit.* p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> What has happened is made specially evident in 614, where *τοτε* follows *εθων* in the gloss although it would be appropriate only if *των εθων* stood in the later position which the words actually occupy in D.

The 'Western' fragments contained in these mixed codices represent a line of transmission of 'Western' readings wholly distinct from that represented by D, and the I-manuscripts often agree with the Harclean apparatus against D.<sup>1</sup> As has been seen above, this does not imply any connexion of the I-group with the Old Syriac of the second, third, and fourth centuries, but rather that either the Philoxenian revision of the sixth century or the Harclean of the following century, or both, used a Greek ms. containing I-readings. On the other hand, D belongs to the same line of transmission which has produced the Old Latin 'Western' text. Both lines, that of D and that of the Harclean apparatus and the I-group, go back to a common 'Western' original, but the two lines show types of mixture of quite different characters, and independent the one of the other.<sup>2</sup> Among the questions which cry for an answer are those as to the components of the non-western element of the text of the I-manuscripts, and as to their grouping, their centre (or centres) of dispersion, and the later history and locality of their text. A primary question is whether they represent a single mixture, which has been disfigured and partly obliterated by later conformation to standard types, or whether they represent several similar mixtures of 'Western' readings with a non-western text, made from similar motives but at different places and times. This ought to be discoverable from the relations subsisting between the selection of 'Western' readings still found in the different codices. It would require as complete as possible an assembling of the I-texts for comparison,

<sup>1</sup> Examples of agreement of 614 or kindred texts with the Harclean apparatus against D are to be found in the following places among others: v. 33; vii. 43; xii. 11, 12, 25; xiii. 43, 47; xiv. 18, 19, 25; xv. 1, 23; xvi. 39; xvii. 11; xx. 32; xxii. 5, 7. Similarly, where D is lacking, *hclmg* sometimes agrees with minuscules of the I-groups in 'Western' readings for which no Latin attestation presents itself, e.g. Acts xxiv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> A certain analogy may be seen here, valuable in principle but incomplete, to Burkitt's observation of the sharp distinction between the Old Syriac and the Old Latin (and Bezan) 'Western' text of the Gospels, as seen in the two different series of interpolations which these have received. In Acts the salient characteristics of the 'Western' text in the two lines of transmission go back to a single common origin more definitely and completely than in the Gospels. See Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, pp. 17-44, 52.

but this would now present no insuperable difficulties, except for a few hardly accessible codices.

Valuable use can, even at present, be made of these 'Western' readings, many of which will be found recorded in von Soden's apparatus. In the passages where Codex Bezae is mutilated, they are given in the pages below, and throughout the rest of Acts they can be used both to confirm and to supplement Codex Bezae. Comparison with the Harclean apparatus and with the Old Latin and the other versions throws into clear relief much of the 'Western' element of the Greek I-codices; in some cases, the positive character of readings serves even by itself as a criterion.<sup>1</sup> The 'Western' readings of these mss. are not infrequently better than those of D, which has suffered by scribal corruption and otherwise, and from which, in particular, 'Western' glosses not represented by the Latin text used in constructing the ms. were likely to be omitted (for instance Acts xviii. 21, 22, and elsewhere). An apparatus showing to just what extent these Greek readings confirm, correct, or supplement the continuous text of Codex Bezae would not be difficult to print and would be highly instructive. It is one of many supplements for which, it is hoped, the present volume will offer a convenient instrument and an incentive.

(b) The Old Latin and mixed Vulgate manuscripts described Old Latm. above (pp. cvi-cxii) may be classed with the Greek I-codices, for they all contain definite 'Western' elements, and are important sources of information as to the 'Western' text. In nearly every instance, however, they seem to have acquired their 'Western' element by a process the opposite of that which has produced the I-codices. The latter may be thought to represent a non-western text into which 'Western' readings of interest have been introduced. The Latin mss., on the other hand, represent the remains of a sound 'Western' base which has gradually lost by correction

<sup>1</sup> Examples of readings which look 'Western' but have only isolated attestation, and may be merely similar expansions by a later hand, are Acts viii. 36 + *συζητοῦντες μετ' ἀλλήλων* 467; xxiii. 27 *clamantem et dicentem se esse civem romanum* gig. Others could easily be gathered by a little research in the apparatus of von Soden and of Wordsworth and White.

its 'Western' character, and been assimilated to the ordinary Greek text. In Spain and Languedoc and in Ireland the 'Western' readings of Acts were valued, and the sharp conflict of various types of text yielded highly composite mixtures retaining various proportions of 'Western' survivals of every sort. The daughter versions into several vernaculars preserved this character, and owe to it alone their interest for our investigation.

It thus appears that the I-codices and the Latin version have like uses. Of mixed ingredients, they are ordinarily incapable, each by itself, of furnishing any presumption in favour of the 'Western' character of readings, but their 'Western' elements can be elicited by noticing variation from the non-western text and observing the groups of witnesses which support such variants. To careful critical judgment they offer a large and trustworthy supply of knowledge of the 'Western' text.

Other  
'Western'  
survivals.

3. In addition to these two classes of witnesses—those of tolerable purity and the mixed sources—numerous other witnesses contain occasional 'Western' elements, the channels for which sometimes can be guessed, sometimes elude our inquiry. This is true of the Old Uncial codices A and C. Thus A has the 'Western' reading in Acts viii. 39, xv. 18, xx. 4, 18, xxi. 22, to mention but a few examples. C seems to be still more tinged with 'Western' colour both in minor details and in longer glosses; thus Acts ix. 22, x. 32, xiv. 10, xiv. 18 f., xv. 4, 23 f., xx. 16, 24, xxi. 22, 25. In xiv. 18 f., xv. 24, C has the 'Western' reading where D has received the non-western. These illustrations can easily be supplemented from the apparatus and notes of the present volume, where further evidence as to the more restricted 'Western' elements in 8 and 81 will be found. These 'Western' readings of the Old Uncial group have as yet received no adequate study or explanation. It does not seem certain that Codex Vaticanus has any strictly 'Western' readings in Acts, but it has many in the Pauline epistles, and no one ought to be surprised if some appear elsewhere. Finally, it is not to be forgotten that the Antiochian text contains a distinct 'Western' element (see

below, pp. colxxxv-vii); something of it can perhaps be elicited by the aid of the versions.

The Sahidic version contains frequent 'Western' readings, especially in minor details. The Greek ms. which it carefully followed seems to have been derived, as stated above, from a 'Western' ms. which had been corrected to the Old Uncial standard. The Peshitto exhibits many 'Western' readings in spite of its general non-western colour.<sup>1</sup> The Armenian also shows 'Western' readings; and some are found unmarked by any asterisk in the continuous text of the Harklean Syriac. A systematic and judicious comparison of the Sahidic, Peshitto, and Old Latin versions with one another, with A and C, with the Antiochian text, and with the I-manuscripts, would yield evidence of many 'Western' readings hitherto unrecognized, especially in the portions of Acts where Codex Bezae is defective.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these witnesses, Greek mss. here and there contain many isolated 'Western' readings, as do the patristic writings, Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian. They are of little service in constituting a text, but they indicate the range of 'Western' influence, and, meagre as they are individually, deserve close study, for they provide the means of understanding the history of the text contained in the manuscripts and versions.

## § 2. THE TEXT

A careful reading of any approximate form of the 'Western' text of Acts, such as that of Codex Bezae, or of the reconstruction by Zahn, will be likely to convince the student that on the

The  
'Western'  
text of  
definite  
origin.

<sup>1</sup> In such a case as Acts iv. 13 f. the Peshitto has retained fragments of the 'Western' text found in full in the Latin h, while D has nothing but the non-western text. This is a good example of the kind of use to which this whole class of witnesses can be put.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence of Peshitto and h, of Peshitto and giga, and perhaps of Sahidic and Latin, seems to be valuable. The agreement of Peshitto and Antiochian also may prove valuable as a guide to 'Western' readings, at least in Acts, in spite of the common assumption of a different origin of their common element. So far as I have observed, the agreements of Peshitto and Sahidic are not very fruitful of results. The other possible combinations deserve careful study.

whole, and apart from inevitable minor blemishes due to later hands, he has before him a definite integral text, not explicable as the mere accumulation of scribal errors and incidental modifications.<sup>1</sup> That such a text would have been modified in divers ways in its early history is to be expected, and we can assume that it varied from copy to copy, as did the rival text, but the great mass of the variations which we can identify as belonging to it show unmistakable signs of proceeding from a single hand with his own characteristic method of work.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the period before *ca.* 150 is too brief to have permitted the great number of successive copyings which have to be assumed under the theory that the 'Western' text owes its origin to the fortuitous assemblage of natural variants. Either the 'Western' text represents substantially the original, from which the text of BNAC 81 as a definite recension was derived, or *vice versa* the 'Western' is a rewriting of the original Old Uncial, or else they are both from the original writer, different stages of his own work. To suppose that the bulk of the variations proceed not from one but from many hands is a wholly unnecessary complication and multiplication of hypotheses, and runs counter to the clear indications of unity furnished by style and method in each text. Regarded as a paraphrastic rewriting

<sup>1</sup> Like others in the past (especially J. L. Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., 1847; B. Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte* [T. U. xvii.], 1897, pp. 2-4), E. von Dobschütz, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1895, col. 605, held that the 'Western' text was an archaic text now "in einem Zustande naturwuchser Verwilderung," and due to mere accumulation of corruptions, not to a rewriting; and he seems to hold substantially this view in his fourth edition of *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*, 1923, p. 28. These views receive more support in the facts of the 'Western' text of the Gospels, for which it must at least be admitted that several types of 'Western' text were current at a very early date. The relation of the text used by Irenaeus in the Gospels to other 'Western' types is here instructive; see B. Kraft, *Die Evangelienstate des Heiligen Irenäus* (Biblische Studien, xxi.), 1924, pp. 69-112. Cf. also F. O. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, 1896, pp. 16 f., 46-53. For references to the views of various critics on the unity of the 'Western' text see H. Coppeters, *op. cit.* p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> A good example of one sort of unity of method may be seen by comparing the 'Western' text in Acts xiv. 7 and xv. 34.

of the original, the 'Western' text, indeed, would in kind not be different from the free divergence of early copyists,<sup>1</sup> although a highly exaggerated example of that freedom; but it must in the main have been due to a single editor trying to improve the book on a large scale.

With due qualifications, then, the 'Western' text of Acts can Date. be treated as a real entity, which came into being at some definite place and time, was diffused from some single centre, had its own history, became mixed with other texts by various processes, some easily intelligible, others more mysterious, and was finally embodied in the many documents from which we try to recover it. Its date of origin must have been very early. It may have been used by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, and so perhaps before the middle of the second century. It certainly was the text in the hands of Irenaeus about 185, and presumably the one which as a young man he learned to know in Asia Minor before 150. That he had at first used a different text which at some time he exchanged for the 'Western' text of the later part of his life is not intrinsically impossible, but with such a man we should expect the change to betray itself somewhere, in his numerous quotations or elsewhere in his voluminous work, and such a suggestion is in fact made impossible by the emphasis with which he expresses confidence in the unfalsified text of the Scriptures (*Contra haer.* iv. 33. 8).<sup>2</sup> Before the time of Tertullian the African Latin seems to have had a considerable history, and already to have attained some fixity of rendering for various Greek words in their Christian use.<sup>3</sup> Tertullian's intense asseveration of the trustworthiness of the text used by the Church (*De praescriptione haereticorum* 38) would have been impossible if the Greek text which he used had been known to him as a new edition introduced within his lifetime or within

<sup>1</sup> On the parallel to be seen in the highly divergent Greek text of the Psalms current in Upper Egypt, see pp. xciii-xciv.

<sup>2</sup> See Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i. pp. 115 note, 441f.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-übersetzungen*, 1920, p. 130.



any period of which he had knowledge. In the Gospels the 'Western' text, which can hardly be dissociated in origin from the corresponding text of Acts, appears about the middle of the second century in Marcion and Tatian. Thus the date of origin of the 'Western' text of Acts must be set as early as the first half of the second century. At a very early time it was present in Egypt and was brought to Africa and to Syria. As to its place of origin there is no knowledge; of possible conjectures something will be said below.

Inferiority  
of the  
'Western'  
text.

The differences between the 'Western' and the Old Uncial text are so extensive and complicated that it is possible to make instructive comparison only by large sections; the question of whether the 'Western' form as a whole represents the original type or a rewriting of it cannot be decided by comparing single readings and summing up the results.<sup>1</sup> It is the general effect which counts. And here the Old Uncial seems decisively to evince itself as on the whole the original and the 'Western' as on the whole due to recension. The 'Western' fulness of words, the elaboration of religious expressions, such as the names for Christ and the *plus* of conventional religious phrases, the fact that the difference in language and mode of narration can often be explained as due to superficial difficulties in the other text, occasional misunderstanding, as would appear, or at least neglect, of the meaning of the other text (for instance Acts xx. 3-5), the relative colourlessness and a certain empty naïveté of the 'Western,' all contrast unfavourably with the greater conciseness, sententiousness, and vigour, and occasionally the obscurity, of the Old Uncial text.<sup>2</sup> And even more decisive is the fact that in all the excess of matter which the 'Western' text shows, virtually nothing is to

<sup>1</sup> On the importance in textual criticism of considering a larger context, see the instructive observations on 'Zusammenhänge unter den Lesarten' by H. J. Vogels, *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik*, 1923, pp. 204-224. Vogels adduces Acts v. 22 f. and xi. 1-2 as good illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting contrast is offered by the abbreviation of the Syriac Didascalia in Codex h (Harris's ms. of 1036), where the abridging process results in a thinner and less clear sense; see Flamming, *Die syrische Didaskalia* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xxv.), 1904, p. 255.

be found beyond what could be inferred from the Old Uncial text. Of the small number of substantial additions mentioned below, three may be original, lost from the other text, the rest, few as they are, are all capable of explanation under the theory that they proceed from an editor later than the author. If a reviser had had the Old Uncial text of Acts at his disposal, and had wished to rewrite it so as to make it fuller, smoother, and more emphatic, and as interesting and pictorial as he could, and if he had had no materials whatever except the text before him and the inferences he could draw from it, together with the usual religious commonplaces, it must be admitted that moderate ingenuity and much taking of pains would have enabled him to produce the 'Western' text. On the other hand, the reverse of this process is difficult to make reasonable. We should have to suppose that a reviser, having the 'Western' text, undertook to condense it, and in so doing was prepared to make some sacrifice of easy pictorial amplitude of expression and of the current, favourite religious names and phrases, but was determined to omit nothing that later generations were likely to value as containing substantial information, or that could not be inferred from what he left standing. In some cases, we should have to conclude, he modified the picture; often he made it less complete and superficially less consistent; the general effect of his work was to deepen the intensity of colour by compression of style, never to heighten it by addition, and he strangely succeeded in giving a false semblance of archaic brevity and compactness.

If this account of the matter be just, it can hardly be denied that the former process supposed is one easily comprehensible under the conditions of the second century, but that the latter one is, to say the least, highly improbable. It would be tedious to try to prove by illustrations the justice of the contrast here drawn; to reach a decision the student must make a broad comparison of the two texts as wholes;<sup>1</sup> to provide the means

<sup>1</sup> As a single good illustration of some of these characteristics reference may be made to Acts xiii. 38 f., where D and the Hardelean apparatus, with

for such an examination, not otherwise so easily obtainable, is the purpose for which the present volume exists. If choice has to be made between the theory that the 'Western' text was the original, later condensed and altered so as to produce the Old Uncial text, and the theory that the Old Uncial was the original, later expanded so as to produce the 'Western,' the answer seems to me clearly in favour of the latter.

This does not exclude the occurrence of 'Western' readings still recognizable, in spite of the rewriting, as having been part of the very ancient base on which the 'Western' reviser worked, and which evince themselves by internal evidence as superior to those of the Old Uncial text. The surprising fact is, not that these exist, but that in Acts they are so few.<sup>1</sup>

Theory of  
A. C. Clark

In connexion with the conclusion thus reached it may be appropriate to mention here the view of A. C. Clark, which was suggested to that scholar by certain analogies in the transmission of the Latin text of Cicero.<sup>2</sup> He holds that since, at one period, the Gospels appear to have been transmitted in manuscripts written in columns with very short lines of 10-12 letters each, and the Acts in columns written in irregular sense-lines, most of the cases where one form of the text has a shorter reading are to be accounted for by the accidental omission of such lines or of groups of them. Consequently the 'Western' text, being longer than the B-text, is to be regarded as the original, which

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fragmentary Latin support, agree in adding *μετάνοια, οὖν*, and *παρὰ θεῶν*, all part of the same process and producing a painful weakening of the sense. Good examples of weakening of expression, and padding, are Acts xv. 38 f., xvii. 15, but these are mere random illustrations, not more worthy of note than innumerable others. Acts ii. 37 is a good example of a 'Western' change made in the interest of greater definiteness and clarity; Acts x. 24-27 has been rewritten with a view to a more complete continuity of the narrative. In both cases it would be difficult to find a motive for changing the 'Western' to produce the usual text. For the harmonizing with parallels characteristic of the 'Western' text see the description of Codex Bezae, above, p. lxxi.

<sup>1</sup> The readings of this class which, with more or less confidence, I have thought myself able to recognize, are mentioned in the Apparatus of 'Editors' attached to the text of Codex Vaticanus in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Albert C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford, 1914.

has suffered accidental mutilation on a great scale in the texts which prevailed after the second century. But, apart from the inherent improbability of such an explanation for the complicated and various phenomena of the New Testament text, the theory, so far as Acts is concerned, does not account for the facts, as stated above, which show a rational, not merely an accidental, difference between the two types of text. The *plus* of the 'Western' text, if due, in accordance with the view which finds it to be secondary, to addition to the original, would necessarily often consist of phrases and clauses naturally constituting single lines and groups of lines in a MS. written in sense-lines; but, as every page of Codex Bezae shows, the vast majority of the peculiarities of the 'Western' text are not of this nature.

But a third theory has been proposed which is not open to all of the objections which make it impossible to regard the Old Uncial text as a revision of the 'Western' by a later hand. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century it has more than once been suggested that we have for Acts two editions, both alike from the original author of the book.<sup>1</sup> This view was again urged with great energy and acumen by Blass, beginning in 1894, and was adopted by Zahn and made the basis of his monumental work, *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, 1916. A priori it is indeed well imaginable that the original author might have done what would be inconceivable for any one else. He might first have written the book in the 'Western' form, and then been led to revise his work so as to give it greater conciseness

Blass's  
theory.

<sup>1</sup> Semler, *I. I. Wetstenii libelli ad crum et interpretationem Novi Testamenti*, Halle, 1766, p. 8 (cited in full by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, p. viii); J. B. Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, 1871, p. 29; Hort, 'Introduction,' 1881, p. 177 (where the idea is rejected). Blass's successive writings in advocacy of the view are named by J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 1911, p. 310, and M. Goguel, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, t. iii., 'Le Livre des Actes,' 1922, p. 79 (neither list is complete). For mention of many discussions of the theory see Moffatt, *l.c.*, Goguel, pp. 81 f., and Engelhard Eisentraut, *Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, Würzburg, 1924. Eisentraut has gathered interesting facts with regard to the view of Clericus, tending to show that that scholar at any rate did not take very seriously the theory of a double edition, ascribed to him by Semler.

and vigour. Understanding, as he would have done, exactly what it was necessary to say and what was unimportant elaboration, he could have produced a form of the book having the general character of the Old Uncial text. And he alone could have done this. Instances of sections where the two forms are well explicable by this theory are pointed out and urged with much plausibility by Blass and others.

Nothing in this theory is inherently unreasonable. Many cases of two differing editions of ancient works, both proceeding from the author himself, are known to us. A writer of taste might well have seen that compression could, with advantage, be applied to the 'Western' form, and might have applied it in the partial way here supposed. It is, to be sure, a little strange that both editions should have circulated side by side, but it is by no means impossible, and Blass provided an ingenious and perfectly admissible conjecture to account for this. Nor is it an insuperable objection that in the Gospel of Luke the critic found the relation of the two types of text reversed, and that several scholars who accepted the theory for Acts rejected it for the Gospel, although Blass had been able to find an equally ingenious and admissible conjecture to account for the facts there. But at least two considerations present themselves which seem to me to be fatal to the theory.

Decisive  
objections.

In the first place, a considerable number of the variants of the 'Western' text, which are supposed to have been excised by the author in his revised copy, fall into groups with a common character.<sup>1</sup> Thus, whereas in the non-western text the journey of xvi. 6 is said to have been guided in its course by the Holy Spirit, the 'Western' text similarly mentions divine guidance for journeys at xvii. 15, xix. 1, xx. 3. Again the 'Western' text repeatedly has in excess, as compared with its rival, such phrases as διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; so vi. 8, viii. 39, xiv. 10, xvi. 4, xviii. 4, xviii. 8,

<sup>1</sup> See the brief but weighty criticism of Blass by T. E. Page, *Classical Review*, vol. xi., 1897, pp. 317-320.

cf. also viii. 37. Likewise, the simple name 'Jesus' is found expanded into Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον (vii. 55), τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (xiii. 32), Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (xx. 21). And repeatedly a reference to the Holy Spirit is found which the non-western text lacks; so viii. 39, xv. 7, xv. 29 φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, xv. 32 πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου, xx. 3, xxvi. 1. These several groups of generally harmless variants seem to be intended to heighten, and perhaps in some cases slightly to alter, the religious colour of the narrative. That they could be added is easy to see, and this might conceivably have been done by the original author, although such a habit would be a curious trait; but Blass's theory requires us to suppose that at these points the author was led in his revision to reduce to a lower degree the serious and religious tone which at first he had adopted. This seems so unlikely as to approach the impossible. A similar, but perhaps less convincing, argument may be found in the great number of 'Western' variants which have for their plain purpose to give a good connexion between phrases or sentences, to strengthen emphasis, to make a statement or reference quite explicit, or to provide not wholly necessary explanations. Examples of all these can easily be gathered from almost any chapter of the book. The motive for removing them would seem to imply a positive change of literary taste and preference of ear on the part of the writer, and is not easily attributable to the mere purpose of condensation.

The other, and decisive, argument against Blass is that in many passages the conception of the event described, the mental picture of what took place, is different in the two forms of the text, and that in some the 'Western' text plainly rests on a misunderstanding of the non-western.

Of this the following examples may be given.<sup>1</sup> On some of them the Textual Notes may be consulted.

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of cases where Blass's theory does not explain the variants well or at all, see M. Goguel, *op. cit.* pp. 85-104; P. Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, pp. 425-448; and especially H. Coppieters, *op. cit.* pp. 125-206. Among the chief discussions of Blass's theories that of P. W. Schmiedel, art.

xi. 17. After the reference to the gift of the Holy Spirit by God to these Gentile converts as actually accomplished, the suggestion that the refusal of baptism by Peter would have prevented God 'from giving them the Holy Spirit' is inappropriate.

xiv. 2-5. According to the non-western text there was one outburst of persecution, according to the 'Western' two such.

xv. 1-5. According to the 'Western' text not the Antiochian church, but the Jewish Christians from Jerusalem, urged Paul and Barnabas to go to Jerusalem; and at Jerusalem it was these same persons, not a new group, who made trouble for the missionaries.

xv. 20, 29; xxi. 25. The two inconsistent forms of the Apostolic Decree can hardly have been transmitted by the same writer. Zahn is able to escape this consequence only by supposing the 'Western' reading to be no part of the original 'Western' text.

xv. 34. The 'Western' text is more complete, but seems inconsistent with the briefer text.

xvi. 8. The 'Western' διελθόντες, 'after going about in,' is the exact opposite of παρελθόντες, 'neglecting,' unless διελθόντες is used without understanding of the specific meaning which it commonly has in such statements in Acts, and should here be taken as meaning 'passing through.' Under either explanation Blass's theory is unacceptable, for the author is not likely to have substituted the difficult παρελθόντες for the unobjectionable διελθόντες.

xvii. 4. The non-western text speaks of two classes of persons: (1) 'godfearing Greeks' and (2) 'leading women'; the 'Western' contemplates three: (1) 'godfearing persons,' (2) 'Greeks,' and (3) 'wives of the leading men.'

xviii. 7. For ἐκεῖθεν, referring to the synagogue, the 'Western' text, by a misunderstanding, has ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκύλα.

xviii. 19-22. The non-western text is unskilfully arranged

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'Acts of the Apostles,' *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. 1., 1899, cols. 50-56, is of importance for the whole problem of the 'Western' text.

but perfectly intelligible; the 'Western' text (as reconstructed) is complete and regular. It cannot have been an earlier form which the same writer deliberately and without motive partly disorganized.

xviii. 18, 26. Some reason led to putting the name of Priscilla first, and the divergent practice of the two types of text in this respect is not easily explained by Blass's theory.

xix. 6. The whole conception of speaking with tongues found in Acts ii. makes it hard to think that the writer of that chapter would have introduced here the idea of the 'interpretation' of the tongues by the speakers.

xix. 9. In the non-western text τοῦ πλῆθους refers to the congregation in the synagogue. In the 'Western' text, τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἐθνῶν, the reference is to the body of heathen in the town.

xx. 3-5. The two texts give very different accounts of the motives of Paul in planning his journey, and appear to have understood in quite different senses the movements of his travelling companions; see the Textual Note.

xxiv. 6-8. The presence of vs. 7 ('Western') makes a difference in the antecedent of *παρ' οὗ* in vs. 8; in the 'Western' form the relative probably refers to Lysias, in the non-western definitely to Paul.

The facts thus seem to show that the 'Western' text is not from the hand of the same author as the non-western text, and that it is a rewritten text, in general inferior to the other text. If these conclusions may be taken for granted, it is possible to treat more definitely of the character of the 'Western' text, and to speak further of its origin.

The purpose of the 'Western' reviser, as shown by his work, was literary improvement and elaboration in accordance with his own taste, which was somewhat different from that of the author. He aimed at bettering the connexion, removing superficial inconsistency, filling slight gaps, and giving a more complete and

Literary  
traits of  
'Western'  
rewriting.



continuous narrative.<sup>1</sup> Where it was possible he liked to introduce points from parallel or similar passages, or to complete an Old Testament quotation.<sup>2</sup> Especially congenial to his style were heightened emphasis and more abundant use of religious common-places. This effort after smoothness, fulness, and emphasis in his expansion has usually resulted in a weaker style, sometimes showing a sort of naïve superabundance in expressly stating what every reader could have understood without the reviser's diluting supplement. Occasionally it relieves a genuine difficulty and is a real improvement. In the speeches he naturally found less scope, on the whole, for extensive addition than in the narratives. His text is nearly one-tenth longer than that of the Old Uncials. In his language he uses a vocabulary notably the same as that of the original author, but with a certain number of new words—about fifty.<sup>3</sup> One trick of his style is the frequent introduction of *τότε* as a particle of transition—an observation which may convey useful warning against accepting these added words as cases of original Aramaic colour lost in the non-western text. The debasement of the 'Western' text in Codex Bezae, from which our impressions of it are primarily and chiefly derived, advises caution in judgment, but to most modern readers the Book of Acts in its 'Western' dress will seem inferior to the original in dignity, force, and charm. That the rewritten form so promptly gained popularity in the second century is perhaps not surprising for a

<sup>1</sup> For detailed description of the 'Western' text see the instructive and careful classification of its glosses in H. Coppeters, *op. cit.* pp. 77-92, also, for the added notes of time and place, Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, III.), 1908, pp. 50-53, 97-100. Complete discussion of all the readings of D will be found in B. Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte* (Texte und Untersuchungen, XVII.), 1897. Weiss's criticism is acute, but he does not always do justice to the great complication of the history of the text as now found in 'Western' witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> Yet the 'Western' reviser by no means follows the principle of bringing the text regularly into closer conformity to the LXX. He is more interested in his own improvements, as is illustrated, for instance, in Acts ii. 17-20, xiii. 47.

<sup>3</sup> On the vocabulary of the 'Western' text see the 'Index Verborum' in Blass's larger edition, 1895, pp. 301-334, also his *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 1897, pp. xxvii f., and Schmiedel, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. i. col. 55.

generation which in many regions seems to have preferred the Epistle of Barnabas to the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>1</sup>

Of any special point of view, theological or other, on the part of the 'Western' reviser it is difficult to find any trace. In one or two passages (notably xiv. 5 where for ὁρμὴ τῶν ἔθνων τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων is substituted οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σὺν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) the hostile attitude of the Jews receives special stress, and xxiv. 5, in the speech of Tertullus, the change from κινούντα στάσεις πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην to *conciantem seditiones non tantum generi nostro sed fere universo orbe terrarum et omnibus Judeis* (gig) betrays a Gentile's feeling that any statement is inadequate which implies that Christianity in the Apostolic age was limited to Jewry.<sup>2</sup> This motive may also have been at work in ii. 17, where a certain emphasis attaches to the 'Western' change of ὑμῶν to αὐτῶν in two instances, and to the omission of the pronoun altogether in the other two. The reference is thus thrown back to πάσας σάρκας (D), and the universal purpose of God for all mankind, in distinction from Israel, is brought into the prophecy. Perhaps the substitution of κόσμον for λαόν, Acts ii. 47 (D d), is to be included here as a further illustration.

Emphasis  
on Gentile  
interests.

Another trait, possibly connected with the motive just mentioned, which deserves to be broadly investigated and more fully studied, is the tendency seen, for instance, in Acts xx. 21, where πίστιν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is substituted for πίστιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν; xvi. 15 πιστὴν τῷ θεῷ for πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ. These variants, though often small, do not all lack purpose; they suggest a desire on the part of the editor to indicate that the 'sebomenoi' won by the apostles were converted from the status of heathen to the true God through Christ, not merely from Jewish faith to Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*, 1920, pp. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> The same motive lurks in the substitution of ἐπειθὲς δὲ οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνας for ἐπειθὲς τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας in Acts xviii. 4. For discussion of some other possible instances (ii. 47, iv. 31, xiv. 19, xvii. 12, xviii. 4, xix. 9, xxiii. 24) see Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, p. 444.

Not Montanist.

That a considerable part of the variants and additions of the 'Western' text are due to a Montanist has been strongly urged, chiefly on the ground of their relation to the Acts of Perpetua and their repeated emphasis on the activity of the Holy Spirit and His presence in Christians.<sup>1</sup> But in fact the 'Western' text of Acts is what we should expect to find used in Africa in the year 203, and there is no reason to suppose that Perpetua's text differed from that of her Catholic contemporaries. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit (in itself wholly in accord with the ideas and habit of the author of the book) can equally well have proceeded from an early second-century reviser who was untouched by any sectarian movement.<sup>2</sup> And the supposed indication of Montanist tendency is more than matched, and is perhaps actually disproved, by the somewhat clearer, though slight, indication of what may fairly be called 'anti-feminist' tendency in the variants of xvii. 12 and of chapter xviii.

Made in Greek.

The theories of a Latin and of a Syriac origin of the 'Western' text have been discussed above, pp. lxxii-lxxx, in connexion with the description of Codex Bezae. The dependence of both the Old Latin and the Old Syriac, as well as, in part, the Sahidic, on the 'Western' revision, and the presence of a great number of the most characteristic 'Western' readings in Greek mss. of all ages from the third or fourth century on (including perhaps the copy used by Philoxenus in Mesopotamia in 508) makes it impossible

<sup>1</sup> So J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, 1891, pp. 148-153, 221-225. P. Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, pp. 445 f., rests the case for a Montanistic reviser chiefly on *ἡ δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις* in Acts xi. 2, 7, but is unconvincing. It may be mentioned here that J. R. Harris, 'New Points of View in Textual Criticism,' *Expositor*, 1914, vol. vii, pp. 318-320, urges that the omission by Codex Bezae of *ἀναστραμμενός* and *αὐτῶν* in Luke iv. 16 is a Marcionite alteration.

<sup>2</sup> The later use by schismatics of Latin texts, and of versions dependent on the Latin, which had a definite 'Western' character, was not due, as some might suppose, to a schismatic or heretical interest in a non-ecclesiastical text, but to the fact that the geographical relations of these movements led them to use the current Latin text of Languedoc, which by reason of its subjection to Spanish, and so to African, influence was impregnated with 'Western' readings. These late 'Western' texts, Latin, Romance, and Germanic, have been transmitted to us both through correct ecclesiastical and through schismatic channels. See above, pp. cxxxv-cxlii.

to accept either of these inherently improbable theories. The revision was certainly made in Greek.<sup>1</sup>

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Not Mon-  
tanistic.

That a considerable part of the variants and additions of the 'Western' text are due to a Montanist has been strongly urged, chiefly on the ground of their relation to the Acts of Perpetua and their repeated emphasis on the activity of the Holy Spirit and His presence in Christians.<sup>1</sup> But in fact the 'Western' text of Acts is what we should expect to find used in Africa in the year 203, and there is no reason to suppose that Perpetua's text differed from that of her Catholic contemporaries. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit (in itself wholly in accord with the ideas and habit of the author of the book) can equally well have proceeded from an early second-century reviser who was untouched by any sectarian movement.<sup>2</sup> And the supposed indication of Montanist tendency is more than matched, and is perhaps actually disproved, by the somewhat clearer, though slight, indication of what may fairly be called 'anti-feminist' tendency in the variants of xvii. 12 and of chapter xviii.

Made in  
Greek.

The theories of a Latin and of a Syriac origin of the 'Western' text have been discussed above, pp. lxxii-lxxx, in connexion with the description of Codex Bezae. The dependence of both the Old Latin and the Old Syriac, as well as, in part, the Sahidic, on the 'Western' revision, and the presence of a great number of the most characteristic 'Western' readings in Greek mss. of all ages from the third or fourth century on (including perhaps the copy used by Philoxenus in Mesopotamia in 508) makes it impossible

<sup>1</sup> So J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, 1891, pp. 148-153, 221-225. P. Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, pp. 445 f., rests the case for a Montanistic reviser chiefly on *ἡ δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις* in Acts xi. 2, 7, but is unconvincing. It may be mentioned here that J. R. Harris, 'New Points of View in Textual Criticism,' *Expositor*, 1914, vol. vii, pp. 318-320, urges that the omission by Codex Bezae of *αὐαρεθισμῶν* and *αὐα* in Luke iv. 16 is a Marcionite alteration.

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following reading note the words of *h*, *inde cum tulissemus*, which may be an undecipherable survival of the translation of some Greek words.

7, κατὰ Σαλμώνην, om *h*.

8, μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν ἤλθομεν, om *h*.

8, Λασέα, om *h*.

10, τοῦ φορτίου καί, om *h*.

12, ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν οἱ πλείονες, om *h*.

12, βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον, om *h*.

13, δόξαντες τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέμαι, om *h*.

Other omissions, not too numerous, can be gathered from the collation of Codex Bezae and from the apparatus of Wordsworth and White's Vulgate, and some are noticed in the Textual Notes below. On the instances given above the following comments may be made.

The omission (D d gig Aug) from xvii. 18 is probably an accident, which may be suspected to have affected the African translation, and in D may be due to the influence of the Latin side. In xviii. 3 the omission (D d gig, but not *h*) is probably due to an oversight in the process of combining the non-western and 'Western' texts, a process which is here observable both in D d and gig, and may or may not have taken place independently in the two. In xxi. 39 the omission (D) is probably accidental.

For the omissions of *h* (which nearly all happen to lie in sections where D is defective) confirmation would seem to present itself in only two instances. The omission of the whole verse ix. 12 cannot give the original text, for *προσεύχεται* is almost meaningless without it.<sup>1</sup> On xxvi. 22 there is nothing to say. In xxvi. 26 the whole verse appears in an abridged form, and a similar abridgment seems to be the cause of most of the omissions in xxvii. 1-13. The strange text, indeed, of the latter section can be excused by the difficulty of the geographical and other

<sup>1</sup> But for a different view see P. Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, 1892, pp. 22 f.

technical expressions, which have also led to extraordinary later corruption in the Latin text itself. For the omissions by h in chapter xxvii a 'Western non-interpolation' can be seriously suspected only in the case of Θεσσαλονικέως, vs. 2, and of εἰς αὐτό, vs. 6. In vs. 2 Θεσσαλονικέως, the complicated evidence is not easy to interpret satisfactorily, and Acts xx. 4 can have served as the source for an interpolation in the B-text, as it certainly has for the longer one found in some forms of the 'Western' text. In vs. 6 sah coincides with h in omitting εἰς αὐτό. In connexion with the omissions here commented on it should be mentioned that the best text of the Vulgate omits the whole verse xviii. 4, probably through some accident in connexion with the change from the 'Western' to the very different non-western form of the verse.<sup>1</sup>

Substitu-  
tions in  
'Western  
text.

'Western' substitutions of one word or phrase for another rarely commend themselves as probably right. Yet there are a few acceptable cases. So perhaps i. 2 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἡ (Augustine) for ἀκριβῆς ἡμέρας; iv. 6 Ἰωάνθας for Ἰωάννης; xiii. 33 πρῶτον for δευτέρῳ. The instances of all kinds where the 'Western' reading seems to me preferable to that of Codex Vaticanus are mentioned in the Apparatus to the text below.

'Western'  
readings  
with sub-  
stantial  
content.

Emphasis has been laid above on the lack of positive substance in most of the variants of the 'Western' text. To this observation there are exceptions, mostly additions, in which a substantial statement is made, or at least the 'Western' text is characterized by greater vigour and boldness than usual, but the fewness of these cases is impressive.<sup>2</sup> In several instances, as we have seen, iv. 6 (Ἰωάνθας), xv. 20, 29 and xxi. 25 (the omission of 'things strangled'), xx. 15 (Trogyllia) and xxi. 1 (Myra), xxvii. 5 ('for

<sup>1</sup> On the tendency of the African Latin text of k (Matthew and Mark) to omit, see Sanday, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. II. p. 121: "There seems to be a certain impatience of anything of the nature of a repetition. Asyndeton is affected; and there is a fondness for reducing a sentence to its simplest and barest form without any of those heightening expressions that are found in most other mss."

<sup>2</sup> On some of the more substantial additions of Codex Bezae see B. Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 107-112.

fifteen days') the corruption is probably on the side of the non-western text. Apart from these the following are among the most notable cases; except where otherwise indicated they occur in D, sometimes with further Latin and Syriac attestation:

Acts xi. 28. The introduction of ἡμῶν in the expansion. For other sporadic instances of the introduction of the first person in various witnesses cf. xvi. 8 (Irenaeus), xvi. 13 (BAC 81 sah), xxi. 29 (D), xxvii. 19 (Antiochian). The converse change of the first person to the third is more common; cf. xvi. 17 (L etc.), xx. 5 (D, cf. cod. 2147), xx. 7 (Antiochian), xxi. 1 (cod. 255), xxi. 8 (Antiochian), xxi. 10 (N), xxvii. 1 (P etc.), xxviii. 1 (Antiochian), xxviii. 16 (H).

xii. 10, τοὺς ξ̄ βαθμούς.

xiv. 20, *et [cum disce]ssisset populus vespere, h.*

xv. 2, ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν δισχυριζόμενος.

xv. 20, 29. Besides the absence of 'things strangled,' the addition, in the later form of the 'Western' text, of the (negative) Golden Rule.

xviii. 21 f., δεῖ δὲ πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν ἡμέραν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

xix. 1, θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

xix. 9, ἀπὸ ὧρας ἑ̄ ἕως δεκάτης.

xix. 28, δραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον.

xx. 5, προελθόντες for προσελθόντες.

xx. 18, ἡ καὶ πλείον.

xxiii. 23, 'they (or he) said: They are ready (or let them be ready) to go,' *hol. mg.*

xxviii. 16, ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ ἐπετράπη 614 etc.

Others might be added to the above; it is a question of the impression of boldness made by the variant. Comments will be found in the Textual Notes below. Nearly all of the variants just

cited fall fairly within the range of the reviser's habit of work. Two only stand out from the others as perhaps implying real additional knowledge : xix. 9 ('from the fifth to the tenth hour'), which may, however, come from a knowledge of the usual custom in such a room as the School of Tyrannus, and xii. 10 ('the seven steps') which has so far defied satisfactory explanation.

The basic  
text and  
the re-  
writing.

The 'Western' text thus includes two elements: an ancient base, which would be of the greatest possible value if it could be recovered, and the paraphrastic rewriting of a second-century Christian. In the Acts, variants not represented in any of the Old Uncial group but probably drawn from the ancient base have so far been found in but few instances, and even in the case of variations between the Old Uncials the 'Western' text seldom provides the clear and useful evidence which might have been expected. B. Weiss<sup>1</sup> finds about ten cases where D agrees with wrong readings represented otherwise by B alone, and about twenty where D and B agree, without other support, in what appear to be the right readings. It is possible that further detailed study might lead, within limited range, to valuable conclusions, but the investigation is made difficult because Codex Bezae has been so much conformed in detail to the non-western Greek and to the Latin. In the Gospels, the 'Western' text appears to include the same two elements—an ancient base and a paraphrastic rewriting, and there it is not unlikely that the ancient base is to be detected in a larger proportion of cases than in Acts.

Date

On the date of the 'Western' rewriting of Acts the evidence which carries it back as early as the first half of the second century has already been discussed (above, pp. cccxiii-iv). Any closer estimate does not seem possible, although an early date in the period is probable on general grounds.

Place of  
origin.

Equally impossible to determine with certainty is its place of origin and centre of diffusion. It was brought to Northern

<sup>1</sup> B. Weiss, *Die Apostelgeschichte; textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, ix.), 1893, p. 67; *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xvii.), 1897, p. 107.

Africa and to Lyons in Gaul in the second century, and at least the 'Western' Gospels came to Rome (Justin Martyr, Hippolytus) at not far from the same date. In the same century the 'Western' Gospels were used by Clement of Alexandria, and the papyrus of Acts of the third or fourth century, as well as one of the strands woven into the Sahidic version, indicate that in the third century the 'Western' text of Acts was current in Egypt. The Diatessaron in Syria, perhaps based on a Greek text brought from Rome, and likewise the 'separate' Syriac Gospels, show 'Western' character, and the same was true of Marcion's Greek text of Luke, perhaps brought from Pontus, perhaps acquired at Rome. In Syria, again, the first translation of Acts into the vernacular (of unknown, but certainly very early, date) was made from a thorough-going 'Western' text and continued in use beyond the fourth century. In the third century the Didascalia evidences the use of the 'Western' text of Acts in Syria or Palestine. It would seem probable that at the end of the second century no region of the Christian world was unacquainted with the 'Western' text of Acts.

For the source of this wide diffusion we should naturally look to some central locality. For those who do not hold Blass's theory nothing points with any decisiveness to Rome. Even if the Carthaginians received their Christianity and their first copies of the Greek New Testament from Rome (which is by no means certain<sup>1</sup>), this would not lead to the inference that Rome was the centre of diffusion of the 'Western' text to any other region, least of all to the Orient.<sup>2</sup> The analogy of the sources of the

<sup>1</sup> A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed., 1924, p. 891, note 2, calls attention to the constant intercourse between Carthage and the East both through direct channels and by way of Rome, and refers to Tertullian's excellent and detailed knowledge of events and conditions in the Greek-speaking churches of the East, but concludes that whether Christianity had actually been brought to North Africa from Rome or directly from the East is wholly uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Strzygowski remarks that in respect to early Christian art Rome was a "sponge"; and it seems doubtful whether in other aspects of Christian thought, except in administration, the early Roman Church proper, as distinct from heretics and schismatics, showed any considerable originating capacity.

African text of the Psalter (above, p. cxxvi) is ambiguous. The source to which the Syriac-speaking Christians first looked for their Greek mss. may have been Antioch or Caesarea or even Alexandria, although a certain presumption would hold in favour of Greek-speaking Syria or Palestine. The evidence upon which Ramsay relies for his belief that the 'Western' reviser was peculiarly familiar with the geography and customs of Asia Minor is inconclusive.<sup>1</sup> No one of these lines of inquiry or general probabilities leads to any conclusion.

Knowledge  
of Hebrew  
and of  
Palestine.

One small group of facts, however, especially if it can be extended by further observations, is suggestive. While, as has been shown above (p. ccxxxiii), the 'Western' text seems to have come from a Gentile Christian source, yet in at least two instances it shows dependence on the Hebrew Old Testament. In the utterance of Jesus on the cross Codex Bezae reads, both Matt. xxvii. 46 and Mark xv. 34, *ηλει ηλει λαμα ζαφθανει*—in the first and last words, at least, showing that the writer is transliterating the Hebrew of Psalm xxii. 1, not the Aramaic equivalent to be seen in the Old Uncial *ελωι ελωι λαμα σαβαθθανει*. That this is not a mere peculiarity of Codex Bezae is shown by the similar reading of various Old Latin mss., as well as by the readings of Greek mss.<sup>2</sup> Again, in Matt. xiii. 15, a k Irenaeus (Latin translation

'*Nihil innovetur*' was, rather, its motto. See G. La Piana, 'The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1925, vol. xviii. pp. 201-277.

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, chap. ii. 3, chap. viii., and elsewhere. In *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1896, p. 27, Ramsay says of the 'Western' text: "The home of the Revision is along the line of intercourse between Syrian Antioch and Ephesus, for the life of the early Church lay in intercommunication, but the Reviser was connected with Antioch, for he inserts 'we' in xi. 28." A list of the passages containing the readings relied on by Ramsay is given by Coppieters, *op. cit.* pp. 216 f., classified as follows: "not significant," xi. 27-28, xvi. 7, xviii. 21, xix. 1, 28; "more of the nature of evidence," xix. 2, xx. 15, xxi. 1; "likewise noteworthy," xviii. 27, xx. 4; "most nearly convincing," xiii. 14, xiv. 19. The claim made by Ramsay that the 'Western' text shows ignorance of Macedonia and Achaia is not found to be substantiated in xvi. 12, xvii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> From the confused mass of readings collected in the apparatus to Matt. xxvii. 46 and Mark xv. 34 it appears that (1) D is uniform in both Matthew and Mark, and has good Latin support; (2) in Matthew, B<sup>1</sup> 33 both follow the Aram-

only) substitute imperatives for ἐπαχύνθη, ἤκουσαν, ἐκάμμυσαν, showing unmistakable dependence on the Hebrew, in distinction from the LXX, of Ps. vi. 10.<sup>1</sup> In the latter passage (Matt. xiii. 15) the possibility is, indeed, present that the 'Western' text of the Old Latin and Irenaeus represents the original readings of the Greek Matthew, lost in the other witnesses, in all of which a correction from the LXX might be supposed to have been introduced. If the case stood alone, this would perhaps be the better inference. But in the words from the cross such an explanation is not admissible, for here there is no room for LXX influence. The non-western texts are probably original, for an alteration, under the influence of the Hebrew Bible, from Aramaic to Hebrew is more easily conceivable than the reverse movement; but in either case contact with Semitic centres would be indicated.<sup>2</sup> To

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azing form substantially as given above; (3) in Mark, ΝΟΛΑ boh do the same, but B shows 'Western' traces, reading λαμα with D, and further recalling D by the ambiguous ζαβαφθαυει. The later (Antiochian) uncials in Matthew follow D in reading ηλι, but approximate to the Old Uncial text in λειμα (λιμα), and agree with it in σαβαχθανι; in Mark they go with the Old Uncial text, except in reading λειμα (λιμα) for λαμα. Minor variations and inconsistencies in individual mss. abound. The Hebraizing word most characteristic of the 'Western' text and most consistently rejected by all others (except partly in the monstrosity found in B) is ζαφθαυει.

<sup>1</sup> Hans von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika* (Texte und Untersuchungen xxxiii), pp. 213 f.

<sup>2</sup> On certain strange readings in the Gospels, perhaps of Semitic origin, see F. H. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, 1895, pp. 109-111. In John xi. 54 Σαμφουρει D, *Sappurim* d, is the name of Sepphoris, about ten miles south of which lay a Galilean town Ephraim; the closer identification of the 'town called Ephraim,' as in 'the country of Sepphoris,' though doubtless mistaken, would thus testify to the knowledge of Palestinian geography possessed by the editor of the 'Western' text. There is no sufficient reason for suspecting here the echo of a Semitic *shem*. See Zahn, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1908, pp. 38 f.; Schurer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., 1886, p. 121, note 358; 4th ed., vol. ii., 1907, p. 210, note 490, "Hier ist, wie die Namensform zeigt, sicher Sepphoris gemeint." Of οὐλαμμοὺς D, for εμμαους, in Luke xxiv. 13 (cf. Gen. xxviii. 19) no convincing explanation has been offered. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*, 1893, pp. 138-148, quotes a large part of a review by Sanday, in *The Guardian*, May 18 and 25, 1892, in which the following evidence is adduced for Antioch as the birthplace of the 'Western' text: (1) Luke iii. 1, ἐκτροπευοῦτος is correctly substituted for "the vague and general" ἡγεμνευοῦτος; Mark xii. 14, the correct

these examples the form *Βαρισοῦα*, Acts xiii. 6, may be added, for the additional (fourth) syllable, attested by several witnesses, seems clearly due to an attempt to give a Greek transliteration of the Semitic 'ain by a method which implies knowledge of Semitic sounds. Similarly the second vowel of the 'Western' form *Σίλαας* for Silas seems intended to represent a Semitic guttural (see below, pp. 269 f.). Knowledge of Hebrew, and of Semitic forms of names, on the part of Greek-speaking Gentile Christians, is more readily accounted for if the 'Western' text arose in Palestine or Syria.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it wholly without significance that in xiii. 33 the (probably original) reading *πρωτω*, which accorded with Jewish usage, did not give the offence which early caused it in Alexandria to be altered to *δευτερω* under the influence of the LXX. In Acts iii. 11 the 'Western' reviser seems to show independent knowledge of the plan of the temple-area at Jerusalem (see the Exegetical Note on that passage).

melu-  
ma.

Our conclusion, then, is that the 'Western' text was made before, and perhaps long before, the year 150, by a Greek-speaking

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*ἐπικεφαλαιον* for *κησον*. (2) Matt. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34 (as above); Mark v. 41, the fuller form *κουμ*, as written but not spoken in Aramaic (not peculiar to 'Western' witnesses); Luke xvi. 20, the Semitic *eleazarus* (ce C T) for *λαζαρος*, and John xi. 14, *lazar* (b d); John v. 2, *βηθαθα* or the like (not peculiar to 'Western' witnesses, but intelligently preserved by them). These readings are certainly in accord with the attribution to Antioch, but Sanday's further argument that the Latin version itself was made there does not have adequate support either from the fact that in Luke xx. 20 e (Codex Palatinus) renders *πγεμων* by the appropriate Latin *legatus* or from the more general considerations presented (Chase, *op. cit.* pp. 141 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Several other Semitisms pointed out in the 'Western' text have no bearing on the matter discussed in the text, and are to be ascribed to a variety of causes. The frequent use of *τότε* as a particle of continuation is probably not significant as indicating translation from the Aramaic; for a list of instances see Zahn, *Kommentar*, p. 283, note 85. Nestle's explanation (*Studien und Kritiken*, vol. LXXIX., 1896, pp. 102-104) of ii. 47, *κοσμον* for *λαον*, from a confusion of Aramaic 'alma and 'amma; and of iii. 14, *εβαρισαρε* for *ηρησααρε*, from Aramaic *keber* and *kebad*, does not commend itself as probable. The theory of Aramaic sources of Acts does not throw light on the two forms of the Greek text, except in so far as one of these latter may have corrected awkwardness of Greek expression which had been originally occasioned by excessive literalness of translation of an Aramaic original.



Christian who knew something of Hebrew, in the East, perhaps in Syria or Palestine. The introduction of 'we' in the 'Western' text of xi. 27 possibly gives some colour to the guess that the place was Antioch.<sup>1</sup> The reviser's aim was to improve the text, not to restore it, and he lived not far from the time when the New Testament canon in its nucleus was first definitely assembled. It is tempting to suggest that the 'Western' text was made when Christian books valued for their antiquity and worth were gathered and disseminated in a collection which afterwards became the New Testament, and that the two processes were parts of the same great event, perhaps at Antioch—in other words, that the 'Western' text was the original 'canonical' text (if the anachronism can be pardoned) which was later supplanted by a 'pre-canonical' text of superior age and merit.<sup>2</sup> But such

<sup>1</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 108, says: "On the whole we are disposed to suspect that the 'Western' text took its rise in North-western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to North Africa and most of the countries of Europe. From North-western Syria it would easily pass through Palestine and Egypt to Ethiopia."

<sup>2</sup> Ambrosiaster (375-385), who believed the Latin Scriptures, as used by Tertullian, Victorinus, and Cyprian, to represent the uncorrupted Greek original, may have had some historical knowledge of the process which had actually taken place, when he so confidently asserted that the non-western Greek text was introduced by "*sofistae Graecorum*." (Cf. likewise Dionysius of Corinth ap. Eus. *h.e.* iv. 23, 12.) The passages are as follows:

On Romans v. 14: *Et tamen sic praescribere nobis volunt de Graecis codicibus, quasi non ipsi ab invicem discrepent; quod fecit studium contentions. quia enim propria quis auctoritate uti non potest ad victoriam, verba legis adulterat, ut sensum suum quasi verbis legis adserat, uti non ratio sed auctoritas praescribere videatur. constat autem quosdam Latinos porro olim de veteribus Graecis translatos codicibus, quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum servavit et probat: postquam autem a concordia animis dissidentibus et hereticis perturbantibus torqueri quaestiones coeperunt, multa inmutata sunt ad sensum humanum, ut hoc contineretur litteris, quod homini videretur. unde et ipsi Graeci diversos codices habent. hoc autem verum arbitror, quando et ratio et historia et auctoritas conservatur: nam hodie quae in Latinis reprehenduntur codicibus sic inveniuntur a veteribus posita, Tertulliano et Victorino et Cypriano.*

On Galatians ii. 1-2: *Praeterea, cum legem dedissent non molestari eos qui ex gentibus credebant, sed ut ab his tantum observarent, id est, a sanguine et fornicatione et idolatria, nunc dicant sofistae Graecorum, qui sibi peritiam vindicant, naturaliter subtilitate ingenii se vigere, quae tradita sunt gentibus observanda. quae ignorabant, an quae sciebant? sed quo modo fieri potest ut aliquis discat ea quae novit? ergo haec illicita esse ostensa sunt gentibus,*

a theory involves many considerations, and would have grave consequences for the earliest history of the New Testament canon; and it cannot be discussed in the present Essay.<sup>1</sup>

Recon-  
structions  
of the  
'Western'  
Text.

The reconstruction of the 'Western' text of Acts in a Greek form which shall be superior to the confused and altered text of Codex Bezae is a task which is capable of only approximate execution. Blass's text (*Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter, secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*, 1896) was constructed under the influence of his theory of two editions from the same author; it suffers from the influence of that theory, from insufficient weighing of the precise character of all the heterogeneous witnesses, and from arbitrariness of judgment. Hilgenfeld's text (*Acta apostolorum graece et latine*, 1899) is founded on the editor's judgment of the superiority of the 'Western' text, but is inadequate.<sup>2</sup> Zahn agrees with Blass's theory, and his Greek text (*Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, 1916), with its admirable apparatus, is of great and permanent value, and approaches the ideal much more closely than either of the other reconstructions, but at many points other scholars will find occasion to reach a different conclusion as to what the original 'Western' text probably read.

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quae putabant licere. ac per hoc non utique ab homicidio prohibita sunt, cum iubentur a sanguine observare; sed hoc acceperunt quod Noe a deo didicerat, ut observarent a sanguine edendo cum carne. nam quo modo fieri poterat ut Romanis legibus imbuti, quorum tanta auctoritas in servandis mandatis est, nescirent homicidium non esse faciendum, quippe cum adulteros et homicidas et falsos testes et fures et maleficos et ceterorum malorum admissores puniant leges Romanae? denique tria haec mandata ab apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, quae ignorant leges Romanae, id est ut observent se ab idolatria et sanguine, sicut Noe, et a fornicatione. quae sofistae Graecorum non intellegentes, scientes tamen a sanguine abstinendum, adulterarunt scripturam, quartum mandatum addentes, 'et a suffocato' observandum (v.l. abstinendum); quod, puto, nunc dei nutu intellecturi sunt, quia jam supra dictum erat, quod addiderunt.

<sup>1</sup> A certain approach to the general view here suggested is made in the important article by J. Chapman, 'The Earliest New Testament,' *Expositor*, 1906, vol. xii. pp. 119-127, the theme of which is "the contents of the Western New Testament."

<sup>2</sup> See Corssen's review, with much instructive discussion of the general subject, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. 183, 1901, pp. 1-16.

NOTE ON VON SODEN'S VIEW OF HIS SUPPOSED  
I-TEXT OF ACTS

Von Soden has tried to show that the witnesses to the 'Western' text owe their peculiarities to a variety of causes, at work in various ways in the individual cases, and that the I-text as a whole, when properly clarified and recovered, is closely akin to the H-text and to the base of the K-text. Under his view the ordinary conception of the 'Western' text as a strikingly divergent text, which may have been due to a rewriting, largely disappears. Comment on this view is in place here.

As a rule, though not quite always, the mixed character of the witnesses to the 'Western' text of Acts, and the fragmentary nature of many of them, make the positive fact of the *presence* of a 'Western' reading in one or more of them much more important than the *absence* of any given 'Western' reading from the great mass of them. That von Soden missed this is the great source of weakness in his treatment of the 'Western' text. The original 'Western' text must be regarded as a paraphrastic text which differed from the Old Uncial text more radically and completely than any of its descendants, and which in a long course of history in widely distant localities has been combined by various mixtures with the competing texts, so that in the extant Greek documents it nowhere exists in its purity, but only in a weakened form or (in most cases) in isolated fragments. Through the recognition and combination of these survivals, now found in strangely scattered places, the text which once existed in unity can be measurably recovered. Von Soden, on the contrary, took as the primary subject of his study not the scattered 'Western' fragments, recognizable even though attested by only one or two of the witnesses, but the agreements between the main types of 'Western' witnesses; thus he hoped to arrive at their common base. So in D he not only first purges the text of its obvious latinizations, and of the conflation and substitutions from the non-western text, and of its own individual

vagaries, as every student must do before using it as a 'Western witness, but carries this process to an unreasonable extreme, by the use of the I-codices, so that all that is left for his I-text is a comparatively harmless body of readings capable of serving as a common base for all the I-codices, and from which nearly all the readings that make the group interesting have been dropped as later corruptions of the original I-text. This means in practice that the weaker representatives of the 'Western' textual tradition are taken as the standard, and that from the more characteristic members of the group (like D) only those parts are used which stand on this lower level. The result is the supposed discovery that for the most part the I-text was merely one particular selection and combination among others, all drawn from the variant readings which circulated in the second and third centuries. That may have been the case with the text of Eusebius, with which von Soden identifies his I-text, but the 'Western' text as found in the African Latin or, in damaged form, in Codex Bezae is not to be explained from such an origin. The list of readings in which von Soden finds that the I-text differed from the H-text is a short one, covering barely a page and a half (pp. 1756-1758), and, apparently, in not a single case among these few is the reading ascribed to the I-text foreign to the H-text, or at least to some one or more of the H-codices. The I-text, as a really distinct form of text, has evaporated. In von Soden's apparatus (in his volume ii.), in Acts, chaps. i.-v., I in black-faced type occurs about thirty-eight times, indicating cases where the editor thinks he has surely identified the I-reading (cf. vol. ii. p. 25). Of these, twenty-eight agree with the black-faced H, two more with Codex B, four more with black-faced K. In the face of these facts there can be little confidence that what von Soden calls the I-text in Acts represents any real entity that ever actually existed. At best it would seem to be merely a mixed text of late date. At the close of his discussion the really interesting readings, which successively, one class after another, have previously been thrown to one side as not a part

of the I-text, are brought to the front again, and von Soden argues (pp. 1833 f.) from the diversity and kaleidoscopic combinations of the witnesses that these have all "enriched" their text from a common source. That is perhaps true of most or all of the mixed I-codices (including Codex Laudianus) which, with Codex Bezae, make up von Soden's lists of I-groups; but for Codex Bezae and the manuscripts containing Old Latin readings (but not for Codex Laudianus) the process seems to have been the reverse of this. Rather, by gradual stages and under the intricate working of various forces, a 'Western' archetypal text has been *impoverished*, and the resulting text brought to correspond more and more closely to the types which became prevalent in the fourth century and thereafter. Von Soden's assemblage and grouping of the numerous I-codices was novel, and possesses great permanent value; and all who study the text of any section of the New Testament have occasion for gratitude to its author; but in his attempt to recover an I-text, his treatment, at any rate for the Book of Acts, has confused two wholly different phenomena, and has thus led him to entirely wrong conclusions.

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#### 4. THE OLD UNCIAL TEXT

**Witnesses.** If we may conclude that the 'Western' text of Acts was due to a rewriting which took place early in the second century, it follows that the original text in greater or less purity has been preserved for us by the witnesses here termed the 'Old Uncial' group. The chief of these are B<sup>x</sup>AC 81 and other minuscules (von Soden's H-group; see above, p. xxiv), together with many of the papyri and other ancient fragments, the Sahidic, and especially the Bohairic version.<sup>1</sup> Probably the oldest form of the Georgian version belongs with these, as does the Latin Vulgate. The meagre citations of Clement of Alexandria and Origen are sufficient to justify the inclusion of those fathers in the list, and here belong also the later Alexandrian writers—Athanasius, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Cosmas Indicopleustes.

**Alexandria.** Nearly all of this evidence can be traced to Alexandria, or at least to Egypt. That country seems to have been the place of origin of codices B<sup>x</sup> 81; and the papyri are all Egyptian, as are most of the other early fragments (fourth to seventh century) which show the characteristics of this text. The Alexandrian writers who quote this text in Acts cover the whole period from the end of the second to the middle of the sixth century, and no Alexandrian writers appear in those centuries who used any other text for our book. The two vernacular Egyptian versions speak for themselves; and Jerome was dependent on Alexandrian learning. Of the codices, however, the provenance of A and C is

<sup>1</sup> The Bohairic version is an excellent representative of the Old Uncial text, so far as the nature of the Coptic vernacular permits. Its precise relationship to the several witnesses of its group can be studied in the Appendix, below (pp. 357-371).

doubtful; as we have seen, A may have come from Constantinople. Two fragments containing this text (fifth century and seventh century) have come through Georgian hands,<sup>1</sup> one (seventh century) through Syrian; but these indications throw little light on the earlier use of the Old Uncial text. We have at present no direct knowledge as to what type of Acts was current in the Greek-speaking regions of Palestine and Syria in the second century, or in Asia Minor or Greece in the second and third centuries, before the rise of the Antiochian revision in the fourth century and the spread of that revision and of mixed texts in the subsequent period. As for the Latin-speaking Christianity of the West and the Syriac-speaking Christians of the East, no evidence has as yet been adduced to show that any other Greek text than the 'Western' had made its way into these lands earlier than the fourth century in the West and the fifth century in the East.

On the other hand, against the supposition that the Old Uncial text remained through the centuries the only text known in Alexandria, we may take warning from the fact that the "very accurate and approved" copy from which the Harclean Syriac was revised in Alexandria in 616 was of the Antiochian type, and from the discovery in the Genizah at Cairo of a sixth-century palimpsest fragment (093) with an excellent Antiochian text. Of the later diffusion of the Old Uncial text something could be learned by study of the minuscules belonging to this group and named above (p. xxiv). Such a study might possibly throw light on the earlier history as well. If Hesychius prepared a recension of the New Testament, it was before the time of Jerome, and would have to be looked for somewhere among the Old Uncial witnesses, but, as has already been sufficiently emphasized, this elusive personage constitutes a problem, not a datum, of criticism.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the relation of Georgian Christianity to the monastery at Mount Sinai, see Robert P. Blake, 'The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi, 1923, pp. 277-283.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. xc, xcii, xcv note 2, ciii note 5. Bousset, 'Die Recension des Hesychius,' *Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Texte und

Greek  
codices.

As documents of the Old Uncial text of Acts in Greek, codices B $\alpha$ AC 81 are chiefly to be considered. Next to them, but at a considerable remove, and much more mixed in character, would probably come  $\Psi$  and 33 ("the queen of the cursives"). Von Soden states (pp. 1668 f.) that 326 (Oxford, Lincoln College, E. 82; formerly Gregory 33<sup>ae</sup>;  $\alpha$  257) is akin to 33, and that the text of their common ancestor, which can be reconstructed, would probably be found as good as that of A or C. Also the Patmos manuscript 1175 (Monastery of St. John, 16; formerly Gregory 389<sup>ae</sup>;  $\alpha$  74) appears from von Soden's statements to be of equal excellence with 81.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of all these MSS. it is necessary to ask whether their text has been in any degree contaminated from the 'Western' text or from the Antiochian recension. Their dates do not in any instance exclude the possibility of Antiochian influence. But this inquiry meets grave difficulties. Not only is the 'Western' text imperfectly known to us, and its chief Greek representative positively known to be contaminated from the non-western side, but both in the 'Western' and the Antiochian text a large proportion of the readings were not newly coined and peculiar to these texts, but ancient readings derived from their bases, so that the presence of such readings in one of the Old Uncial group need not imply contamination.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we turn to the five chief MSS. of the Old Uncial group—B $\alpha$ AC 81. From them in the main must be elicited by critical processes knowledge of the text of Acts as it existed apart from the 'Western' rewriting and before the Antiochian recension.

Codex  
Vaticanus.

First to be considered is Codex Vaticanus. Here four questions arise :

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Untersuchungen, II.), 1894, pp. 74-110, thinks that in the Gospels B represents the text of Hesychius; and von Soden has made the same conjecture, and used it to give the designation 'H' to what is called in the present volume the 'Old Uncial' text.

<sup>1</sup> The text of the Patmos codex is known only from von Soden's apparatus and from his discussion, pp. 1669 f., 1928.



1. Has the text of B been influenced by the 'Western' rewriting?

2. Does it contain readings which have been introduced into it from the Antiochian recension?

3. It contains a considerable number of individual, or 'singular,' readings in which it diverges from the other members of its group, and which either lack support altogether or find but little, and perhaps accidental, support in any other witnesses to the text of Acts. How far are these to be deemed corruptions introduced by the scribe of B or of one of its ancestors?

4. When the testimony of the Old Uncial group of five is divided, can any general conclusions be drawn as to the usual value of the testimony of any of the sub-groups, and in particular of the sub-groups of which B is a member?

If these questions could be convincingly and fully answered, the problem of the text of Codex Vaticanus would be mainly solved. One further question, however, ought to be mentioned, upon which light can perhaps sometime be thrown by renewed comprehensive palæographical study of the ms. itself, the question, namely, which of the corrections now found on its pages were added by the first hand, or the diorthotes, before the codex was issued from the scriptorium where it was executed.

1. To consider the four questions in order, in the first place it seems clear that B was not appreciably influenced by the 'Western' text of Acts. Characteristic readings betraying the recognizable 'Western' type do not appear in it; and the impression gained from this observation is confirmed by the small number, and the character, of the cases in which, standing alone and departing from the other four of its group, it agrees with D.<sup>1</sup> For those portions of the book in which all five of the

Freedom  
from  
'Western'  
influence  
in Acts.

<sup>1</sup> In Acts v. 32, the words *ex auribus*, characteristic of the 'Western' text, seem to have been inserted into the text of an ancestor of B which lacked them; but this may well have been a contamination from the ancient base of the 'Western' text, not from the 'Western' rewriting itself (see Textual Note). In Acts ii. 5 the introduction of *ουδαίων* seems to have been present in the 'Western' text, but this may have been a pre-western corruption (see Textual Note).

Old Uncial group, together with Codex Bezae, are extant, constituting about one-fourth of the whole book,<sup>1</sup> the figures, which include some cases where the agreement with D is only substantial and not complete, are as follows : <sup>2</sup>

AGREEMENTS WITH D

B alone . . . . .	13
8 „ . . . . .	9
A „ . . . . .	11
C „ . . . . .	34
81 „ . . . . .	11

Of the thirteen cases found for B all are trifling variants, not to be associated with the characteristic rewriting of the ' Western ' text ; and most of them are probably to be accepted as the original reading, probably preserved independently in the two lines of descent. An examination of the several sub-groups made up of B and *two* of the others of the Old Uncial group shows, for the same portions of the book, even smaller totals in each case. (I have not found, as it happens, any instances where B accompanied by only *one* other of its group agrees with D). The agreement of B with *three* others of its group and D is not significant for B, for it only means that in such a case one of the Old Uncial group has an isolated variant. If C, 81, and D were extant for the whole book, the figures would all be larger, but there is no

<sup>1</sup> For the passages, covering nearly one-half of the Book of Acts, in which B&AC 81 are all extant, see below, p. colvii note 1. C contains not quite two-thirds of the book, 81 almost exactly three-quarters. D is extant as follows : i. 1-viii. 29, x. 14-xxi. 2, xxi. 10-xxii. 10, xxii. 20-29. The precise points of division within the verses will be found accurately noted by Gregory.

<sup>2</sup> Pains have been taken to make these and similar figures accurate, but absolute accuracy and completeness cannot be claimed for them, and they ought to be used only for inferences which are not invalidated by a reasonable margin of error. In any case, questions of judgment often enter into the determination of how to count variants ; for instance, whether as one or two, or where slight minor variation is present. The statistics have been drawn up from the apparatus made for the present volume, in which the aim has been to omit obvious blunders and variations due to spelling in all the mss. used. This should not be taken as implying that such errors and unusual spellings are not in themselves worthy of attention for certain critical purposes.

reason to suppose that their relation to one another would be substantially different. The portions covered come from various sections of chapters i.-xxii.

2. For Codex Vaticanus the claim is also made, and perhaps with justice, that it is substantially, and probably completely, free from Antiochian influence.<sup>1</sup> The evidence, however, for this is somewhat less decisive than that relating to 'Western' influence. The following approximate figures, again relating only to the portions common to all five of the Old Uncial group, are suggestive :

#### VARIANTS FROM ALL FOUR OTHERS OF THE GROUP

	Total 'singular' variants	Agreements with Antiochian	Percentages
B . . .	96	10	10 per cent
κ . . .	158	12	7 „
A . . .	120	13	11 „
C . . .	186	44	24 „
81 . . .	101	27	27 „

The groups of two mss. containing B, κ, or A, show, with the exception of the group AC (see below, p. cclxviii), even smaller numbers (though generally larger percentages) of agreements with the Antiochian text.

For the whole book the corresponding figures for B&A are :

B . . .	221	30	14 per cent
κ . . .	311	20	6 „
A . . .	297	46	15 „

But the small number of mss. under comparison, and in each ms. the great mass of variants due to other causes than Antiochian influence, make this method of statistical inquiry tedious and unsatisfactory. The most that these and other comparative figures show seems to be that any influence of the Antiochian recension on B was very limited in scope, and that no positive

<sup>1</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 150: "Its [B's] text is throughout Pre-Syrian, perhaps purely Pre-Syrian, at all events with hardly any, if any, quite clear exceptions."

numerical evidence suggests that the text of B suffered such influence at all. A conclusion must rest on the study of the readings themselves, and this in fact does not reveal cases that require the assumption of Antiochian influence. With extremely few exceptions the cases of agreement of B and the Antiochian can best be regarded as readings of the B-text which served as a base for the Antiochian revisers.<sup>1</sup> This opinion is an inference from the fact that these readings, so far as internal character permits a judgment, almost always commend themselves as probably right. The situation is otherwise with the agreements, for instance, of A and C with the Antiochian. The exceptions, where B-Antiochian readings appear to be wrong, are (generally, if not always) trifling variants, probably due to independent corruption, so that the agreement is to be deemed accidental, not significant.

Superiority  
of B.

The view that B is superior to the other members of its group rests on the internal superiority of its readings in those numerous cases where the nature of the readings permits a judgment. Where the five witnesses divide into opposing groups of two or three, or where B with three others stands opposed to a single dissentient, there are hardly any cases in Acts where "internal evidence of readings" leads to the preference of the reading not supported by B. This superiority of text, where internal tests can be applied, is in accord with three observations already set forth, namely (1) the fact that the text of B seems to belong, with the papyri, to the period of earlier and freer variation; (2) the care with which it was written; and (3) the pre-origenian character of the text of many books in its Old Testament section. Moreover, B contains in Acts fewer of what may be termed idiosyncrasies than do others of the Old Uncial group.<sup>2</sup>

'Singular'  
readings

3. In support of this last statement as to the 'singular' readings of B, the following figures are instructive, although, here as elsewhere, crude statistics are not demonstrative without

<sup>1</sup> The same problem arises in the LXX; see above, pp. civ, cxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> It seems probable, moreover, that the corrections of many of the 'singular' readings of B may be ascribed to the diorthotes of the scriptorium, so that in justice the errors ought not to be attributed to the completed manuscript.

refinement by various reductions and analyses. For drawing up these and similar tables the Book of Acts has to be divided into the portions attested by all five, by four, and by three, witnesses of the Old Uncial group,<sup>1</sup> and the figures give the approximate number of instances in which each ms. stands alone without support from any other of the group.

‘SINGULAR’ READINGS OF THE OLD UNCIAL GROUP

	B	κ	A	C	81
I. (B <sup>κ</sup> AC 81) . . .	96	158	120	186	101
II. (B <sup>κ</sup> AC) . . .	26	44	45	54	..
III. (B <sup>κ</sup> A 81) . . .	50	61	65	..	53
IV. (B <sup>κ</sup> A) . . .	51	48	67	..	..
	223	311	297		

The difference in the number of these ‘singular’ readings between B and κ, A, C is large enough to be significant. The relatively small number of such readings in 81 is also significant, and will come up for discussion below. The causes which have produced such ‘singular’ readings are different in the several mss.

For another illustration the passage i. 2-iv. 3 may be taken.

‘SINGULAR’ READINGS IN I. 2-IV. 3

	B	κ	A	C	81
Total . . . . .	17	27	17	25	14
Shared with Antiochian . . .	5	4	5	6	7
Not Antiochian but shared with others outside of group	7	7	6	9	2
Probably cases of idio- syncrasy	5	16	6	10	5

<sup>1</sup> The contents severally of the four Divisions is as follows:—I. (B<sup>κ</sup>AC 81): i. 2-iv. 3, vii. 17-x. 42, xiii. 1-xvi. 36, xxii. 9-18, xxv. 15-xxvi. 19, xxvii. 16-xxviii. 4; II. (B<sup>κ</sup>AC): v. 35-vii. 17, xx. 10-xxi. 30, xxii. 21-xxiii. 9; III. (B<sup>κ</sup>A 81): i. 1-2, iv. 3-8, x. 43-xiii. 1, xvi. 37-xvii. 28, xxii. 18-xxiv. 15, xxvi. 19-xxvii. 16, xxviii. 5-31; IV. (B<sup>κ</sup>A): iv. 8-v. 34, xvii. 29-xx. 10, xxi. 31-xxii. 20. For the precise points of division, within the verses, of the missing parts of C and 81, see Gregory.

Although judgments would differ in a few instances as to the readings here counted, such cases will be found too few to affect the plain force of the comparison. It seems that B is superior to both  $\aleph$  and C in the small number of readings which it has that may be due merely to the vagary of the scribe. But this investigation would have to be carried much farther to become more than a suggestive guide to research.

The figures, however, of the first table, p. cclv, show that although B is more free than the other four of its group from readings in which it stands alone among them, yet the number of its 'singular' readings is so considerable as to constitute a definite problem.

The readings in which B has, so far as reported, no support from any Greek authority whatever are about 90; those others in which it has no support from the Old Uncial group are about 133. Of the former class (no Greek support) only the following seven seem to call for acceptance, and four of these are supported by versions:

- vii. 49 *και η.*
- x. 19 *om αυτω.*
- x. 19 *δυσ.*
- xiii. 42 *εις το μεταξυ σαββατον ηξιουν.*
- xvi. 19 *και ιδοντες.*
- xvi. 26 *om παραχρημα.*
- xxiv. 26 *om αυτω.*

All of these are found in parts of Acts where all five witnesses of the Old Uncial group are extant; all of them, except x. 19 and xiii. 42, are of trifling importance, and in all a judgment is difficult.<sup>1</sup> In a large proportion of the other readings of the ninety the 'singular' reading of B is clearly either transcriptionally or intrinsically inferior to that of the other witnesses. In more than three-quarters of the readings of the class no version adds its support to B; of the barely twenty cases where a version

<sup>1</sup> Westcott and Hort accept the reading of B in the first three of the seven cases here listed; in the last four they relegate it to second place.

agrees with B the reading is plainly wrong in at least four, and in all the agreement may be due to accidental coincidence in trifles. We may say with some positiveness that *where B is without other Greek support*, it is ordinarily to be rejected.<sup>1</sup> Of the ninety instances a little more than one-third are omissions. In fact, many of these completely 'singular' readings do not differ essentially from the unquestionable blunders of the scribe of B which are corrected in any printed text. The only difference is that in the class of cases here under discussion the scribe's blunder happened to produce a tolerable sense; so, for example, vii. 51, *καρδιας* B for *καρδιαις*; xi. 25, *αναστησαι* B for *αναζητησαι*; xii. 8 *υποδυσαι* B for *υποδησαι*; xxvi. 7 *καταντησειν* B for *καταντησαι*; also such cases of omission as x. 21 *η*; xxiii. 6 *εγω*; or the repetition in xix. 34 of *μεγαλη η αρτεμις εφεσιων*.

In the other class of about 133 readings, in which B stands without other Old Uncial support but with some (though often slight) support from other Greek witnesses, a little less than one-half seem on the whole worthy of acceptance. Care must here be exercised not to be much influenced by supporting testimony in cases of easy scribal errors which may well have arisen independently (for instance, xxvii. 34 *προ* B Ψ minuscules, surely an error for *προς*; see Textual Note). In such readings isolated minuscule (or even uncial) support is of little consequence. The readings, not of this latter nature, which do receive substantial support apart from B, deserve careful consideration, particularly where D or the Antiochian reënforces B; among these it is probable that many were also found in other very ancient mss. Here the internally inferior readings are to be rejected; the others, including those whose internal character gives no positive indication, I have counted as genuine, and they make up the proportion of a little less than one-half, as just stated.<sup>2</sup> Many

<sup>1</sup> Most of the cases in which Westcott and Hort depart from B are of the class discussed above. It would have been of advantage to their text if they had rejected more of these 'singular' readings of B.

<sup>2</sup> The case of iv. 33 shows the kind of complication which is capable of arising, and may be instructive in this connexion. B *του κυριου ιησου της αναστασεως*

cases in this group must remain very uncertain; for instance, xiii. 44  $\tau\epsilon$  BP minuscules for  $\delta\epsilon$ , xvi. 14  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  BD for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ , both being cases in which I have ventured to reject the reading of B. In some such instances the habitual practice of the writer of Acts can be a guide; for instance, xiii. 17, where  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  B  $\Psi$  vg sah for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  before  $\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$  seems surely wrong. Sometimes the reading which produces a more forcible meaning in the sentence will on that ground be accepted as more probably the original writer's; for instance (to take two good instances where B has no Greek support at all), the omission by B alone of  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  in xxiii. 6, or of  $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon$  in xxiv. 14. It is to be observed that in the readings of the class under discussion the versions, as it happens, by reason of their inability to show varieties of Greek expression, usually give no aid in reaching a decision.

A fair conclusion seems to be that B, *when without support from others of its group but with some other support*, is sometimes wrong, sometimes right, and that while, here as elsewhere, on general grounds there may be some balance of presumption in favour of B, yet for this class of readings the presumption is not strong.

Sub-groups  
containing  
B.

4. The sub-groups which contain B. That the variations of single mss., without support from any other ms. of the Old Uncial group, constitute the bulk of the variations within the group is shown by the following table for the portions in which B $\aleph$ AC 81 are all extant (Division I.), comprising a little less than one-half of the entire book. The total number of *loci variationis*, each of which appears at least twice in the table, is about 780. The actual variants are attested as follows :

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stands quite alone, but it is a variant (in order only) from  $\tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon \iota\eta\sigma\upsilon$ , which happens to be preserved in Pap<sup>8</sup>, is the reading of the Antiochian text, and seems to be right. The opposing, wrong reading ( $\tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \iota\eta\sigma\upsilon \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ) is supported by  $\aleph$ A. C and 81 are both lacking for this passage. Of the three readings neither B nor  $\aleph$ A is right, but B is much nearer right than  $\aleph$ A. Pap<sup>8</sup> shows that the reading of the Antiochian text is ancient. If the very unusual evidence of Pap<sup>8</sup> were not available, we should have to say that the Antiochian text alone had preserved the true reading. But B has only just missed it. See the Textual Note on this passage.



By one ms. . . .	B	96
	81	101
	A	120
	8	158
	C	186
		<hr/>
Total, by one ms. . .		661
By two mss. . . .		204
By three mss. . . .		214
By four mss. . . .		540

The discrepancies of the numbers are of course due to the fact that in some *loci* three variants occur, each attested respectively by three, one, and one, or by two, two, and one ms.

In the case of B, 'singular' variants commend themselves as worthy of acceptance in about the proportion of two-sevenths only; of the 'singular' readings of the other four mss. hardly any show positive marks of genuineness. The number of cases where a division in the group calls for a decision is thus reduced to a little over 200.

For this smaller body of variants attested by a group of *two* Groups of two. within the Old Uncial group, the attestation is distributed as follows (approximate accuracy only being claimed for the figures, as explained above, p. cciv note 2):

## GROUPS OF TWO MSS.

## DIVISION I. (BNAC 81)

BN	29	8A	10
BA	9	8C	15
BC	29	881	9
B 81	19		
AC	36	C 81	31
A 81	17		

Every possible combination is represented in these groups, and some, though limited, inferences can be drawn from them. Groups of this sort may mean either (*a*) that the two component

MSS. agree in authentic readings, from which all others have departed, or (b) that the two have been alike subjected to the same corrupting influence and perhaps are both derived from the same corrupt exemplar. In the former case (a), lines of ancestry of the two may have been entirely independent at every stage since the original autograph. In the latter (b), there will be a presumption, though not a certainty, that the two lines of ancestry are not independent of each other.

Of these binary groups only four—B $\kappa$ , BC, AC, C 81—are noticeable for their size. The group B $\kappa$  is not large enough to justify treating these two codices as a single persistent subgroup. If B and  $\kappa$ , being the oldest, independently contain an unusual number of uncorrupted readings, that would fully account for this group. As a matter of fact, most of these twenty-nine readings are probably original, but in a few cases the two codices seem to agree in error. A few of these errors are vii. 38  $\upsilon\mu\iota\nu$  B $\kappa$  latt Iren for  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ ; vii. 46  $\omicron\iota\kappa\omega$  B $\kappa$ HSD 429 d sah (one codex) for  $\theta\epsilon\omega$  (see Textual Note); with which may be mentioned v. 31  $\tau\omicron\nu$  B $\kappa$ , omitted (C and 81 being deficient) by A, D, and the Antiochian; viii. 5  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\nu$  B $\kappa$ A minuscules, where C D 81 Antiochian sah boh omit  $\tau\eta\nu$ .<sup>1</sup> The group B $\kappa$  is less out of scale in comparison with other binary groups containing B than when compared with those containing  $\kappa$ . This is probably due to the excellence both of the text of B and of that of  $\kappa$  (when the latter does not have an erratic 'singular' reading), for in fact it means that  $\kappa$  relatively seldom goes wrong when in company with one other of the group. This is evidence that  $\kappa$  is not by ancestry specifically akin to any one of them.

<sup>1</sup> Of these instances, in vii. 38 and vii. 46, Westcott and Hort reject the reading of B $\kappa$ , in v. 31 they bracket the word, in viii. 5 they follow B $\kappa$ A. Von Soden rejects the reading of B $\kappa$  in all four cases. Besides the errors in B $\kappa$  noted in the text above, the following seem to the present writer cases where B $\kappa$  agree in error against one or more of the Old Uncial group: v. 28  $\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\nu$ ; x. 17  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ; xi. 11  $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ ; xiii. 18  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ; xiii. 33  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ ; xviii. 7 +  $\tau\iota\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  ( $\tau\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ ); xix. 27  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; xx. 28  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ; xxi. 21 +  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ .

The relatively large size of the group BC is probably to be accounted for by the goodness of C except when C is influenced by the 'Western' or the Antiochian text. Conversely, note the small size of the group BA. In such low numbers accident may have played a considerable part, but in the other divisions of the book a similar relation of the groups B $\kappa$ , BC, and BA is generally found, so far as the groups exist, thus :

	B $\kappa$	BC	BA
Division II. (B $\kappa$ AC) . . .	9	10	7
„ III. (B $\kappa$ A 81) . . .	19	—	8
„ IV. (B $\kappa$ A) . . .	58	—	40

Of the groups AC and C 81 something will be said below in connexion with those codices.

The groups of *three* in Division I. are as follows :

Groups of  
three.

B $\kappa$ A	33	$\kappa$ AC	16
B $\kappa$ C	18	$\kappa$ A 81	33
B $\kappa$ 81	31	$\kappa$ C 81	13
BAC	11		
BA 81	15	AC 81	29
BC 81	15		

From these sub-groups of three, taken by themselves, no valid inference suggests itself ; but although it is evident that B is not closely connected through any near ancestor with any other of the Old Uncial group, yet a study of the groups of two and the groups of three together will furnish further statistical evidence of the resemblance of B and  $\kappa$ . If we eliminate from consideration, as we ought to do, the 'singular' readings, which appear in varying proportions in the several codices,  $\kappa$  evinces itself as decidedly nearer to B than is any one of the other three (AC 81), while the other three are about equal in the extent of their agreement with B. The process on which this conclusion rests may be illustrated by the comparison of  $\kappa$  and A, thus (Division I.) :

B $\kappa$	29	BA	9
B $\kappa$ C	18	BAC	11
B $\kappa$ 81	31	BA 81	15
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	78		35

From this it is clear that  $\kappa$  is decidedly nearer to B than is A. A similar process gives the same result for C and 81 also, as just stated. If the figures for Division I. are taken as a whole, it appears that for each ms. the number of cases of divergence from B (omitting the 'singular' readings of each and including only those where a sub-group opposes B) is as follows:  $\kappa$  170, A 205, C 214, 81 206. A further investigation of all sub-groups, paying close regard to the individual readings in detail and their relation to other mss., especially codex 1175 (Patmos), would be worth while, and might bring out some interesting relationships between the codices.

Rule for  
use of B.

Where B is supported by at least one, but not by all, of the Old Uncial group, and where 'internal evidence of readings' is an applicable criterion, B is found to be probably right in nearly all cases, and the rule may be deduced that the reading of B is to be accepted unless positive evidence to the contrary can be brought. This practice will doubtless lead the critic astray in some cases, but no better rule is at hand.<sup>1</sup> On possible genuine readings embedded in the 'Western' rewriting, see above, pp. ccxxxv f.; on the possibility that all the Old Uncial group may be wrong, and the reading of the Antiochian text right, see below, pp. ccxxxiv f. The grounds of this excellence of B have already been stated (p. cclvi).

Codex  
Sinaiticus.

With regard to the text of Codex Sinaiticus in Acts not much is to be added to what has already been said in discussing Codex Vaticanus. The 'Western' text has exercised no observable influence on  $\kappa$ . That the Antiochian likewise has probably not influenced  $\kappa$  can also be shown,<sup>2</sup> for if there had been any direct

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, 1894, p. cxviii.

<sup>2</sup> In the LXX the text of  $\kappa$  in the Psalter and the Prophets is said to show some traces of Lucianic influence; see pp. xcix, ccxxxviii.

influence from it, we should expect it to appear in the 'singular' readings, where  $\aleph$  has no support from any other of its group. But here, out of a total of about 311 such readings in the whole of Acts, only 20 (that is, 6 per cent) agree with the Antiochian text. It is convenient to give here the figures for the other mss. of the group. They are given first for Division I., then for the whole book (Divisions I.-IV., without reference to the defects of C and 81).

'SINGULAR' READINGS COMPARED WITH ANTIOCHIAN TEXT.

DIVISION I.	B	$\aleph$	A	C	81
Total 'singular' readings .	96	158	120	186	101
Agreements of these with } Antiochian	10	12	13	44	27
Percentages . . .	10	7	11	24	27
DIVISIONS I.-IV.	B	$\aleph$	A	C	81
Total 'singular' readings	221	311	297	240	154
Agreements of these with } Antiochian	30	20	46	58	44
Percentages . . .	14	6	15	24	29

Again, where  $\aleph$  has the company of one other of the Old Uncial group in departing from B, in no case does a large proportion of agreement with the Antiochian text suggest influence from that text on a common ancestor of the two.<sup>1</sup> The agreement with the Antiochian is more probably due to a resemblance between  $\aleph$  and the Old Antiochian base of the Antiochian recension, if such a base may properly be assumed to have existed.

<sup>1</sup> The group  $\aleph$ A 81, indeed, which both subtends a larger number of readings than any other group of three not containing B, and also seems to show a greater proportion of Antiochian agreements (73 per cent), stands out in this latter respect conspicuous. But the explanation is probably to be sought in some fact of textual history which has made a cleft between the two types represented respectively by BC and  $\aleph$ A 81, and in some connexion between the foundations of the Antiochian recension and the text of  $\aleph$ A 81. A more searching and comprehensive study might throw light here on some of the general problems of the New Testament text. The positive, though limited, 'Western' element in C does not seem to be connected in any way with this other phenomenon.

'Singular'  
readings.

The 'singular' readings of  $\aleph$  are numerous and peculiar. In 'singular' readings not in agreement with the Antiochian,  $\aleph$  leads over A and 81 by a large margin, and if 'Western' agreements are likewise omitted,  $\aleph$  shows a much larger number of 'singular' readings than C.<sup>1</sup> Some of these have been cited already (p. xlviii note 4) in treating of the general character of  $\aleph$ . Most of them are vagaries, perhaps of the scribe of this codex itself, and hardly any commend themselves as deserving acceptance, but a more thorough examination of them in their relations to other witnesses might bring out some useful observations.

That  $\aleph$  is nearer than any other ms. to B has already been shown.

Codex  
Alex-  
andrinus  
and Codex  
Ephraemi.

Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi seem to have some bond of connexion; in the table printed above (p. cclxi), AC is the largest of the binary groups. Moreover, they show a curious resemblance in that almost always when an attempt is made to analyse and reduce to percentages the relation between  $\aleph$ , A, C, and 81, by using as a basis the readings in which these four depart from B, the result shows percentages of A and C close to each other, if not identical,  $\aleph$  and 81 often taking position the one on their right hand and the other on their left. The student is continually reminded of the palaeographical resemblance of the two. Nevertheless, the differences between A and C are, at any rate to a surface view, more striking; and they are certainly more easily interpreted.

That a certain 'Western' element is to be recognised in A, and a larger one in C, has already been pointed out (p. ccxx). Longer, but not complete, lists of verses in which substantial agreements with the 'Western' text, or at least with the readings of Codex Bezae, occur, are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> For Division I. only, the figures of 'singular' readings, with omission of those agreeing with the Antiochian text, are: B 86,  $\aleph$  146, A 107, C 142; Codex 81, 74. That of the number mentioned (drawn from a little less than one-half of the whole book) C agrees with D in 30 instances, while  $\aleph$  so agrees in only 6, tells its own story, in harmony with what is said in the text above.

CODEx ALEXANDRINUS (UNSUPPORTED BY ANY OTHER OF THE  
OLD UNCIAL GROUP)

ii. 6, 22.	xiv. 21, 24.
iii. 8, 13 (twice).	xv. 18.
viii. 39.	xvi. 16.
x. 37, 39.	xx. 4, 18.
xiii. 14.	xxi. 22.

CODEx EPHRAEMI (UNSUPPORTED BY ANY OTHER OF THE  
OLD UNCIAL GROUP)

ii. 2, 17, 36.	xiii. 17, 20, 23, 25, 45.
iv. 2.	xiv. 6, 10, 12, 18f.
vii. 37, 60.	xv. 4, 7, 11, 23, 24, 28, 29, 34.
viii. 26.	xvi. 1, 3, 7, 19, 29, 31, 34.
ix. 22.	xxi. 25.
x. 17, 32.	

It is to be borne in mind that C includes but about two-thirds of the whole book.

In Division I., A unsupported is found in agreement with D 11 times, C in such agreement 30 times. With these figures may be compared those for  $\kappa$ , 6 times; for  $\delta$ , 10 times; and for B, 12 times. A and C in common against the others of the group agree in Division I. with D only about 11 times. Division I. includes about one-half of Acts, but in about one-half of this Division we do not have the evidence of D, so that the figures relate to only one-fourth of the whole book.

With regard to Antiochian influence on A and C, the evidence is more complicated, and an answer to the question more difficult to formulate with entire confidence. In other parts of the Bible, as is well known, the Psalter of A is largely Lucianic and the Gospels almost wholly Antiochian, while Lucianic influence is said to be found in the Prophets.<sup>1</sup> As to C, all that can be said is that in the Gospels kinship to the Antiochian text is plainly traceable, in the Pauline epistles less so (see above, p. lv).

<sup>1</sup> Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten*, p. 86.

This inquiry in the text of Acts is best confined to Division I., for there alone is a satisfactory comparison possible. In this Division, Codex Alexandrinus stands alone in 120 readings, but in only 11 of these agrees with the Antiochian text. This seems to show that there has been no direct influence from the Antiochian text on A. The only groups containing A which suggest anything to the contrary are :

	Total readings	Agreements with Antiochian
AC . . . .	36	16
AC 81 . . .	29	18
NA 81 . . .	33	24

The facts of the groups AC and AC 81 might suggest that A and C had a common ancestor which had been slightly affected by the Antiochian recension, but the figures may equally well be due to a resemblance between the form of Old Uncial text represented by AC and that used as a base by the Antiochian revisers. The group NA 81 is the complement of BC, of which something has already been said (p. cclxiii). On the whole, it does not seem possible to affirm influence on A from the Antiochian recension.

The groups including A which depart from B seem to be less trustworthy than the complementary groups which include B, and the 'singular' readings of A do not commend themselves as right. More complete investigation of the character of the latter is to be desired. Their number is distinctly less than that found in  $\aleph$  or in C, but larger than that of B or 81, and this holds after agreements in each case with the Antiochian, or with D (so far as extant), or with both these, have been deducted. The figures follow :

#### 'SINGULAR' READINGS

DIVISION I.	B	$\aleph$	A	C	81
Total 'singular' readings .	96	158	120	186	101
Shared with Antiochian .	10	12	13	44	27
Shared with D . . .	12	6	11	30	10



Codex Ephraemi wears a different aspect. Here a distinct strain of 'Western' text is to be observed, as has been shown above. It is also probable that the Antiochian recension has exerted a direct influence on C, for out of 186 'singular' readings of C in Division I., 44 agree with the Antiochian. This fact may also lend significance to the group C 81, which, out of 31 readings, shows 17 in agreement with the Antiochian. Two interesting cases of agreement of C with the Antiochian text may be specially mentioned. In xx. 24 the addition *μετα χαρας* is characteristic of the Antiochian, and in spite of its 'Western' ring is not attested as 'Western' by any trustworthy testimony. In xxiv. 24, of the four different readings supported by the Old Uncial group, that of C (*γυναικι* without addition) is identical with the Antiochian reading.

The remaining 'singular' readings of C (112 in number in Division I.), in which it agrees neither with the Antiochian text nor with D, deserve investigation. The possibility of some obscure special relation of C to B, suggested by the group BC, has already been referred to.<sup>1</sup>

Codex 81 (formerly 61<sup>ac</sup>; *a* 162; British Museum), written Codex 81.

<sup>1</sup> The relations of B&AC to one another, to D, and to the Antiochian text, and the trustworthiness of these mss. severally, have been elaborately studied by Bernhard Weiss, *Die Apostelgeschichte: textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, ix.), 1893, pp. 64-69. Weiss's investigation is carried on with constant reference to his conclusions as to the rightness and wrongness of the variants as given in the preceding part of his monograph (pp. 5-64), he takes careful account of the question whether a wrong reading is due to an old error or to a later emendation, and his results are presented in the form of careful and very valuable statistics. These results are not dissimilar in their broad outlines to those reached above, although his judgment naturally differs in single instances. Many cases of variation where he, with earlier critics, finds decisive internal evidence for one of the readings, would seem to me not so easy to decide. He holds that K and A, as well as C, were influenced by the Antiochian text (K in less degree than the others), while B was not led into error by the Antiochian. He emphasizes the small proportion of cases in which 'singular' readings of B are to be accepted, and finds (p. 68) twenty cases where B, supported by one or more of the group KAC, is wrong. Weiss's criticism of the individual readings deserves careful attention from students in every case, although in order to be used it requires that an index of passages be constructed.

in 1044 by a monk John and for a monk James, is the most important minuscule of Acts of which full knowledge is at present available.<sup>1</sup> It was brought by Tischendorf from Egypt and may be presumed to have been written there. It contains Acts (with two gaps, iv. 8-vii. 17; xvii. 28-xxiii. 9), and the manuscript of the Catholic and Pauline epistles known as 2241 (formerly 241<sup>ac</sup> 285<sup>p</sup>; Cairo, Patriarchal Library 59) was originally a part of the same codex.<sup>2</sup> Of handy size, not more than 18 × 12·6 cm., without lectionary notes, and written with no special elegance, it was a copy such as a scholar would have had for daily use, not a church book nor a costly *édition de luxe*, and we may well question whether for informing us as to the text of Acts it is not, next to Codex Vaticanus, the most valuable ms. in existence.

Of 'Western' influence this ms. shows hardly anything;<sup>3</sup> but, as would be expected from its date in the eleventh century, when the Antiochian recension was nearly everywhere widely current, it probably shows some direct Antiochian influence. Of its 'singular' readings a larger proportion than in the case of any other of the five mss. of its group agree with the Antiochian, and these may well be derived therefrom.

#### 'SINGULAR' READINGS

DIVISION I. (BNAC 81)	B	Σ	A	C	81
'Singular' readings . . .	96	158	120	186	101
Shared with Antiochian . .	10	12	13	44	27
Percentages . . . . .	10	7	11	24	27

<sup>1</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 154: "By far the most free [of the cursives] from Syrian readings is 81 of the Acts, which contains a very ancient text, often Alexandrian, rarely Western, with a trifling Syrian element, probably of late introduction."

<sup>2</sup> The credit for this important discovery belongs to Paul Glaue, one of von Soden's bibliographical explorers, now professor at Jena.

<sup>3</sup> The long 'Western' addition found in 81 in Acts xiv. 19 is not a significant exception to this statement, for it is given not only by *hclmg* and C, but also by a very large number of minuscules. Zahn, however, is probably wrong in thinking it a part of the non-western text, and that it fell out by homoeoteleuton; see Textual Note.

DIVISION III. (B&A 81)	B	κ	A	C	81
'Singular' readings . . .	50	61	65	..	53
Shared with Antiochian . .	5	2	11	..	17
Percentages . . . . .	10	3	17	..	32

It agrees with C thirty-one times in Division I. ; and seventeen of these cases are readings also found in the Antiochian text, and may be due to an Antiochian strain in the common ancestor of the two. The group AC 81 (29 readings, of which 18 are shared with the Antiochian) is also noticeable, but represents merely the complement of the group Bκ, and, in view of the tentative conclusion about A stated above (p. cclxviii), very probably only reveals one line of cleavage between ancient types of the Old Uncial text.

The striking characteristics of 81, in which its excellence lies, are (1) that when its 'singular' variants due to Antiochian influence are omitted from the count, as being a definitely explicable and not very large element, the body of readings that remain presents a text somewhat nearer to that of B than is the text of either A or C ; and (2) that the text of 81 shows the smallest number of 'singular' readings of any of the four κAC 81, and, when the Antiochian variants are again omitted, a number much smaller than even those of B. The figures are shown above (p. cclxx). In a word, 81 evidently comes nearer than any other known MS. to the common type of this group, in a form strongly resembling those of B and A, though by no means identical with either. The figures are as follows :

DIVISION I.	B	κ	A	C
81 agrees with . . . . .	461	409	460	383
81 departs from . . . . .	307	359	308	385

## DIVISION III.

81 agrees with . . . . .	116	104	110	..
81 departs from . . . . .	120	132	126	..

If 'singular' readings of all mss. are omitted from the figures for variation, the results stand thus :

DIVISION I.	B	κ	A	C
81 departs from . . . .	110	100	87	98

DIVISION III.

81 departs from . . . .	17	18	8	..
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It is interesting to recall the fact (stated above, p. cexxiii) that the brief text of the fifth-century fragment 066 from Egypt agrees almost perfectly with 81.

The further study of these and the other mss. of the Old Uncial group can only be made fully profitable as part of a study of the whole history of the text of the group, with complete use of the later (mixed) mss. which represent it (see the list given above, p. xxiv). From such a study much would be gained in security in the use of this text, and perhaps something in actual conclusions as to the right use of the oldest witnesses.

'Alex-  
andrian',  
text.

An important question relates to what Westcott and Hort called the 'Alexandrian' text, which they believed to be a skilful recension aiming at "correctness of phrase." Was there a true recension, now represented by no single extant ms., but to be identified in Acts in κACE 33 81 and other minuscules ?<sup>1</sup> Or have we to do merely with a mode of statement for the natural variation and consolidation within the Old Uncial group, whereby inferior readings appeared, and then, in a somewhat definite assortment, passed into that form of the text which was most often copied ? In other words, are we to assume the deliberate activity of one hand or was there a process, the steps of which we cannot trace, in which many hands were engaged ?

<sup>1</sup> Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 166; cf. pp. 130-132. The other minuscules named by Hort as witnesses to this 'Alexandrian' text are (using Gregory's final numbers) 322, 323, 36<sup>ae</sup>, 181, 441, 429, 489, 206, 1518. The fact that these nine codices are distributed by von Soden among six of his classes (in every case but one in an I-group) shows the need of further study of the later text in so far as it is not Antiochian. 33 and 81 belong to von Soden's H-group.

The evidence that there was an 'Alexandrian' recension can lie only in a body of errors shared by a group of witnesses in such a way as to point definitely to a common ancestor. Such an ancestor need not have created the errors; it may merely have selected them and then been followed in that particular selection by its descendants. Something like this seems, for instance, to have taken place in the formation of the Antiochian recension, which is now generally recognized to have been an historical event.

Now in the case of Acts it is clear from the figures of the sub-groups, as given in part above, that B $\Sigma$  sometimes agree against the other three, and that B $\Sigma$  and one of the others frequently agree against the other two. For Division I. the approximate figures are as follows:

Total variants, excluding the cases where one	
ms. departs from the rest	209
Of these, B $\Sigma$ , B $\Delta$ , B $\Gamma$ , B $\Sigma$ 81	111
"    BA, B $\Delta$ , B $\Gamma$ , BA 81	68
"    BC, B $\Gamma$ , BC $\Delta$ , BC 81	73
"    B 81, B 81 $\Delta$ , B 81 A, B 81 C	80

Most of these readings are probably right as against the groups not containing B, but in these latter groups every combination of component elements is found, and in every case the groups represent small, usually very small, numbers of readings. No well-massed agreement against B $\Sigma$  suggests that an earlier recension has been at work which has determined the selection of errors in any ms. or group. Likewise, in the whole book, in sixty or more of the cases where B lacks Old Uncial support, it seems to be right (though much more often probably wrong), while other mss. when they stand alone are almost never right; but this relatively small number of cases (two-sevenths) where all the others in combination appear to be in error is not sufficient to justify the assumption of a recension. The papyri and very early fragments show a kaleidoscopic variation operating within rather narrow limits, and the

study of these is highly suggestive in regard to the question in hand. We may conclude, I think, that so far as Acts is concerned, the evidence does not make it necessary to suppose that a definite recension has controlled the selection of errors found in the later mss. of the Old Uncial group. Yet as time went on, the text at Alexandria apparently tended to follow a more definite standard, and assumed a form in which 'singular' variations were more rarely found than in earlier days.<sup>1</sup>

Text of B  
'neutral'?

An ultimate question relating to this group of witnesses, and one of fundamental importance for the whole text, relates to the earlier history of the text of Codex Vaticanus. This codex, except where it shows singularities of the copyist or of an ancestor, represents the original, it is believed, better than any other ms. Is this superiority to be ascribed merely to the age of the ms. and to peculiarly favourable conditions which surrounded its ancestry, as stated above, so that it is properly called a 'neutral' text? Or is its superiority due, as in the case of a modern critical text, to the skilful work of an ancient editor, guided by sound principles of choice? If the latter view were adopted, our general confidence in B would persist, for its excellence is demonstrated by internal evidence; but that confidence would be tempered in those numerous instances where the guiding lantern of internal evidence is not at hand. The facts seem to me to favour the former hypothesis, namely, that the text of B is a 'neutral' text, not a learned recension. The reasons are

<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that the conception of gradual and informal origin which has sometimes been used, as I think wrongly, to explain the phenomena of the 'Western' text, seems to be the best account we can give of the facts of the later Alexandrian text. Nevertheless the facts sometimes recall the theory proposed to account for the mutual relationships of the copies of Alcuin's recension of the Vulgate: "a text prepared by Alcuin from various sources, with variants in the margins; the descendants of this original edition [differing] in the degree to which they substitute these variants for the text" (and similarly for the recension of Theodulf); see E. K. Rand, *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xxvii., 1924, p. 244. The only readings in Acts assigned by Hort to the 'Alexandrian' text in the 'Notes on Select Readings' of his 'Appendix,' p. 92, are vii. 43, *ρεφας* (*ραφας*); xii. 25, *εξ*; xv. 34, *εδοξεν δε τω σιλα επιμειναι αυτους* (also Western).

two. First, the text of B is substantially free from 'Western' and from 'Antiochian' influence. In these spacious aspects it is actually 'neutral.' They cover a good part, though not the whole, of its excellence, and the historical position thus attested for this text makes it not unlikely that in other respects also its ancestry may have been of superior quality. Secondly, the excellence of B largely resides in two classes of readings: (a) it is apt to have the 'shorter' reading, that is, to lack words found in other mss.; and (b) its readings, even when not shorter, are often 'harder,' that is, more likely than their rivals to have caused difficulty to the scribe and to have led him to alter. Now a recension, made by a scholar following the principles of Alexandrian grammarians, might have adopted the principle of usually selecting the shorter reading, and would so have produced the brevity of the text of B. But in the case of the 'harder' readings it is difficult to think of any principle of selection likely to have been adopted by an ancient critic which would have brought about such an accumulation of these readings as we find in B. This codex is by no means free from errors in the Book of Acts, but it appears to be 'neutral,' in the sense that its errors were not due to an observable recension.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Turner, 'Marcan Usage,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxvi., 1924-25, pp. 14-20, has collected instances from Mark in which the text of B seems governed by the deliberate purpose of an editor to avoid the use of *as* in phrases where no idea of motion is expressed.

## 5. THE ANTIOCHIAN TEXT

It is no longer necessary to prove by argument that a recension of the New Testament text was made, probably early in the fourth century, at Antioch in Syria, largely by a selection of existing readings.<sup>1</sup> Its chief purpose seems not to have been, as in the creation of the 'Western' text two centuries earlier, to produce a rewritten and improved form of the book, but rather to bring the New Testament text out of the confusion into which it had fallen, and to provide Christians with copies of the Scriptures which should adequately represent the intention of the original writers. Unfortunately the critical principles employed were plainly not such as commend themselves to modern scholars, and consequently, from the modern critic's point of view, the result was not the improvement, but the deterioration of the New Testament text. This recension, termed by Westcott and Hort the 'Syrian' text, is in the present volume called the 'Antiochian,' in order to avoid confusion with the name applied to the versions in the 'Syriac' language. Its nature was established by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and especially Westcott and Hort, reinforced by other contemporaries and resting on the studies of various predecessors, notably Bengel and Griesbach; and the results so reached constitute the most important abiding result of nineteenth-century textual criticism.

This Antiochian text early passed to Constantinople, later the greatest centre for the diffusion of copies of the New Testa-

<sup>1</sup> The demonstration by F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraem's Quotations from the Gospel* (Texts and Studies, VII.), 1901, that Ephraem did not use the Peshitto seems to render unnecessary the theory of successive steps in the revision, adopted by Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 135-139.



ment, and so became the basis of the text generally used until the invention of printing, and of the printed text of the New Testament until it was displaced by the critical editions, beginning in 1830 with that of Lachmann. Von Soden's wide-ranging investigations have now opened up to study the later history of this text during the whole period in which it circulated in manuscript form, while those of Reuss have adequately elucidated its history in print from 1514 to recent times.

For the Book of Acts the Antiochian text is found in some *Codices* four hundred or more copies, among which, besides those not classified, at least two distinct types ( $K^c$  and  $K^r$ , the latter found frequently in Athos mss.) have been discovered by von Soden. In the present volume we are not concerned with this later history, important as it is for the complete solution of the textual problem of the New Testament. For our purpose it is necessary to select certain mss. which may be accepted as giving approximately the Antiochian recension in its oldest attainable form, and the only practicable course is to take the oldest continuous texts containing the recension. These are the ninth-century uncials H, L, P, and S of the eighth or ninth century. Of these H is now at Modena, L at Rome, and of their origin nothing appears to be known. P, now at Petrograd, belonged to Porfiri Uspenski, bishop of Kief in the nineteenth century, and was undoubtedly drawn by him from some oriental monastery. S is in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos, and it may be added that a very large proportion of the extant mss. of the Antiochian text for the various sections of the New Testament are preserved in the libraries of Mount Athos. Many of them were probably written there, and have never left the Holy Mountain, while many of the Antiochian copies now in other libraries came from Mount Athos. Codex S is probably the oldest of this group. Of the four, S alone is complete; P is a palimpsest.

In order to supply evidence for certain sections where the uncials are defective, the apparatus has been completed from the readings of one or both of the two minuscules 462 (formerly

101<sup>ac</sup>; thirteenth century) and 102 (formerly 99<sup>ac</sup>; 1345 [or 1445 ?] A.D.), these being Moscow mss., adequately known from Matthäi's published collations and, as the apparatus shows, unmistakably containing excellent texts of the same recension represented by the uncials.

Codices  
HLP.

The three uncials HLP have been elaborately studied by Bernhard Weiss,<sup>1</sup> who reaches the conclusion that of their more than 630 variants upwards of 490 are due to the common underlying text, and that of the three P is the most faithful representative of the exemplar. The superiority of P is deduced from the figures for sub-groups :

HL against P	. 16	
HP)		(in many cases due to
LP { . . .	80	the defect of L and H)

together with those for 'singular' readings :

	P	H	L
Singular readings . . .	53	97	95

The relative numbers of 'singular' readings are the more convincing (as Weiss points out) because P is much more nearly complete than either H or L, so that in order to make a fair proportionate comparison its figure ought to be reduced well below the actual number (53) given above.<sup>2</sup>

This form of the Antiochian recension was copied through the centuries with remarkable exactness.<sup>3</sup> A single parchment leaf

<sup>1</sup> *Die Apostelgeschichte: textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, ix.), 1893, pp. 1 f., 66.

<sup>2</sup> Closer inquiry, however, needs to be made into the question whether P in Acts shows a mixed text retaining traces of its Old Uncial base in the midst of the Antiochian improvements. Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 153 f., describes it as "all but purely Syrian in the Acts and 1 Peter." In James, P contains a large ancient element, which bears a closer resemblance to B than to any other extant uncial; see J. H. Ropes, 'The Text of the Epistle of James,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxviii., 1909, pp. 117 f

<sup>3</sup> The question whether the oldest representatives of the Antiochian recension contain a special type of that text, slightly divergent from the original and to be corrected by observing the readings common to the great mass of the minuscules, deserves further investigation. Von Soden's method, if I mistake not, was first to detach the specific readings of K<sup>c</sup> and K<sup>r</sup>, and then to treat a

(093) found in the Genizah at Cairo makes it possible to carry it back to the sixth century, and lends confidence to our use of the text of the later complete copies.

Although continuous pure texts of the Antiochian recension of Acts in Greek older than the eighth century have not been discovered, its readings appear frequently in the earlier centuries in mixture with the Old Uncial text, and, as has been shown above (pp. cclxvii-ix), if not A (sixth century ?), yet probably C (the same century) shows its influence. In apparently mixed texts, however, the difficult question always arises whether the result is due to direct influence on the mixed text or to the kinship of the latter with one of the ancient bases on which the Antiochian rests; and to this question often only a qualified answer can be given. In view, however, of the known rapid progress of the Antiochian text after the fourth century, and of its wide extension, the possibility of direct influence can, at present at least, but seldom be excluded, and increases with every successive century of the period in question.

In no part of the Christian world is evidence found of the use of the Antiochian recension of Acts before a date well down in the fourth century, and wherever we have positive evidence before that time (as is the case for Alexandria and Egypt, Palestine or Syria, Lyons in Gaul, and Latin Africa), it is plain that the Antiochian text was not that in use by Christian writers. After the middle or latter part of the fourth century the evidence for the use of the Antiochian selection of readings becomes reasonably abundant. In the East, not far from the end of the fourth century, the Apostolic Constitutions and Chrysostom used it, although it is probably not the only text used by the latter; and, a little earlier than they, Epiphanius may also have had it. These are all writers who proceeded from Syria or Palestine, and

Diffusion  
Antiochi  
text.

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the true K-text those readings which are found in the great majority of other minuscules; cf. p. 1762, where he refers to the departures of the special readings of HLPS and various minuscules "von dem durch die Übereinstimmung aller andern Codd als K gesicherten Text."

would naturally have fallen under the influence of Antioch. In 616 Thomas of Harkel, working at Alexandria from what he believed to be a "very accurate and approved" Greek copy, made his Syriac revision conform to the Antiochian text. Of other use of it at Alexandria no patristic evidence has so far been brought to light. The Greek codex C (fifth or sixth century) seems to have been influenced by the Antiochian but its provenance is not certain. The Genizah fragment (093) of the sixth century, with the Antiochian text, was preserved at Cairo, but need not have been of Egyptian origin. By the middle of the eleventh century codex 81, which doubtless represents the text of Alexandria, clearly shows exposure to Antiochian influence. Of the eighth and ninth century Antiochian uncials HLPS no statement of the locality whose text they offer can be made. We may perhaps assume, however, that they represent the influence of Constantinople, as do the great mass of the Antiochian minuscules. One agency in extending this influence was the work of the monks of Mount Athos. For further light in these matters textual criticism must in the main wait on palaeography.

In the West, Codex Laudianus (E; Sardinia, late sixth or early seventh century) has a Greek text which is largely Antiochian.<sup>1</sup>

For the Gospels the evidence as to the diffusion of the Antiochian recension is naturally much fuller. The earliest witnesses

<sup>1</sup> Whether the non-western Greek influence perceptible in the *gigas*-recension and that which is recognized in Codex Bezae included any Antiochian element does not seem to have been worked out by any investigator. Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 155, states that what he called the 'Italian' form of the Old Latin, that is, Codices Brixianus (f) and Monacensis (q), contains a considerable Antiochian element. In the Old Testament Books of Kingdoms the Latin text of Lucifer (356-361) shows marked Lucianic elements mingling with a text of a different type. The facts have not received decisive explanation, but it is not improbable that the Latin recension used by Lucifer, and of which fragments are found in Old Latin mss., had been subject to Lucianic influence; see Rahlf's, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 143-154; L. Dieu, 'Retouches Lucianiques sur quelques textes de la vieille version latine (I et II Samuel),' *Revue Biblique*, vol. xxviii., 1919, pp. 372-403. The Vulgate appears to be substantially free from Antiochian influence.

to it are the Apostolic Constitutions and the Antiochian fathers at the end of the fourth century—Diodorus, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, together with parts of the codices W (fourth or fifth century; Egypt) and A (fifth or sixth century). But in the Gospels, much as in Acts, the earliest fragments (such as 069, 072) with an Antiochian text are of the fifth or sixth century, and the earliest complete codex (Ω) comes perhaps from the eighth century, followed by several from the ninth century.

The Antiochian recension is the New Testament part of the text which in the LXX is called Lucianic, and both of these appear to owe their origin to the work performed, doubtless by various hands,<sup>1</sup> under the supervision of Lucian of Antioch (†312). The often-quoted statement of Jerome (*Praef. in librum Paralipomenon*) about the three types of Old Testament Greek text—that of Hesychius used in Alexandria and Egypt, that of Lucian the martyr accepted from Constantinople to Antioch, and that of the codices based on Origen's Hexapla, which had been made popular by the efforts of Eusebius and Pamphilus and were read in Palestine<sup>2</sup>—is matched for the Gospels by the statement in his dedicatory *Epistula ad Damasum* (A.D. 384):

Relation of  
Antiochian  
New Testa-  
ment to  
Lucianic  
Old Testa-  
ment.

Praetermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum adserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in veteri instrumento post septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For evidence that several persons were engaged in the recension see Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 294 f.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Das Buch Ruth griechisch*, 1922, p. 13, believes that the Origenian mss. of Pamphilus and Eusebius (which contained the text that Jerome did approve) represent a reaction against the influence of Antioch with the deliberate purpose of preventing the Lucianic text from coming into general use. Jerome's hostile reference to the Lucianic codices of the Gospels tends to confirm this view, which is obviously of great importance in opposition to any suggestion that the edition of Pamphilus and Eusebius was a compromise-text, partly made up from the Lucianic recension.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome's reference here is quite correct. Down to his time no translation of the New Testament had been made under the influence of the Antiochian recension. Even the Peshitto, the product of the following century and of

In large measure the Lucianic text of the Greek Old Testament has now been identified, and the mss. recognized, especially by the aid of the quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus in Syria; <sup>+</sup>ca. 457),<sup>1</sup> the direct references to the Lucianic text of the Psalter made by Jerome in his letter to the Goths Sunnias and Fretelas (*Ep.* 106, 2), and certain marginal readings, expressly indicated as Lucianic, in the Syro-hexaplaric version and in some Greek mss. Various considerations prove its connexion with the Antiochian text of the New Testament.

Thus, certain illustrations have been pointed out of agreement in the form of proper names. The Lucianic text (3 Kgds. xvii. 9) has, against all others, Σάρπεντα τῆς Σιδῶνος, for the earlier Σάρπεντα (or Σάρπεφθα) τῆς Σιδωνίας. This is the exact form in which the phrase appears in the Antiochian text of Luke iv. 26, the same variations occurring among the earlier types. Similarly the Lucianic and Antiochian agree (4 Kgds. v. 1 ff.; Luke iv. 27) in the spelling Νεεμάν instead of the earlier Ναιμάν.<sup>2</sup> Equally characteristic of the common principles guiding the recension of the two parts of the Bible is the plain endeavour to make endings and grammatical forms correspond to the grammarians' rules, as, for instance, in the consistent use of εἶπον and the like for εἶπαν, or of ὁ ἔλεος, at least in the accusative, for τὸ ἔλεος,<sup>3</sup> or the strong tendency to correct ἐγενήθη to ἐγένετο.<sup>4</sup>

Character-  
istics.

But the reasons for accepting the Lucianic Old Testament

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Syria, does not render, in Acts at least, a text of that type. That Jerome decisively rejects the codices of Hesychius is instructive in view of the fact that the Greek text which he himself used was one corresponding to the Old Uncials.

<sup>1</sup> See Rahlfs, 'Theodorets Zitate aus den Königsbüchern und dem 2. Buche der Chronik,' *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* (Septuaginta-Studien, I.), pp. 16-46.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension der Königsbücher*, pp. 113 f.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Das Buch Ruth griechisch*, 1922, p. 13. A comparison of the details assembled for the New Testament by von Soden, pp. 1456-1459 (cf. 1361-1400), 1786, with the Lucianic text of the Old Testament would undoubtedly yield a great number of other illustrations.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension der Königsbücher*, pp. 294 f.

and the Antiochian New Testament as constituting one revised Greek Bible are broader than these special observations, even though the latter are no doubt capable of being multiplied indefinitely. The two recensions were made at about the same time and at the same centre, and their principles and general character are identical. For the New Testament the comprehensive and elegant summary statement of Hort ('Introduction,' §187, pp. 134 f.) is familiar to all students; it might be expanded and elaborated, but can hardly be improved.<sup>1</sup> In the Old Testament for a number of books, historical, prophetic, and poetical, the Lucianic recension has now been studied and described, and the facts everywhere appear to be the same. Besides the attempt at closer approximation to the Hebrew text the chief features are conformation to the language of similar passages in nearer or remoter context, grammatical correction to a standard of forms and syntax, improvement in expression alike in order, diction, and style, with a view to greater smoothness, fulness, and intelligibility. Synonyms are substituted to suit the reviser's taste, particles changed or added; the text is often somewhat expanded, very rarely made shorter. There is not one of the well-known characteristics of the Antiochian New Testament which cannot be illustrated from the Old Testament of Lucian.<sup>2</sup>

The critical principles and the aim of the Antiochian revisers Sources. are plainly discernible from the result of their labours. Less easy to form, but for the purposes of critical study indispensable, is a judgment as to the basis of their work and the sources from which they drew their selection of readings. That they made some changes of their own, without older manuscript authority,

<sup>1</sup> See also von Soden's account, pp. 1456-1459, of the general character of the Antiochian recension, with many illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> On the characteristics of the Lucianic text of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, see C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, Chicago, 1910, pp. 106-109; for other books, W. O. E. Oesterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos*, 1902, pp. 61-67; Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 1911, pp. 171-183, 239-288, 294; Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, p. 231; Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, 1922, pp. 83-90; O. Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten*, 1910, pp. 79-87.

is commonly assumed, and their methods in the revision of the Old Testament make this probable; but the main substance of their text came from earlier sources.<sup>1</sup> The determination of these sources, and the discrimination of the inherited from the new readings, is made difficult by the almost complete lack of Greek manuscripts of unquestionably earlier date than the Antiochian recension, and by the vast influence which that recension presently came to exercise over the Greek text of the New Testament. We have already seen how hard it is to make sure whether the Greek codices  $\kappa$  and  $\Lambda$  are akin to the base of the Antiochian recension or have been influenced by the recension itself; and even in the case of C and 81 the question admits of argument. In Codex Bezae all agreements with the Antiochian require to be closely examined to see whether they are components of the 'Western' text or whether they owe their presence to the later chances which befell the text of that ms.

We may assume that the revisers worked, in part at least, on the basis of Greek mss. preserved at Antioch that represented such a text as had long been used in this great, rich, and active church, but no literary monuments from Antioch earlier than the time of Lucian are capable of aiding our inquiry. It may well happen, therefore, that readings now found only in the Antiochian recension,<sup>2</sup> or in texts dependent upon it, had been current in Antioch from the earliest times. Any reading, however, which is to be accepted as of this sort, must

<sup>1</sup> E. von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*, 4th ed., 1923, p. 8, may be deemed to go too far, if he means, as he seems to do, that all variant readings except 'Mischlesarten' must be assumed to have existed in the second century. Hort's statement, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, smaller edition, p. 549, is duly guarded: "The Syrian text has all the marks of having been carefully constructed out of materials which are accessible to us on other authority, and apparently out of these alone. All the readings which have an exclusively Syrian attestation can be easily accounted for as parts of an editorial revision"; this is consistent with his fuller discussion, 'Introduction,' pp. 132-135.

<sup>2</sup> In order to distinguish the Antiochian recension of the fourth century from the Old Antiochian text, it will be convenient sometimes from here on to designate the recension as 'Lucianic' not merely, as hitherto, for the Old Testament but also for the New Testament.



possess very strong internal credentials of genuineness. Readings peculiar to Lucian which are inherently improbable, and even those which are merely possible with nothing that positively recommends them, will have to be referred—provisionally at least—to the later recension. One case in which I am disposed to accept the Lucianic reading, in spite of a general consensus of Old Uncial authorities against it, may serve as an illustration. In Acts xvii. 14 *ἔως* (B<sup>2</sup>AC 81, omitted by D d gig) is superficially unobjectionable, but a consideration of the relation of the Lucianic *ὥς* to the statement of vs. 15 shows so interesting a meaning, and one so little obvious, that the argument from 'intrinsic probability' is very strong. Another case where Lucian, supported by Pap. 8 and the Sahidic, gives the right reading against both *ⲛ*A and B (which differ, C and 81 being here defective) is iv. 33 *τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*. Such cases, however, are rare in Acts. In iv. 17 the Lucianic addition of a Semitic *ἀπειλῇ* (cf. v. 28) appeals to the critic, but the possibility of an Old Antiochian dittography will make him hesitate to adopt it.<sup>1</sup>

The Antiochian recension bears a general similarity to the text of the Old Uncials. It differs from their text far less than from the 'Western,' and supports them against the 'Western' in many noteworthy readings; for instance xi. 20 *Ἑλληνιστᾶς* against *Ἕλληνας* of D (and A), or in all but a single word of the striking 'Western' rewriting of xviii. 5 f. Of this it is needless to multiply illustrations.

Relation t  
Old Uncia  
and to  
'Western'  
text.

But on the other hand the Antiochian recension of Acts

<sup>1</sup> In Acts xiii. 17 the omission of *Ἰερραήλ* by the Lucianic text in agreement with the Peshitto looks like an Old Antiochian reading, since the Lucianic rarely omits words; but the omission can hardly give the true text. Any single agreement of the Lucianic and the Peshitto need not point to influence from the recension upon the Syriac translation, for both may go back independently to ancient texts. Thus in Luke ii. 14 *εὐδοκία* was the reading not only of Lucian, with some of the Alexandrian uncials, but also of the Old Syriac (as found in the Diatessaron [Ephrem], the Sinaitic Syriac, Aphraates), and seems to me to be the true reading, in spite of the support given to *εὐδοκίας* by B<sup>2</sup>ⲛA, Origen, and the 'Western' text (D and all Latin witnesses); see J. H. Ropes, 'Good Will toward Men,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. x., 1917, pp. 52-58.

contains many agreements with the 'Western' text. In some instances these are found in conflate readings in which the revisers have united the Old Uncial and the 'Western.'<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Acts xx. 28 B  $\Sigma$  and others read τοῦ θεοῦ, the 'Western' reading was τοῦ κυρίου, while HLPS have combined these into τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ. Again, in xxviii. 14 the text of LP (but not HS) has ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι, which looks like a combination of the modified 'Western' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναντες with the Old Uncial (B $\Sigma$ A 066 81 boh) παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι, although the case is not so clear as in xx. 28.

In many other cases the Antiochian recension either has a 'Western' gloss, or other peculiarity, or else shows a text built up by modifying the basic 'Western' reading. Some examples of this from Acts are the following :

ii. 30 + τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστόν.

ii. 43 om ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φόβος τε ἦν μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας. (Here  $\Sigma$ AC seem to have the right reading; the Antiochian might have come from a text like B, but equally well from a 'Western' text.)

iv. 33 τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. (Here, as in ii. 43, the Antiochian sides with the general type of B and the 'Western,' not with the later text of  $\Sigma$ A.)

ix. 5 ὁ δὲ κύριος εἶπεν.

x. 32 + ὃς παραγενόμενος λαλήσει σοι.

xv. 37 ἐβουλεύσατο, for ἐβούλετο.

xviii. 5 πνεύματι, for λόγῳ. (The only reason for thinking this to be 'Western' is that it is found in the Harelean margin.)

xix. 1f. εὐρὼν . . . εἶπεν, for εὐρεῖν . . . εἶπέν τε.

xx. 24 οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν [μου]. (This is a modification of the 'Western' reading.)

xxiii. 11 + Παῦλε.

xxiii. 12 τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων, for οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

xxv. 16 + εἰς ἀπώλειαν.

xxvi. 25 om Παῦλος.

<sup>1</sup> Conflations appear to be much more numerous in the Lucianic Old Testament; see Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 192 ff.; Oosterley, *Amos*, p. 112.

xxvi. 28 γενέσθαι, for ποιῆσαι.

xxvi. 30 + καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ.

xxvii. 2 μέλλοντες, for μέλλοντι.

xxviii. 16 ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ ἐπετράπη, for ἐπετράπη δὲ τῷ Παύλῳ.

xxviii. 29 + καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὰν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν.

These examples, many of which are discussed in the Textual Notes of the present volume, and to which very many more might be added, will serve to illustrate the relationship. The not infrequent occurrence of small and unimportant agreements, as in some of the cases cited, suggests that either the Lucianic text or its Old Antiochian ancestor was a 'Western' copy imperfectly corrected to an Old Uncial standard, rather than an Old Uncial text interlarded with 'Western' readings. It is perhaps more likely that this operation had been performed in an ancestor than by the Lucianic revisers, for their own work rested mainly on a good Old Uncial text, with which they combined many important, not insignificant, 'Western' readings, and their resultant text includes vastly more from the Old Uncial text than from the 'Western.' They were engaged in preparing an exemplar from which copies should be made, not merely, as might have been true of more primitive hands, in bringing a valuable old copy up to date in accordance with a newly accepted standard.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the 'Western' readings found in the Antiochian recension, the Old Uncial base which the revisers used was evidently an excellent text.<sup>2</sup> With this conclusion correspond

<sup>1</sup> A. Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 1913, p. 122, expresses the opinion that the Lucianic revisers used the 'Western' text "for their usual base," and illustrates this (p. 120) by the readings in Luke xxiv. 53, where the 'Western' *αὐτοῦρες* is expanded by addition from the Old Uncial text into *αὐτοῦρες καὶ εὐλογοῦρες*. Acts xx. 28 τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ shows the same phenomenon. But in both instances a sensitive taste would in any case have preferred the order actually adopted.

<sup>2</sup> So B. Weiss, *Die Apostelgeschichte: textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*, p. 67.

the results of the criticism of the text of the Septuagint. In the Books of Kingdoms the Lucianic recension rested on a pre-hexaplaric text standing next to Codex Vaticanus and the Ethiopic version, and sometimes, though rarely, better than they.<sup>1</sup> In Ruth the same is true, and the pre-hexaplaric base was closely akin to B.<sup>2</sup> In the Psalter, passages are found where the Lucianic recension has a better reading than the agreeing texts of Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt (Codex B and the Bohairic), and the Old Latin. If in these cases the possibility is alleged that by their own correction the Lucianic revisers produced their superior text,<sup>3</sup> it is to be observed that the resemblances between the text of Lucian and the African Old Latin show that many Lucianic readings, not found in B, are in fact of ancient origin.<sup>4</sup> In the Prophets, the base of Lucian's text was of great antiquity, and akin to that of Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus, and the corresponding minuscules.<sup>5</sup> In Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (all drawn from Theodotion) the Lucianic text contains "valuable material not found elsewhere," and depends on a different type of Greek text from that of B and A. In 1 Esdras the Old Latin (African) adds its attestation to the antiquity of the base of the Lucianic recension.<sup>6</sup>

The Antiochian revision of the New Testament text deserves a fresh and penetrating investigation, which should aim at discriminating the new readings introduced by the revisers from the ancient base on which they worked, should try to determine the relative significance of the older texts they used, and in particular should inquire into the character of the text current in Antioch in the second and third centuries. A complete answer to these

<sup>1</sup> Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, pp. 290 f., 129 f.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, pp. 89 f.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, pp. 229-231 (§ 61, § 62. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Capelle, *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique*, pp. 198 f., 211.

<sup>5</sup> Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten*, 1910, p. 79; F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, 1894, pp. cxvi-cxvii; W. O. E. Oosterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos*, 1902, pp. 103-105.

<sup>6</sup> Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 101-106, 111.

important questions is hardly attainable, but neither the utter neglect of the Antiochian readings which has become common in the last generation, nor the method devised by von Soden of using it for constructing a text is a satisfactory solution of the problem which it presents.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

FROM the facts which have been presented and discussed it is now in place to try to sketch briefly the history of the text of Acts, as it appears to have run its course through the centuries. In such a reconstruction it will conduce to clearness if the statements are made for the most part positively, and without regard to the fact that hypotheses, not proved conclusions, sometimes underlie them. The reader who wishes to know the precise degree of probability which the statements possess, may be referred to the discussions of the preceding sections of this Essay.

The Book of Acts, written, we know not where, toward the end of the first century, was early separated from its companion volume of evangelical history, when the Gospel of Luke was united with those of Matthew, Mark, and John to form the canon of four Gospels; but Acts was preserved by being associated with that canon as the historical section of the sacred writings relating to the Apostolic Age. The text was, from the first, subject to the inevitable alterations which copying unsupervised by authority produced. On the basis of one of these slightly divergent copies, before the middle of the second century, the book was drastically rewritten to suit the taste of the time, and with special reference to easy fulness of the narrative. The hypothesis has been suggested above that this rewriting proceeded from the same circle as the primitive nucleus of the New Testament canon. That at least the Gospels were combined into one corpus, and equipped with their uniform titles, at not far from the same date as that at which the 'Western' text arose is generally admitted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Neuen Testaments,' in *Reden und Aufsätze*, vol. ii., 1904, p. 241, assigns the combination

Such a theory would dispel much of the mystery attending the position and influence of the 'Western' text in the second century, and against it no conclusive objection seems to present itself.<sup>1</sup> But it is insusceptible of direct proof, and could be taken out of the realm of the merely possible only by elaborate justification in many directions.

At any rate, the 'Western' text of Acts, whose origin, as Dr. Hort is said to have been in the habit of explaining, "is lost in the mists of a hoar antiquity," met the needs of its century, and was widely used. Carried to the East, it was the basis of the earliest Syriac translation, used in the fourth century in Mesopotamia; and probably before the end of the fourth century the Armenian version was made from a Syriac text largely or wholly 'Western' in character. Earlier, in the third century, it is found in Greek in Syria or Palestine. As late as the third or fourth century we have it in Egypt. On the other side of the world, the West received it in the second century, not many years after its creation, and the earliest Latin version, used in Africa, was made from it, while in the same period the 'Western' Greek text was used by the Greek colony of Lyons in Gaul. So far as

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of the Four Gospels in one collection to Asia Minor in the period 120-130: see also his full discussion, 'Das εὐαγγέλιον τετραμφορον,' in *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, vol. i., 1897, pp. 681-700, especially pp. 694, 699 f.; and *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4th ed., 1924, p. 784. He thinks that Acts was added much later, probably at Ephesus. See also J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i., 1907, pp. 149 f. Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 1901, p. 40, holds that in the period 80-110 the canon of Four Gospels and also the collection of thirteen epistles of Paul were formed and passed into liturgical use in the Gentile churches of the whole region from Antioch to Rome. He is doubtful whether Acts was widely used in church services at so early a date. See also *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i., 1889, pp. 941-950, where Zahn urges that the canon of Four Gospels was created at Ephesus in consequence of the composition of the Gospel of John.

<sup>1</sup> The argument of Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i., 1888, pp. 440-445, that the supposed formation of the New Testament canon in the years 160-180 would have required also the establishment at the same time of an authoritative Catholic recension of the text, which in fact did not then take place, is suggestive in this connexion. Zahn's polemic does not touch the question of such a relation of collection and text fifty years earlier.

our limited knowledge permits a judgment, the 'Western' text of Acts in the second century (and not much less completely in a large part of the third) swept the field—with the conspicuous exception of one locality, Alexandria.

text used  
Alex-  
andria.

At Alexandria, at least, not all the copies of the older text of Acts (from one form of which the 'Western' text was made) disappeared from use in the days of 'Western' dominance, as is probably shown by the undoubtedly non-western quotations in Clement of Alexandria; and we may detect a reaction at the time of Origen, and possibly under the influence of the attention given by him to Christian scholarship in that centre. How widely the non-western copies were used is not known, but in the third century older manuscripts of the 'Western' type began to be corrected by a different standard, though not without retaining fragmentary 'Western' survivals, readings which failed to be expunged by the correctors' pens. In the fair copies of these corrected manuscripts the resulting mixture preserved a record of what had taken place. To one such the Sahidic translation of Upper Egypt owed its origin, somewhere about the year 300. In the towns and villages of Egypt in the third century many copies may be supposed in use (and of this positive evidence is not wholly lacking) which conformed to Origen's text, not to the rewritten form previously so popular. By that time the star of the 'Western' rewritten text seems to have set for the Greek-speaking section of the Christian world.<sup>1</sup>

With Constantine the Church entered on a new era, and from the fourth century, when the systematic destruction of Christian books ceased, the sources flow more freely and the monuments are more abundant. Alexandria, still a great Christian centre, used a sound non-western text of Acts, but encouraged a limited modification and supposed improvement, and the copies used there showed a tendency to avoid singularities and to approach a fixed standard. Of the history of this text

<sup>1</sup> A knowledge, if it were available, of the text of Acts used in Caesarea in Palestine would perhaps show a parallel, but different, history.



the details are obscure, but its development, which included a disposition to adopt readings, and even to approve complete copies, of the text of Constantinople, continued until the downfall of Christian civilization under the Moslems in the seventh century, and for centuries beyond that disaster. From the fourth century we still have Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, superb copies made for great Egyptian churches, and the testimony of Athanasius; from the fifth century comes Cyril; from the sixth Cosmas; from the seventh a great monument in the Bohairic version; and from later ages important witnesses, not yet fully explored.

The great rival of Alexandria in Christian learning was Antioch. What text of Acts had been current there in the second and third centuries is not known, but about the year 300, under the leadership of Lucian, a text of the whole Greek Bible was produced at Antioch which contended with that of Alexandria for supremacy, and finally—in the New Testament—won the victory. Older copies were more or less successfully revised to conform to it, and vast numbers of new copies made. Combining in Acts an ancient text like that of Alexandria with a lesser proportion of 'Western' readings and some original revision, its merit lay in its fitness for the use of educated Christians, given through its care for grammar and style and its inclusiveness. An irresistible force in its behalf was the adoption of it by the capital, Constantinople, intellectually dependent on Antioch and increasingly for centuries the centre of the production of Bibles. We can trace this text from the Antiochian and Syrian Greek writings of the fourth century, from later fathers, from one sixth-century fragment, from excellent copies of the ninth (and perhaps the eighth) century, and from a host of copies of the long succeeding centuries in which it was almost completely dominant. The monks of Mount Athos made many hundred copies of it; it pervaded Greece and Asia Minor, and at an early date was not unknown, nor without influence, in Alexandria itself. It suffered some changes, the locality and date of which

Antiochian  
recension.

have not yet been fully elucidated, but the copies brought to the West when the Byzantine power collapsed in the fifteenth century were largely of this type. From them were drawn the earliest printed editions and their successors until the middle of the nineteenth century, and on the text of Antioch depend the great Protestant translations of Germany, France, and England. For the greater part of sixteen centuries it needed to fear no rival, and to-day it is read in some form by a great proportion of Christian people.

Text of  
Pamphilus  
and  
Eusebius.

From the time of its first circulation, however, the Antiochian text did not lack a competitor, even apart from Alexandria itself. At Caesarea in Palestine—where Origen took up his residence in 211-12—a definite tradition of the text of the New Testament had its seat, and in the early fourth century two Caesarean scholars who revered Origen—Pamphilus and Eusebius—promulgated an edition of the Bible which claimed superiority to the Antiochian recension. In the Book of Acts the nature of this Caesarean text—its relation to Origen, its component elements, and its history—is still a subject of inquiry, but in an ample body of manuscripts dating from the tenth century on there is contained a group of texts made up of excellent ancient readings, partly non-western, partly ‘Western,’ and mixed in various degrees with the Antiochian text of Constantinople, which may represent this attempt to counter the influence of Lucian. In its essential character the Lucianic text of Antioch may be regarded as not different from these other contemporary texts. Like them it consisted mainly of a combination of readings, drawn partly from such a text as that of Codex Vaticanus, partly from the ‘Western’ text. But, as it happened, to its particular combination, rather than to any other, went the palm in the rivalry of later texts.

Syriac  
versions.

If we turn from the history of the Greek text to that of the versions, we find the two great churches at the two ends of the Empire each with its own translation and its own history. For the old Syriac translation of Acts made from the ‘Western’ text

the Syrians of Edessa in the early fifth century, as a part of their great ecclesiastical version, the Peshitto, substituted a new translation in which Old Uncial and 'Western' readings alike are liberally represented. In the Syrian church, torn by faction and subject to a measure of alien Greek control, it is not surprising that in the sixth century a fresh effort was made to provide the great dissident Monophysite body with a different text, and again a century later to cement the union of the Monophysites of Mesopotamia with their 'faithful' brethren of Egypt by a further revision, which in fact brought their text into close harmony with that of Constantinople. Yet the ancient tradition of the Peshitto, beloved in spite of, perhaps because of, its antiquated differences from any Greek text, survived, and has held control to the present day in all branches of Syriac-speaking Christianity. But, by a happy chance, the apparatus of variants attached to the later form of the Monophysite revision has preserved a record of unmistakable 'Western' readings, precious though of uncertain immediate origin.

In the Latin church of the West the text of Acts had a history similar at the start to the Syrian but different in its outcome. Here likewise, in the second century and thus possibly even earlier than in Syria, a translation of Acts was made from a completely 'Western' Greek copy, was used perhaps first, certainly longest, in Africa, and received there no considerable modification from any other type of Greek text. In (probably) Sicily the Greek text on which it was founded was known and copied as late as the fifth century. This 'African' Latin version passed into Spain, entered into union with later Latin revisions, came to Languedoc, and affected the current text of that centre of far-reaching influences. Besides other changes it suffered an elaborate revision as early as the first half of the fourth century, both to improve its Latin phraseology and to bring it into accord with the non-western Greek text which increasing contact of East with West had made known to Latin-speaking scholars. This revision is well known to us from Codex Gigas and the quotations

Latin  
versions.

Vulgate.

of Lucifer of Cagliari; its use spread rapidly over the whole Occidental world from Toledo to Nish, and it was for many centuries current in Italy and Gaul. Whence was derived the Greek non-western text by which it was made is not known, but we may recall that for seven years, beginning about 340, Athanasius was in exile in the West, and that he spent the first three of these years in Rome. With the completion about 385 of Jerome's revision of the Latin New Testament, Rome for the first time definitely enters the history of the New Testament text of Acts. The Vulgate Acts rested on a form of the Latin version akin to that of Codex Gigas; the Greek text to which it was brought into close correspondence was that of Alexandria. The story has been told above of the manifold combination of Old Latin and Vulgate, and the diffusion of these mixed texts (with readings partly 'Western,' partly Alexandrian) from two centres, on the one hand from Ireland, by missionaries to France, the Rhine country, Switzerland, and North Italy, and on the other from Spain and Languedoc, through Provençal, Italian, Old German, and Bohemian daughter-translations, as well as in Latin texts. Italy supplemented its own copies with texts from Spain; in France Alcuin's revision of the Vulgate at least put an end to the use of the Old Latin and prepared the way for the composite Paris text of the thirteenth century, from which sprang the printed text, and finally, as the standard of the Roman Catholic Church, the Clementine printed edition.

The first contest in the history of the text of Acts was between the 'Western' text and what I have termed the 'Old Uncial.' Among the Greeks this struggle ended in the abandonment of the 'Western' text by reason of the early dominance of Alexandrian thought; in the West the result was a combination of the two texts, with later virtual elimination of 'Western' elements. The next great contest reflected the rivalry of Antioch and Alexandria. Antioch allied herself with Constantinople, and her text gained supremacy over both the text of Alexandria and the Caesarean text fathered by Eusebius. In modern times

the efforts of critical scholars have reversed the process, and brought Alexandria to her own again. Recent attempts to go still farther back and annul the verdict of ancient Christian history by preferring the 'Western' to the Old Uncial text seem to me to have been unsuccessful, even in the modified form of an attempt to treat both these ancient texts as coeval and as equally the work of the original author of the book.

Many defects appear in any attempt to draw up an account of this history under the present conditions of knowledge. The outlines are often too sharp, the contrasts harsh, and the definitions too narrow; while lack of available information often requires statements to be painfully guarded, and blurred with qualifications which do injustice to the relations which fuller knowledge would elucidate. But enough is known to make it evident that a comprehensible historical process has here gone on, in which all the witnesses had their due position,<sup>1</sup> and which followed and reflected significant movements of Christian life and thought. The history of the text of the New Testament is the illustration in a single field of the general history of the Christian Church, to serve which the text was formed.

<sup>1</sup> A diagram intended to show the relation of the several witnesses in one case where the evidence lends itself to such presentation will be found below on p. 260.

## 7. THE METHOD OF CRITICISM

THE history of the New Testament text, while interesting in itself as a fragment of church history, is primarily studied in order to aid in the practice of textual criticism and the recovery of the original text from the divergent witnesses. The incidental observations already made on the use of the materials of textual criticism in Acts may here be briefly resumed.

**Antiochian.** 1. In the first place it may be taken as accepted that the Antiochian recension, in so far as it contained new readings of the Lucianic revisers, was wrong, and that when it agrees with older types of text it can rarely add any weight to the evidence of the latter. In a few cases it may contain ancient readings not otherwise attested, which yet commend themselves for acceptance as right; hence its readings require to be studied, but they will very seldom be adopted. When its true form has been established, the later developments of its text become of merely historical interest; but the copies containing these can be definitely and completely excluded from consideration only when their relation to one another and to the fourth-century recension itself has been fully worked out.

**'Western.'** 2. The 'Western' text has come down to us only in fragments, in consequence of the complete disuse into which, relatively early, it fell in every region to which it penetrated. It can be fully used only when it is reconstructed and restored, for by reason of its nature as a free recasting of the original the comparison of isolated variants without their 'Western' context often fails to reveal their true significance. In the recovery of it Codex Bezae, unsatisfactory and often misleading as is its testimony, is necessarily the starting-point; next in importance come the Harclean

Syriac apparatus and the Old Latin versions, by the aid of which the 'Western' elements of the Greek I-codices can be identified; in addition every scrap of scattered evidence has to be gathered and scrutinized where better lights fail. The talk often heard of great unexplored resources for the New Testament text lying unused in the mass of Greek minuscules is justified chiefly with regard to these I-codices, which seem to rest on one or more combinations of the most ancient text with the 'Western' text. The group, or a part of it, may owe its unity to descent from the Caesarean edition of Eusebius, and may contain genuine readings attested but slightly, or not at all, elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

As has been emphasized at greater length above, the significance of the 'Western' text lies in its antiquity. Its confirmation of readings of the Old Uncial text is valuable, for, when its own readings can be certainly ascertained, they carry back the evidence to the early second century. And it is probable that sometimes—less often, however, in Acts than in the Gospels—an ancient reading embedded in it can be recognized which on internal grounds approves itself as better than the reading of its usually more trustworthy rival.

3. For our chief source of knowledge we are thus thrown Old Uncial on the text of the Old Uncial group,<sup>2</sup> represented in greatest purity, so far as is at present known, by Codices B<sup>2</sup> & A<sup>2</sup> C 81, but also found in a series of minuscules in which the mixture with Antiochian readings does not preclude the recognition of excellent

<sup>1</sup> In two of these mss. (1852 [α 114] and 2138 [α 116]), whose eleventh-century text was not known until the publication of von Soden's apparatus, Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1915, pp. 534-542, has made the extraordinary and suggestive discovery of a reading, probably genuine, in 1 John v. 18, hitherto known in no Greek ms., but found in the Vulgate and Latin fathers, namely *ἡ γεννησὶς* for *ο γεννησας*. This reading makes sense in a difficult passage where no other reading is tolerable; and the change involved only the alteration of one letter (-ΘΕΙC, -ΘΕΙC) together with the resulting adjustment of the article from *ἡ* to *ο*. The two mss. are at Upsala and Moscow. This is not the only noteworthy reading contained in the Upsala ms.; the testimony of the latter is not given in full by von Soden.

<sup>2</sup> Compare what is said by Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, pp. 149 ff., with reference to the text of the Greek Old Testament.

ancient elements as well. These latter need to be investigated, and their non-antiochian readings carefully studied, especially in order to discover evidence that apparently 'singular' readings of the five chief mss. do not really stand alone, and also to find out whether any groups in which the minuscules share are of signal excellence and authority. Here again something may be recovered from the unexplored resources of minuscules, but the result will make no revolution in criticism.

Rules of  
criticism.

In the study of the five chief members of this group, four of them (B $\times$ AC) being the oldest representatives of it, it has appeared that Codex Vaticanus, when its readings have any other support within the group of five and when they can be tested by internal evidence, is generally right. Consequently we are left to follow it also in those non-singular variant readings where internal evidence gives little or no aid. But when B stands alone, or with very weak support, it seems to be more often wrong than right. The main labour in the actual construction of a text of Acts from the materials at present available will consist in the comparison of the readings of B $\times$ AC 81 in the moderate number of instances in which they depart from one another, and especially in those cases in which two or three of them agree in their support of a variant. When one of the four  $\times$ AC 81 goes its own way, its variant reading hardly ever commends itself for acceptance.

The result of such a procedure will be a text more like Codex Vaticanus than like any other single ms., but it will depart from B at many points. The preservation in this codex of a text so little retouched and representing so excellent an exemplar of the earliest period is a piece of good fortune which could not have been anticipated, but which in view of all that we know of the history is entirely comprehensible. The view that B has this superior character requires no incredible assumptions. In spite of the best critical efforts the result of the process of criticism here indicated will include erroneous readings which we have no means of detecting, but if Codex Vaticanus had not been preserved the number of these would have been still greater.



The conclusions thus arrived at are substantially those of Westcott and Hort, whose text, however, seems to the present writer to follow B too closely in readings where B stands alone, and to neglect some few indications of better readings which can be derived from 'Western' evidence. The method of von Soden, who tried to determine the three texts of Alexandria (Hesychius), Eusebius, and Lucian, and then treated these three as independent of one another, so that the vote of any two of them was to be taken as decisive for their underlying earlier common base, seems to me an untrustworthy guide, although it has led to a result not very different from that produced by what appears a sounder process. The fundamental defects of von Soden's method are two : (1) He failed to treat the second-century 'Western' text as a real thing, to be reconstructed from all the evidence, and missed the true character of the I-codices (Eusebian ?) as including a mixture of two elements ('Western' and 'Old Uncial'), both very ancient but quite disparate. In consequence his mode of using the I-text is misleading. What his I-text really gives is (a) evidence as to the 'Western' rewriting, often of unique value ; (b) evidence of ancient non-western readings which represent a lost ms. or mss. of uncertain age, parallel to the Old Uncial codices, but not necessarily independent of their text. (2) He aimed to treat the Antiochian text as representing an ancient type equal in weight to the old Alexandrian and the Eusebian. But here again his authority is mixed, containing in fact not only original and authentic readings but also a 'Western' strain and a new Lucianic element, and these untrustworthy components can be excluded from consideration chiefly by noting agreements of the Antiochian text with the Old Uncials. Even if ancient Antiochian readings departing from all, or from one sub-group, of the Old Uncials can sometimes be identified, these merely represent a lost second-century or third-century ms. parallel to the (somewhat younger) Old Uncial codices, not necessarily independent of their text, and by no means necessarily better. Such readings merely signify that another important Old Uncial witness has been added

to our resources, to be treated in just the same way as the several witnesses to the Old Uncial text already at the disposal of criticism, and with no greater reverence than is accorded to these latter. The study of the extant Old Uncials shows that von Soden's assumption of a single Alexandrian recension, which we can reconstruct from divergent witnesses, is a fallacy. What we have to do is to recover as many second-century readings, not due to the 'Western' rewriting, as we can, and to compare them with one another. The double assumption underlying von Soden's system was that all the extant Old Uncials are derived from a particular form of the second-century text, and that the ancient Antiochian text rested on a ms. independent of that particular form ; and this twofold assumption cannot safely be made.

## 8. TASKS

IN the preparation of an Essay like the present many topics arise on which the necessary information for a statement of the facts is not available, and many questions occur to which an answer would be desirable. In a large proportion of these problems a solution could be reached by sufficient expenditure of time and effort. Some of the problems are comprehensive, and require long research and all the resources of matured knowledge and judgment, others are of limited range and would form good tasks for the training of younger scholars. A service may perhaps be rendered by the following list of tasks to the performance of some of which it is hoped that this volume will prove an incentive. The list is extensive, but makes no claim to completeness. It would be gratifying if the present work could be followed by a series of studies, longer and shorter, dealing with further problems of the text of Acts, by many hands and in various languages, and it is my confident expectation that in one form or another provision could be made for the publication of such supplementary studies.

### I. GREEK CODICES AND TEXTS

1. A renewed and thorough general study, with the aid of modern palaeographical, and especially philological, knowledge of each of the uncials B<sup>1</sup>AC. This is peculiarly needed for Codex Alexandrinus, but equally for Codex Vaticanus.

2. The correctors of  $\kappa$  and the aims and standards of their work.

3. The singular readings of  $\kappa$ AC 81.

4. A more thorough investigation of the readings of the Old Uncial sub-groups, including the testimony of Cod. 1175 (Patmos), 33 (formerly 13; Paris), 326 (formerly 33; Lincoln College, Oxford).

5. The group  $\aleph A$  81; why does it so often oppose BC, and why is it so often in agreement with the Antiochian?

6. In general, all the questions relating to the Old Uncial text of Acts raised and discussed in the foregoing Essay need to be more thoroughly examined, with such a fresh assemblage of the facts as can easily be made from the present volume.

7. Thorough palaeographical, and especially philological, study of Codex Bezae, and particularly a definitive examination of the corrections and notes of that codex.

8. The non-western readings now found in D; from what type of text were these derived?

9. How much of the text of D is probably in fact due to the influence of the Latin parallel, and how much of the supposed latinization must be regarded as doubtful?

10. Study of the I-codices, in groups containing many or few. Photographs of most of these can easily be obtained.

11. From these I-codices, as now known in published apparatus, a full (not necessarily perfectly complete) assemblage of the Greek 'Western' fragments that can be identified, using as criteria the approximate agreement of readings with D, with the Harclean apparatus, and with the Old Latin, Peshitto, and Sahidic, as well as their internal character. This is greatly needed as a check on the evidence of D, and for confirmation and improvement of the 'Western' text printed by Zahn.

12. A closer detailed search in the 'Western' text for the indication of the readings of its ancient pre-western base.

13. The exploration of the 'Western' text for instances of knowledge of Hebrew or of Palestinian conditions.

14. The character of the Old Antiochian text used as the basis of the Lucianic recension. What were the relations of its Old Uncial element to the several extant mss. of the Old Uncial group?

15. In general, a thorough analysis of the Antiochian recension in Acts.

16. The history of the text of Acts as found in Greek lectionaries ; and the same for Latin lectionaries.

17. A study of the forms and spelling of proper names in the various types of New Testament text, with tabulation of facts observed, and with use of recent studies of the proper names of the LXX.

18. The ever-recurring problem of Euthalius and his text.

19. The prefaces to Acts, including that published by E. von Dobschütz in the *American Journal of Theology*, vol. II., 1898, pp. 353-387.

## II. VERSIONS

20. Does the African Latin in Acts show any relation to the Antiochian recension, as it does in some Old Testament books ?

21. A complete investigation of the Greek text of Acts represented by Codex Gigas.

22. Does the Greek text of the 'Western' element in the text of Gigas differ at all from the Greek source of the African Latin ?

23. A study of the relation of the Latin translations of the Gospels to the translations of Acts, especially with relation to Codex Gigas.

24. The Armenian version and the Greek text underlying it.

25. A detailed and complete study of the Peshitto of Acts.

26. The text (in distinction from the apparatus) of the Harlean Syriac. This ought to elicit some 'Western' readings unmarked with an asterisk and overlooked in the apparatus to the present volume.

27. The Georgian version and its underlying Greek.

28. The Ethiopic version (first of all with use of the oldest Paris ms.) and its underlying Greek.

29. The Old Bohemian version and its 'Western' elements.

## III. PATRISTIC PROBLEMS

30. The text of Chrysostom in Acts.

31. The text of other Greek fathers of the fourth and subsequent centuries.

32. Examination of the relation of the Didascalia and Apostolic Constitutions for the text of other books in the light of the observations presented above relating to the text of Acts.

33. The text of Augustine. (The index to the Vienna edition of the *Epistolae* now furnishes new resources.)

34. The history of the Latin text of Acts as illustrated by Latin fathers after Cyprian.

## EXPLANATORY NOTE TO TEXT, APPARATUS, AND TEXTUAL NOTES

THE text of the Book of Acts is printed below from Codex Vaticanus and Codex Bezae on opposite pages. The apparatus attached to these continuous texts is not intended to provide a complete statement of all known various readings, but is rather regarded as a series of textual investigations, made on the basis of the well-known comprehensive collections of readings, together with some parts of the evidence for the 'Western' text which can with advantage be separately exhibited in this manner. The arrangement of the whole and the judgment in details, especially in the omission of certain classes of facts, have been guided by the purpose of providing means for historical study and for criticism of the text; purely linguistic or palaeographical ends have sometimes been disregarded. In accordance with this principle variants of spelling have in most cases been deliberately neglected in the apparatus, although the actual spelling of Codices B and D and of the Latin Codices d and h has been carefully followed in the continuous texts.

1. *Codex Vaticanus*.—The text of Codex Vaticanus has been supplied with punctuation, capitals, accents, etc., and abbreviations for *nomina sacra* and the like have been resolved, so as to form a readable text, but the spelling as printed is exactly as it comes to us from the first hand, with the exception of a few changes which are all carefully indicated. Much of the spelling of Codex B which looks strange to the modern reader, because it violates the rules of the later Greek grammarians, consists merely of irregularities common in the fourth century, which the scribe, if confronted with them, would probably have been disposed to defend. In certain instances, however, he has apparently committed indefensible blunders or omissions. These are corrected in our text (angular brackets [ $< >$ ] being used to indicate omissions supplied), and a very few changes of spelling have been made (chiefly in cases of confusion of  $\upsilon$  and  $\omicron$ ) where the irregular spelling is a serious obstacle to the modern reader's understanding, and would perhaps have been deemed wrong by a fourth-century corrector if he had noticed it.

Twice (xviii. 2 *κλαυδιον*; xxv. 24 *ζην*) whole words necessary to the sense were omitted. In the few cases (less than twenty-five in the whole of Acts) where blunders not by omission have been observed and are corrected in the text, the reading of the ms. is recorded in the line immediately following the text. The insignificant number of such instances will indicate the conservative practice of the editor in making corrections, as well as in adding letters in the text, and itself attests the care and intelligence with which the codex was written. About half of the blunders thus noted are actually corrected in the ms. by B<sup>1</sup> or B<sup>2</sup>, and some of these corrections ought probably to be credited to the account of the original scribe. Readings manifestly wrong but which make sense are retained in the text, as in x. 37 *κηρυγμα* for *βαπτισμα*, although in this particular instance the spelling of the printed text is corrected to read *κηρυγμα*. In proper names the spelling of the ms. has been given without change, even when inconsistent with the scribe's usual habit.

Where the first hand of B has corrected his own work, his corrected form has been adopted. The corrections of B are not at present satisfactorily understood, and call for a renewed study, which can only be made from the pages of the ms. itself; even the latest facsimile does not suffice for this purpose. Corrections ascribed to B<sup>2</sup> by the Roman editors have been neglected as too late to be significant for our purpose, but those which they assign to B<sup>2</sup> (apart from mere spelling) have been mentioned in the apparatus with the variants of the Old Uncial group. Where Tischendorf's positive judgment differed from that of the Roman editors with regard to these corrections, that fact has been noted. It is probable that in some cases a competent fresh study of the corrections would lead to different conclusions from those now current.

The division into verses has been made to correspond with that of Stephen's edition of 1551.

It should be observed that the method of printing the text of Codex Vaticanus here adopted, while deemed useful for study and well adapted to the present purpose, is not recommended as a good way to prepare a critical text for general use.

2. *Editors' Readings.*—In the first section of the apparatus are noted those readings of Westcott and Hort ('WH') and von Soden ('Soden') which depart from B. The former give virtually the minimum of necessary departure from B; while the text represented by the latter was formed on a different principle from that of Westcott and Hort, and of its relation to Westcott and Hort's text no full statement is elsewhere accessible. To these has been added (with the symbol 'JHR') mention of readings in departure from B which commend themselves to the author of the present volume (not necessarily, however, to the Editors of *The Beginnings of*



*Christianity*). This last series of readings is not sufficient for the formation of a critical text, for which many further questions of spelling, punctuation, etc., would have to be taken into account. The confidence with which the preferences are offered varies greatly in the different cases, as will be gathered from the Textual Notes in which many of them are discussed. Those not referred to in the Notes are usually cases where B stands alone, with little or no support from other authorities.

For a new critical text the time will not be ripe until the 'I-codices'<sup>1</sup> are more completely known and studied, and until the versions have been exhaustively compared and investigated.

The only other recent independent text which might have been included in this portion of the apparatus is that of Bernhard Weiss, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix., 1893. But this rests on principles not essentially different from those of Westcott and Hort, and is easily accessible in the apparatus to Nestle's edition of the New Testament, so that it seemed best not to make the apparatus more complicated by adding a record of Weiss's departures from B.

3. *Old Uncial Text*.—The second section of the apparatus records the variants from B of the group of codices  $\aleph$ AC 81, together with the corrections ascribed to B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> and the variants of those small fragments (see pp. cxx ff.) which clearly represent this type of text. The fragments included are Pap<sup>8</sup>, Pap<sup>38</sup>, 066, 076, 095, 096, 0165, 0175, Wess<sup>59c</sup>. The relation of these readings to Codex Bezae is added, with '(+D)' to denote complete, and '(cf. D)' to indicate substantial, agreement. But it must be remembered that these statements of relation to D include only cases where the Old Uncial authorities are divided by a variation within the group. Agreement of D with the whole group is not recorded here. The variants of  $\aleph$ AC 81 and of the fragments are given completely, except that manifest blunders (e.g. xiii. 13  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\nu$   $\aleph$ ; xiv. 10  $\sigma\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma$  A; i. 21  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$  for  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$  C; xi. 12  $\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu$  for  $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$  81) are usually omitted and variations of mere spelling and grammatical form (e.g.  $\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$ ;  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ) consistently neglected. Thus in numerous cases the characteristic habit of the scribe of 81 of adding  $-\nu$  to the accusative (e.g. xiv. 12  $\delta\iota\alpha\nu$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha$ ) is not mentioned.

In some cases it has been necessary, for the sake of simplicity and clearness, to treat a group of codices as united in the support of a variant where in fact there are among them slight differences of spelling which are not mentioned (e.g. xvi. 25  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  B $\aleph$ A 81  $\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  C) merely means that B $\aleph$ A 81 agree in lacking the article; in fact B spells the name here  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\aleph$ A  $\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ ). In general the spelling followed in this portion of the apparatus is that of B, and

<sup>1</sup> As von Soden states (pp. 1686-1688), his collation of these codices was only partial.

cannot be relied on as indicating the spelling of the other mss. of the group, save where for some special reason that is noted. In all these matters it has been kept in view that this is an *investigation*, not a comprehensive apparatus like that of Tischendorf, and that this aim dictates the greatest simplicity compatible with full information. I do not think that these omissions need cause the student to distrust the apparatus as an instrument for the purpose for which it is constructed.

The earliest corrections of the codices of the group are given ( $\aleph^a \aleph^c A^2 C^3$ ), but not the later ones; corrections by the first hand are adopted, without special mention, as the reading of the ms. (e.g. xvii. 24, where  $A^*$  at first omitted  $\sigma$  before  $\pi\omicron\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  and then supplied it). It is not impossible that  $\aleph^a$  represents corrections made by the original scribe. The complicated possibilities in the case of corrections can be but imperfectly exhibited in an apparatus like the present one.

Codex 33 (formerly 13) might have been included with the Old Uncial group, but its text is much more diluted with Antiochian readings than that of 81, and it is easily accessible in Tregelles. It has accordingly seemed best to avoid a further complication of this apparatus by an addition which would have made necessary the mention of many irrelevant readings.

The apparatus relates to the text of B as printed, without usually making reference (except in recording corrections of  $B^1$  and  $B^2$ ) to the blunders mentioned in the line below the text or to the omitted letters supplied in the text.

4. *Antiochian Text.*—The section of the apparatus giving the readings in which the Antiochian text departs from Codex Vaticanus is constructed on the same plan as the Old Uncial section, and the same warnings apply as to its limitations and its use. Here, as there, blunders are generally not mentioned, spelling is not usually recorded, and the basis of comparison is the slightly corrected form of Codex Vaticanus as printed on the page. The mss. chosen as witnesses to the Antiochian text (see pp. xx-xxi) are SHLP. The readings of S have been drawn from a photograph,<sup>1</sup> those of P from Tischendorf's edition. H and L are accurately known from Tischendorf and Tregelles. The readings of the sixth-century fragment 093 (Acts xxiv. 22-26, 27) are also included. In Acts i. 1-ii. 13, where P is lacking, the readings of 102 are given; and in i. 1-v. 28, where H is lacking, those of 462. These two minuscules are excellent copies of the same recension as SHLP, and are

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the ms. is mutilated in Acts i. 11-14, xii. 15-19, xiii. 1-3, and the photograph was illegible in a very few words elsewhere. In S a few corrections are to be found, which have not usually been mentioned in the apparatus. S shows a tendency to omit final  $\rightarrow$ , writing, for instance,  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ .

adequately known from the apparatus of Matthäi's New Testament (Riga, 1782). H is also defective in various other briefer sections (see above, pp. xx-xxi); as is L in i. 1-viii. 10 (as far as *εστιν* η). The extraordinary uniformity, however, with which the Antiochian text was copied for many centuries renders of little moment this variation in the attestation used for the apparatus. In this apparatus silence of course means agreement with my (slightly corrected) printed text of Codex Vaticanus, in so far as the witnesses regularly adduced for the Antiochian text are extant.

For convenience of comparison the variants from B of the Textus Receptus are included in this section of the apparatus with the symbol 'ς', although they do not represent the precise type of SHLP. The text used for collation is that of Stephanus, 1550, as given in Scrivener's New Testament, 4th edition, London and Cambridge, 1906.

5. *Codex Bezae (Greek)*.—In printing the Greek text of Codex Bezae the same principles have been followed as with Codex Vaticanus. The manifest blunders, however, corrected in the text but recorded in the lines immediately following it, are far more numerous. As in the case of Codex Vaticanus the course pursued has been highly, perhaps excessively, conservative. Many readings which are undoubtedly wrong, including most of those due to the adjustment of the Greek to the Latin side, have been permitted to stand, on the ground that although contrary to Greek idiom they do not produce utter nonsense. In a number of cases (some being due to the contamination of D from a non-western text) impossible readings, mostly cases where the correction is not at first sight evident, have been permitted to stand in the text, but with an obelus (†). The number of such obeli might perhaps have been made greater with advantage. The spelling of Codex Bezae has been carefully preserved except where changes are expressly noted. In many of his aberrations the scribe was doubtless following faithfully the archaic text of his exemplar, but in some cases, especially in inflexional endings, his spelling is so disturbing to the modern reader that it seemed worth while to emend it (never without due notice). Letters which presumably once stood in the text, but are no longer legible, either through accident or by intentional erasure, are enclosed in square brackets []. For this the statements of Scrivener's notes have been carefully studied. These are to be carefully distinguished from omitted necessary letters which never stood in the text of the ms. but have been added in angular brackets <>. Abbreviations are generally resolved without special note. Interlinear letters apparently by the original scribe and printed by Scrivener have been adopted as a proper part of the text; the corrections of later scribes are not referred to. The

peculiarities of Codex Bezae are extensively discussed in the Textual Notes.

Where Codex Bezae is defective, such Greek readings as can be shown to be probably variations of the 'Western' text from the Old Uncial text have been collected and printed. This material has been drawn mainly from minuscules, but occasionally from the Antiochian uncials, from Pap<sup>29</sup> NAC, and from Greek patristic citations. In this way, where D is lacking, an unexpectedly large part of the Greek text of specifically 'Western' readings attested by the Latin side of D, by h, by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Irenaeus, and especially by the marginal glosses and asterisked words of the Harclean Syriac, has been recovered. All discoverable Greek readings which are attested, as just stated, by these almost or quite purely 'Western' witnesses have been printed for the sections in question. In addition, for these sections, search has been made in the minuscules, as cited by von Soden, for Greek readings which the mixed texts of the Latin and the Peshitto show to be probably 'Western', and this search has not been unfruitful for these pages. Probably more remains to be gathered, especially by further eliciting the 'Western' element of the Antiochian text through careful comparison with the Latin, Syriac, and Sahidic versions. It is evident that a great amount of 'Western' text lurks in the minuscules of the I-groups, now made in a large degree accessible by the apparatus of von Soden, and much of it can be securely discovered by skilful comparison of the versions named, together with the Armenian, which I have not used. The same process ought also to be applied to the Greek text of Codex Bezae itself, in order now to confirm and now to forbid the acceptance of it as giving the 'Western' text. A foundation for such study has been laid in Zahn's *Urausgabe*, and many matters of this nature will be found discussed in my Textual Notes.

In my attempt to collect 'Western' readings in the sections mentioned I have not paid attention to probable 'Western' variations in the order of words. It is possible that these can sometimes be detected in the minuscules. I have also refrained from drawing inferences as to 'Western' variants in the more common conjunctions (*καί*, *τε*, *δέ*), since these are so frequently altered in the versions.

There is need of a fresh investigation of the extent to which the 'Western' text in these sections positively agreed with the Old Uncial text, since only variations from the latter are indicated in the readings I have given.

The lemmata used to show the points of reference of the variations are, of course, drawn from the text of Codex Vaticanus.

6. *Codex Bezae* (Latin).—The text of d has been printed with

division of words, but with no attempt to suggest correction of its errors, and in its native spelling, without resolution of abbreviations, and without the use of capitals or punctuation to aid the reader. For the purposes of textual criticism (as distinguished from the study of the history of the Latin version) it is, in fact, chiefly, though not quite exclusively, valuable for its aid in understanding the Greek pages of Codex Bezae. One problem in printing it with division of words is an occasional haplography, by which a letter is omitted, thus xi. 23 *adnm* for *ad n̄m*; xxi. 20 *sanguistephani* for *sanguis stephani*. A few words once present but now destroyed have been supplied in square brackets [ ].

7. 'Western' Apparatus.—It has not been practicable to print an apparatus for the 'Western' text similar to those presented for the Old Uncial and Antiochian texts. All the Greek mss. which contain 'Western' elements are highly mixed, and the same is true of nearly all the Latin texts, as well as of the other versions. The variants from Codex Vaticanus of the Peshitto and Sahidic versions have been analysed, and are exhibited in Appendices III. and IV. To try to select and print the 'Western' readings of the Old Latin would involve a judgment, often of a doubtful nature, on every case, and the result would be misleading. The student must here have recourse for himself to the apparatus of Wordsworth and White, as he must for the Greek evidence to that of Tischendorf and of von Soden. Indeed, one object of the plan adopted for the 'Western' page is to discourage the idea that (except h) any single Latin ms. of Acts, such as g<sup>ig</sup>, can be treated as if it could give by itself, apart from comparison with other authorities, direct evidence of the 'Western' text. The student must consider, as the 'Western' evidence, nothing less than the *whole apparatus* of Wordsworth and White, together with the versions in other languages.

In default, therefore, of pure 'Western' Greek and Latin mss. (other than h) it has seemed well to bring together some of the chief evidence of other kinds which can be trusted. This is the more useful that a part of it is not elsewhere so conveniently accessible in a simple form.

8. Codex h.—Codex h (the Fleury palimpsest) is virtually purely 'Western' in its fragments of Acts. First deciphered by Berger, then more fully by Buchanan with the advantage of Berger's previous reading, again examined a second time by Buchanan and inspected at doubtful points by other scholars, the text of this difficult palimpsest is even now not known with perfect certainty, although there is agreement as to most of its readings (see above, pp. cvi-viii). In every line, moreover, the trimming of the pages makes supplementary conjecture necessary. The text printed below has been formed by careful consideration of the probabilities furnished by

all the available evidence. Words and letters in square brackets [ ] are conjectures to fill the lacunae of the ms.; for these Buchanan's proposals have usually, but not always, been found acceptable. Mention should be made of Souter's happy conjecture *co[nsecutus]* in xxvi. 22. Where the conjectures adopted are not obvious, the reader must weigh them for himself. The more difficult conjectures are often mentioned in the Notes. In a few instances an erroneous letter cancelled, probably by the first hand, in the ms. has been omitted from a word, but otherwise the spelling of the ms., however strange, has been preserved. The sporadic punctuation of the ms. has not usually been reproduced.

It is worth mention that the readings of h in Wordsworth and White were necessarily drawn from Berger, and that von Soden follows them in neglect of Buchanan's publication.

The following substantial differences between the readings and conjectures of Buchanan and of Berger deserve mention. Some of the readings here attributed to Buchanan are those of his later correction (see above, p. cvi note 2), not of his edition. Many differences not here noted are due to the fact that Buchanan was able to read much more than Berger could do; in such cases Berger's conjectures have usually been confirmed. For the study of minor details of spelling, where Berger and Buchanan differ in their reading, the information given in the present volume is not sufficient and recourse must be had to the original publications. Buchanan also reports the corrections by various hands now found in the ms.

## CODEX h

	BERGER	BUCHANAN
iii. 4	ad[stans dixit]	adspic[e inquit]
12	dixit	et dixit
14	et petistis	et vos petestis
15	[autem vitae . . . . .] lign[o [intere]m[istis]	autem vi[tae s]uspendentes occidistis
16	supel[r]	supra
22	[me ipsu]m [au]di[etis]	me eum vos audituri
24	[et per]	[et pro]
iv. 3	tenuerunt	et tenuerunt
9	[hodie] rogamus	[hodie inter]rogamus
14	agnosce[bant e]os	agnosce[bant e]is
15	[adse]cuti	[con]lo[cuti]
17	[dentu]r	[divulgatu]r
v. 26	n[on]	n[on vero]
29	ad il[los]	ad il[lum]
34	mi[nimum d]uci	mi[nistris d]uci
41	e [con]spectu]	et conspe[ctu]
42	a[utem]	atquae

	BERGER	BUCHANAN
vi. 1	d[espicer]entur	discupierentur
7	discentiu[m nimis]	discentiu[m valde]
7	[f]id[ei]	fid[em]
12	[populu]m	[plebe]m
13	[defi]cit	[quies]cit
15	[qui sedeb]ant	[qui er]ant
ix. 4	[.]vere	[pa]vore
9	triduum n[o]n	tridum nihil
10	respon[dit quis] e[s]	respon[dens ait i]ta
18	untus	tintus
21	ut finctos	uti victos
xiv. 6	civita[tes] . . . . . lys]tra	civitates sicut ihs dixerat eis LK[XII in lys]tra
7	et motum	ut motum
8	in[validus pedibus]	languid[us pedibus]
8-9	[ti]more[m di] hio	[ti]morem hio
9	[paulum incipientem]	apostolos in[cipientes]
9-10	sal[varet eu]m di[xit]	salvaretur clamans dixit ei
10	am[bula] et con[festim]	amvula et ille infirmus
11	[turbæ autem videntes]	et turbæ videntes quod fe[cit]
	q[uæ fecit]	
12-13	[mer]curiu[m sacerdos autem jovis qui] in [p]or[ticu] ci[vitatis]	[mer]curium quoniam ipse erat princeps verborum et [ad portam]
14	ail [. . . . .]s	suum vestimentum accurrentes
15	[con]vertamini	[ut con]vertamini
17	[invi]sibilem	[int]estabilem
19	[illos ho]mines	[illis ho]minib-
20	[cum surre]xisset	[cum disce]xisset
xviii. 5	fier[ent verba]	fier[et verbum]
6	[gentes]	[nationes]
8	[cum multus]	[quomodo mult]a
17	[percuss]erunt	[cecid]erunt
xxiii. 15	rogamus [uti]	rogamus vos
19	[ante homi]nes	[apud om]nes
xxvi. 24	[et o]lamavit	exolamavit
28	[agri]ppa	[qui] ita
xxvii. 8	lege[bamus u]nde venimus	legē[tes oret]en devenimus
9	paucos	plures
13	[cum flaret]	[dum fiat]

In xxvii. 7 Buchanan, in his final judgment, reads *aliquos [dies]*, agreeing with Berger's original reading (from which, however, at the suggestion of Corssen, Berger afterward receded). Burkitt, however, after examining the ms., is sure that it reads *aliquod [tempus]*.

9. *Tertullian; Irenaeus; Cyprian; Augustine.*—In the passages cited from the church fathers those words which are not part of the quoted text of Acts are enclosed in square brackets.

The text of TERTULLIAN used is that of the Vienna Corpus so far as it is available, elsewhere that of Oehler. The mere allusions of Tertullian have not been given; for them recourse must be had to Ronsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's*, 1871.

For IRENAEUS the courtesy of the publishers and editor of *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*, Oxford, 1923, has permitted the use of the text contained in that volume. Greek fragments are quoted, so far as extant, in addition to the Latin. For renderings of the Armenian text of Irenaeus's quotations from Acts, see Conybeare in *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*, pp. 270 f., 288. A few brief allusions by Irenaeus (e.g. v. 32, 2 to Acts vii. 5), chiefly significant for the Latin words used and not for the Greek text rendered, have not been included in my notes. The references to chapters and sections of Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, are in accord with the editions of Massuet and of Stieren, but the enumeration of Harvey's edition, when divergent, is added in parenthesis.

The text of the quotations from CYPRIAN is taken from Hartel's edition in the Vienna Corpus with further correction in the *Testimonia* from the readings of Codex L as given by Hartel. In Acts i. 1-ii. 11, by an error of judgment on my part, the quotations made by Cyprian are not adduced in full, but only the important variants of his text given as footnotes to the text cited by Augustine, with which Cyprian's quotations are nearly identical. The full passages from Cyprian are as follows:

- Acts i. 7 (*Testimonia* iii. 89) nemo potest cognoscere tempus aut tempora quae pater posuit in sua potestate.
- i. 14 (*De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* 25; also *De dominica oratione* 8) et erant perseverantes omnes unanimes in oratione cum mulieribus et Maria quae fuerat mater Jesu et fratribus ejus.
- i. 15 (*Epist.* 67, 4) surrexit [inquit] Petrus in medio discentium, fuit autem turba in uno.
- ii. 2-4 (*Testimonia* iii. 101) et factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus vehemens, et inplevit totum locum illum in quo erant sedentes. et visae sunt illis linguae divisae quasi ignis, qui et insedit in unumquemque illorum. et inpleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto.

From AUGUSTINE, *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo* i. 4-5, Acts i. 1-ii. 11 is cited, with the variants found in the corresponding quotations from Acts in *De consensu evangelistarum* iv. 8 and *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* 9, together with Acts ii. 12-13 from this last treatise. There are other passages in Augustine's



writings where the African Latin of Acts is cited (see Zahn, *Uebersicht*, *passim*), but no discriminating study of his quotations has ever been made which could sufficiently guide use of them in the present volume. They appear to vary in character in the different works, and sometimes to have been made from memory, sometimes perhaps from, or under the influence of, the Vulgate. The Vienna edition of Augustine has been used.

10. *Harclean Syriac*.—From the Harclean Syriac the greater part of the marginal glosses and all words under asterisk (with a few obelized words) are reproduced in the apparatus. The aim has been to record all the renderings of the Harclean apparatus which represent variant Greek readings. In addition, such renderings of 'Western' readings as have been noticed in the Harclean text, not marked by an asterisk, are given. Of this class others which have escaped observation and record here are undoubtedly to be gathered, recognizable in their Antiochian surroundings. Marginal glosses have been omitted which merely reproduce the Old Testament quotations (as in i. 20), or are of an exegetical nature, or relate only to a difference in the Syriac rendering of the same Greek word (*e g.* viii. 40, xxiii. 7), but all these together are not numerous. Two longer notes will be found quoted in full above, p. clxiv.

The Greek lemmata to which the translations of the glosses, etc., are here attached, are drawn, so far as possible, from the text of Codex Bezae or of the Greek 'Western' fragments printed at the top of the page; in a few cases it has been necessary to use lemmata from the text of Codex Vaticanus. The point of attachment is not always the same as that indicated in the Harclean ms., in which some manifest errors of attachment have been committed.

The rendering of the Syriac is based on that of White, but has been carefully revised and corrected. The departures from White's Latin are intentional. It should be observed that *ipse* and *ille* are used for the Syriac pronoun which represents the Greek article.

11. *Textual Notes*.—In the Textual Notes many problems and difficulties which I should have liked to resolve will be found left without a Note because I had nothing to contribute to the illumination of them. Discussion is offered of many of the readings in which, in my judgment, Codex Vaticanus goes wrong, but usually not of those where B stands with no, or almost no, support from other witnesses. In the latter class of instances all that could be said would have amounted but to a bare statement of the fact, which will be already familiar to the student of the text for whom the Notes are designed.

In general I have tried to avoid burdening the Notes with obvious remarks leading to no conclusion. The manifest differences between the two great types of text are better studied in continuous texts

than in notes; and it is from the whole body of facts that every student must make up his mind as to the general superiority of one or the other type, or as to their equal authority. Consequently no attempt has been made to give a complete running commentary on the successive details of variation of D from B. A large proportion of the Notes, however, discuss the more difficult readings of Codex Bezae, especially where the evidence adduced from other 'Western' witnesses furnishes a more trustworthy guide to the proper 'Western' readings than does D. A selection of such evidence, not a complete array, especially from the Latin authorities, is often sufficient to produce conviction, and that is all that has been attempted.

In citing the testimony of the Old Uncial group, Codex 81 is often not mentioned in cases where its considerable Antiochian element renders its testimony suspect.

In the Textual Notes the term 'B-text' has commonly been used for brevity to refer to the 'non-western text', without prejudice to the question of whether the non-western influence upon Codex Bezae came from the Old Uncial or from the Antiochian form of that text.

Where the name of a critic is given as holding a certain view, I mean to indicate that the idea would probably not have occurred to me independently. Otherwise names are not mentioned except where a fuller published discussion has to be referred to.

Five longer Detached Notes follow the last chapter of Acts.

## ABBREVIATIONS

GREEK codices are consistently referred to by Gregory's later system (1908). The Psalms are cited by the enumeration and verses of the Hebrew.

WH	Westcott and Hort
Soden	Hermann von Soden
JHR	James H. Ropes
+	followed by
add	adds, add
corr	corrector
corr*	corrector, identical with the first hand
def	is lacking
mg	margin
min(n)	minuscule(s)
om	omits, omit
suppl	supplies
txt	text
vid	apparently
Am. J. Philol.	American Journal of Philology
L. and S.	Liddell and Scott
St. Kr.	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
Stud. Krit.)	
Tdf	Tischendorf
T.U.	Texte und Untersuchungen
W.W.	Wordsworth and White
Antioch }	Antiochian text
Ant }	
σ	text of Stephanus, 1550
cod. ardmach	Codex Ardmachanus (the Book of Armagh)
d	Codex Bezae (Latin)
e	Codex Laudianus (Latin)
gig	Codex Gigas
h	Fleury palimpsest
lat }	Latin texts
latt }	

m	Speculum Pseudo-Augustini
perp }	Perpignan ms.
p }	
r	Schlettstadt lectionary
t	Liber comicus (Toledo lectionary)
vg	Vulgate
w	Wernigerode ms.
prov	Provençal version
tepl	Codex Teplensis (German)
arm	Armenian version
boh	Bohairic version
eth	Ethiopic version
hcl	Harclean Syriac version
pesh	Peshitto
sah	Sahidic version
Ambr }	Ambrose
Ambros }	
Ambrst	Ambrosiaster
Athanas	Athanasius
Aug	Augustine
Chrys	Chrysostom
Clem. Alex	Clement of Alexandria
Const. Apost	Constitutiones Apostolorum
Cypr	Cyprian
Ephr	Ephrem
Ephr. cat	Ephrem's Catena on Acts
Eus	Eusebius
Hil	Hilary
Iren	Irenaeus
Jer	Jerome
Lucif	Lucifer of Cagliari
Orig	Origen
Perpet	Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas
Philast	Philastrus of Brescia
Prisc }	Priscillian
Priscill }	
Prom	Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei
Proph }	Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae
De Proph }	
Rebapt	De Rebaptismate (Cyprianic Appendix)
Salvian	Salvianus
Tert	Tertullian
Vig	Ps.-Vigilius, Contra Varimadum

TEXT  
APPARATUS  
TEXTUAL NOTES

## ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ

Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε, ἵ  
 ὥν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν | ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἐν- 2  
 τειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὗς ἐξελέξατο  
 ἀνελήμφθη· οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν 3  
 αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὁπτανό-  
 μενος αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ 4  
 συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρί-  
 ζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσατέ  
 μου· ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι 5

Editors	1 ο ιησους Soden	2 αχρι ης ημερας] εν ημερα η JHR	ους
	om JHR	ανελημφθη om JHR	
Old Unnal	1 ιησους B(+D) ο ιησους NA 81	4 παρηγγειλεν αυτοις BN 81(+D) αυτοις	
	παρηγγειλεν AC	5 εν πνευματι βαπτισθησετε αγω BN 81 βαπτισθησετε	
		εν πνευματι αγω AC <sup>80</sup>	
Antiochian	1 ο ιησους S 462 1025	5 βαπτισθησετε εν πνευματι αγω S 462 1025	

2 For the conclusion, indicated above, that the original text of vs. 2 read approximately *εν ημερα η εντειλαμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνευματος αγιου εξελεξατο* see Detached Note, pp 256-261.

3 *δια* is represented in *hol. text* by *bejad*, for which *hol. mg* gives *l'apras*. White notes that the latter preposition is used in the Harclean text, Mk. xv. 1, Lk. iv. 26, Acts xix. 8, to represent *ἐν*, but it seems more likely that *l'apras* was an idiomatic translation of *δια* given as equivalent to the literal but inappropriate *bejad*. No Greek ms. is known to read *ἐν*.

4 Aug. *quomodo*, referring back to *fecit*, was perhaps added by translator (see Detached Note on vs. 2).

*συναλιζόμενος* [συναλιζόμενος many minn, including 614, and many patristic texts. To this seems to correspond the use of *convorsor*, Aug perp gig e vg.codd. Confusion of the two words was not uncommon in Greek mss. (cf.

L. and S., s.v. *συναλιζομαι*), but the difficulty and persistent attestation of *συναλιζόμενος* here make it more likely that *συναλιζόμενος* was an alleviation by conjecture, perhaps regarded as a mere improvement in spelling.

*μου* φησιν *δια του στοματος μου* D lat may be original, corrected because of Semitism; more probably it is an expansion, ameliorating the transition to direct discourse and avoiding the awkward *μου*, while following the familiar style of the book (cf. i. 16, iii. 18, 21, iv. 26, xv. 7, all with perfectly stable text).

5 D *και ο* seems to be error for *ο και* gig t Hil Aug. *contra Fel.*, c. ep. Fund., c. Paul. 32, c. Ores. ii. 14 (17), etc.; for a similar misplacement in D cf. xiv. 38.

Aug. Ep. 265, 3 quotes this passage, from *Ιωάννης μὲν τὸ τετηκοστής*, substantially as in *contra Felicem* (except that he writes *baptizadimini* instead of *incipietis baptizari*), and then proceeds: *aliqui autem codices habent*



βαπτισθήσεσθε ἀγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας. οἱ μὲν 6  
οὖν συνελθόντες ἡρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ  
τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; εἶπεν πρὸς 7  
αὐτούς· Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ  
ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ λήμψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος 8  
τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἕν τε  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως  
ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτῶν βλέπόντων ἐπήρθη, 9  
καὶ νεφέλῃ ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ 10

Editors	7 εἶπεν]+δε Soden JHR	8 [εἰ 2 <sup>o</sup> ] WH	9 βλέπόντων αὐτῶν WH
Soden	om αὐτῶν βλέπόντων JHR		
Old Tuncal	6 συνελθόντες BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) 51 (+D) ἴ εἶπεν B 8 μου B <sup>8</sup> AC(+D) μοι 81 BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 εἰπόντων B	ελθόντες B + om B <sup>2</sup> nd (B <sup>8</sup> Tdf) en 2 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>8</sup> om AC 81 (+D) αὐτῶν βλέπόντων B	ἡρώτων B <sup>8</sup> AC ἐπηρώτων + δε NA 81 ο δε εἶπεν C 9 εἶπων B <sup>8</sup> AC 81
Antiochian	6 ἡρώτων] ἐπηρώτων S 462 1025(+D) 8 μοι S 462 1025	7 εἶπεν]+δε S 462 1025	9 βλέπόντων αὐτῶν S 462 1025

‘eos autem spiritu sancto baptizari baptizari’; sed sive dicatur ‘baptizabimini’ sive dicatur ‘incipietis baptizari’ ad rem nihil interest; nam in quibuscunque codicibus inveniuntur ‘baptizabimini’ aut ‘incipietis baptizari’ mendosa sunt; qui ex graecis facillime convincuntur. The difference between *baptizabimini* and *incipietis baptizari* is probably purely Latin. The active reading, however, cited by Augustine might point to a Greek text ἰωαννης μεν εβαπτισεν υδατι, υμεις δε εν πνευματι αγιω, with no verb expressed. This could easily give rise to all the variants, including the addition of ο και μελλετε λαμβανειν (corrupted in D to και ο), the divergent Latin translations, and the variation in the order of words in the Greek mss.: but on the other hand the omission in the original is inherently improbable, unless the active verb is expressly intended; no Greek evidence for it exists; and the various readings are all susceptible of explanation without this supposition. It seems more likely that the active voice was an attempt of purely Latin origin to find here the commission to baptize which both Luke and Acts lack.

The addition εως της πετηκοστης D Aug Ephr (on Eph. iv. 10) sah takes vs. 5 (οτι ἰωαννης . . . ημερας) as parenthesis. The text of Ephr and sah, not seeing this, have inserted ‘but’ before εως.

6 For this question the translation: *domine, si in hoc tempore (re)praesentaberis, et quando regnum Israel?* is found with slight variation many times in Augustine (e.g. c. ep. Funi. 9, c. Gaudenium i. 20 [22], tract. in ev Joh. 25, 8, tract. in ep. Joh. 10, 9), but not in c. Fel. 4, nor in most codices of *ov. dei* xviii. 58, nor in *perp* g. (*Re)praesentaberis* (‘be restored,’ ‘be shown’), of which *d restituere* is an equivalent, refers to the Parousia. The cause of the Latin form of the text would seem to be that the Semitizing *et* was misunderstood and taken to mean ‘if’ (so in fact Augustine, *sermo* 285, 2), and then an apodosis constructed out of Jesus’ answer. The expansion appears only in Latin, although it is possible that in D the meaningless *αποκαταστανεις εις* (for *αποκατασθησθαι*—see Zahn) and the unique reading του ιωανη are due to the modification of some different earlier text.

7 The asyndetic opening of vs. 7 in B is without other Greek support. It is probably due to an accidental omission, but the striking variations in the connexion supplied (εἶπεν δε, ο δε εἶπεν, ο δε αποκριθεις εἶπεν, και εἶπεν) may well point to the fact that the omission was not peculiar to B.

For ουχ ὑμῶν . . . καιρους Augustine in several places gives the translation: *nemo potest cognoscere tempora*



6 πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν συν-  
 7 ἐλθόντες ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ  
 7 τούτῳ ἀποκαταστήσεις ἡμεῖς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ; καὶ  
 8 εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς  
 8 οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ λήμψεσθε δύναμιν  
 ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσσεσθέ μου μάρ-  
 9 τυρες ἐν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ καὶ  
 9 ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. καὶ τὰ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν  
 ο αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπῆρθη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ ὡς ἀπειλίζοντες  
 8 λημψέσθαι 9 ὑπέλαβεν] ὑπεβαλεν

6 hi ergo cum convenissent interrogabant eum dicentes dñe si in tempore hoc d  
 restitueret regnum israhel 7 et dixit ad eos non est vestrum scire tempor aut  
 momenta quae pater posuit in sua potestate 8 sed accipietis virtutem cum super-  
 venierit santus sps super vos et eritis mei testes ad quae hiernsalem et omni judaeae  
 et samaria et usque ad ultimum terrae 9 et cum haec dixisset nubes suscepit eum  
 et levatus est ab oculis eorum 10 et ut aspicientes erant in caelo abeunte eo et ecce

dies usque ad pentecosten. 6 illi ergo convenientes interrogabant eum Augustine.  
 dicentes: domine, si in hoc tempore praesentabis regnum Israel' 7 ille C. Felice  
 autem dixit: nemo potest cognoscere tempus quod pater posuit in sua L. 4 f.; C. ep.  
 potestate: 8 sed accipietis virtutem spiritus sancti supervenientem in vos, et Fundam. 9  
 eritis mihi testes apud Hierosolimam et in tota Judaea et Samaria et usque in Cyprian,  
 totam terram. 9 cum haec diceret, nubes suscepit eum et subleatus est ab eis. Test. iii. 89  
 10 et quomodo contemplantur erant cum iret in caelum, ecce duo viri astabant  
 6 praesentabis] representabis et quando Fund 7 tempus] +aut tempora Cyprian.  
 quod] quae Cyprian test

7 quae pater posuit in sua potestate.

Irenaeus,  
 iii. 28, 1

(in other instances, *tempora*). The use of a single word for χρόνος ἢ καιρός (attested also by Hilary *tempora*) he explains (*Ep.* 197, 1-3), doubtless correctly, to be due to the lack of Latin synonyms. Cyprian, *Test.* iii. 89, has *tempus aut tempora*: the Latin ultimately adopted *tempora vel momenta* perp gig t vg; see Wordsworth and White's note. The Syriac had the same difficulty, peah *saḥna au saḥne*.

In Augustine's correspondence with Haeyschius of Salona (*Ep.* 197, 198, 199) the reading *nemo potest cognoscere* is discussed. This probably implies οὐδεις δυναται γινῶναι, and that may be the original, corrected in the B-text so as to avoid the inclusion of Jesus himself in the negation (but cf. Mk. xiii. 32): more probably, however, it was the paraphrast who substituted the direct and plain οὐδεις δυναται, under the influence of Mk. xiii. 32.

8 That the Antiochian μοι for μου (BNAOD) is attested by Aug. a. *Fel.*, a. *ep.* *Fund.* From sah may show that it comes from the 'Western' text. For μου cf. xiii. 31, xxii. 20.

9 The 'Western' text seems to have read καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπῆρθη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. So Aug. *contra Fel.* (om καὶ 1<sup>o</sup>) sah. Augustine has elsewhere part of the same, and D From gave slightly modified forms. According to this text the cloud enveloped Jesus, and then, while within it, he was lifted up. The usual text represents Jesus as rising before the disciples' view and disappearing from sight in a cloud in the sky. The 'Western' text is doubtless to be discredited here as in other free variations. But αὐτῶν βλέποντων, which badly overloads the sentence in B, has no equivalent in Dd sah (Aug), and ought probably to be omitted. The incongruous ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν of D was added by conflation from the other text.

ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς, οἱ 11 καὶ εἶπαν· Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐστήκατε βλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. τότε ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ 12 καλουμένου Ἑλαιῶνος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν. καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ἀνέβησαν οὗ ἦσαν 13 καταμένοντες, ὃ τε Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Φίλιππος καὶ Θωμᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Μαθθαῖος, Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου καὶ Σίμων ὁ ζηλωτὴς καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῇ προσευχῇ 14 σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ Μαρίας τῇ μητρὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν 15 ἀδελφῶν εἶπεν (ἦν τε ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ἑκατὸν

12 εχων

Editors	11 βλέποντες] ἐμβλέποντες Soden	om eis ton ouranon 2 <sup>o</sup> JHR	14 [του]
	ιησου WH του ιησου Soden JHR	om συν 2 <sup>o</sup> Soden	15 ως] ωσει Soden
Old Uncial	11 βλέποντες B81 ἐμβλέποντες ACN <sup>o</sup> (+D)	τον 2 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>a</sup>	13 ἀνεβησαν
	BAC81 (af. D) om N (N <sup>o</sup> [+D] inserts before eis)		o 2 <sup>o</sup> BACN <sup>o</sup> 81 (+D)
	om N	14 προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν BAC81 (+D)	ὁμοθυμαδὸν προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν N (N <sup>o</sup> deletes ὁμοθυμαδὸν 2 <sup>o</sup> )
	μαριαμ B81 μαρια	μαριαμ B81	μαρια
	μαριαμ B81	μαριαμ B81	μαριαμ
Antiochian	10 ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ S 462 1025 (+D)	11 βλέποντες] ἐμβλέποντες S 462	
	1025 (+D)	ἐλευσεται] + πάλιν 102 (S def)	12 εχων 102 (S def)
	13 ἀνεβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον 462 102 (S def) 5 (+D)	ιακωβος καὶ ιωαννης	
Antiochian	462 102 (S def) 5	14 προσευχῇ] + καὶ τῇ δεήσει S 462 1025	μαρια
	S 462 1025 (+D)	του ιησου S 462 1025 (+D)	15 ἀδελφων] μαθητων
	S 462 1025 (+D)		

11 eis ton ouranon 2<sup>o</sup> (after af umon) is probably rightly omitted by D gig Aug (Serm. 277, not c. Fel.) Vig.

12 For σαββάτου ὁδὸν peah reads 'about seven stadia' (shabbe'ha eshad-wan), sah 'a journey of seven roads' (not 'stadia,' as commonly cited). The very rare Sahidic word rendered 'road' is now known to mean (usually, at least) 'high road,' i.e. ὁδός, and the translator probably understood the phrase to mean 'a week's (σαββάτου) journey.' The Syriac may be somehow due to the same exegesis, which is

expressly combated by Ammonius (c. 398 A.D.; in Cramer's Catena).

13 The omission in D of καὶ before Ιακωβος 1<sup>o</sup> and Σίμων is due to the arrangement of the names in two columns.

14 του ιησου. B's unique omission of του is an error.

15 ἀδελφων BNAC has been altered in the 'Western' text (D Cyp Aug gig p e etc.) to the more common designation μαθητων (so also 81 and Antiochian). The paraphrast may have deemed ἀδελφων ambiguous, if

- ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο  
 11 παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ, | οἱ καὶ εἶπαν· Ἄνδρες  
 Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐσθήκατε ἐνβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; οὗτος ὁ  
 Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον  
 12 ἐθεάσεσθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. τότε ὑπέστρεψαν  
 εἰς Εἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ ὁρῶν τοῦ καλουμένου Ἑλεῶνος, ὃ ἐστὶν  
 13 ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν. καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον,  
 ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερφῶν οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες,

ὁ τε Πέτρος	καὶ Ἰωάννης,
Εἰάκωβος	καὶ Ἀνδρέας,
Φίλιππος	καὶ Θωμᾶς,
Βαρθολομαῖος	καὶ Μαθθαῖος,
Ἰάκωβος	ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου,
Σίμων ὁ ζηλωτῆς	καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

- 14 οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῇ προσευχῇ  
 σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν καὶ τέκνοις καὶ Μαρίας μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ.

- 15 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς ὁ Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν  
 μαθητῶν εἶπεν (ἦν γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ρκ).

13 εισηλθεν

virī duo adstebant eis in veste candida 11 qui et dixerunt viri galilaei qui statim d  
 aspicientes in caelum iste ih̄s qui adsumptus est a vobis sic enim venit quemad-  
 modum vidistis eum euntem in caelum 12 tunc reversi sunt hierusalem a monte  
 qui vocatur olivei qui est juxta hierusalem sabbati habens iter 13 et cum introissent  
 ascenderunt in superiora ubi erant commorantes petrus et johannis jacobus et andreas  
 philippus et thomas bartholomeus et mattheus jacobus alphi simon zelotes et judas  
 jacobī 14 hi omnes erant perseverantes unanimes in oratione cum mulieribus et  
 filiis et maria matre ih̄u et fratribus ejus 15 in diebus his cum surrexisset petrus in  
 medio discipulorum dixit erat praeterea multitudo nonomnium quasi exx 16 viri

illis in veste alba, 11 qui dixerunt ad eos: viri Galilaei, quid statis respicientes  
 in caelum? iste Jesus qui adsumptus est in caelum a vobis sic venit,  
 quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in caelum. 12 tunc reversi sunt Hiero-  
 solymam a monte qui vocatur Elion, qui est juxta Hierosolymam sabbati  
 habens iter. 13 et cum introissent, ascenderunt in superiora, ubi habitabant  
 Petrus et Johannes, Jacobus et Andreas, Philippus et Thomas, Bartholomaeus  
 et Mattheus, Jacobus Alphaei et Symon Zelotes et Judas Jacobī. 14 et erant  
 perseverantes omnes unanimes in orationibus cum mulieribus et Maria quae fuerat  
 mater Jesu et fratribus ejus. 15 et in diebus illis exurrexit Petrus in medio  
 discentium, et dixit (fuit autem turba in uno hominum quasi centum viginti):

14 oratione Cypr (bia) 15 discentium Cypr. op. 67 discentium Fei (codd)

18 ιακωβος ο του αλφαιου] Jacobus ✕ ille < Alphaei ιουδας ιακωβου] Harelean  
 Judas ✕ ille < Jacobī 15 δε] mg autem

not misleading (of. vs. 14). The in chaps. i.-v. makes this variant  
 striking avoidance of μαθηται elsewhere important.

Augustine,  
 C. Faustum  
 l. 42  
 Cyprian, De  
 unit. 33; Di  
 dom. o vi 8  
 Ep. 67. 4

εἴκοσι). Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν 16  
 προεῖπε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυεὶδ περὶ Ἰούδα  
 τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι κατηριθμη- 17  
 μένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῶν καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύ-  
 της. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτίσαστο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, 18  
 καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ  
 σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν 19  
 Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο τῇ διαλέκτῳ  
 αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμάχ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος. γέγραπται γὰρ 20  
 Ps. lxxx. 25 ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν. Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ  
 Pa. cfr. 8 ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καί. Τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω  
 ἕτερος. δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ὧ 21  
 εἰσηλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ 22

Editors	16 [τῶν] ἱησοῦν Soden	19 τη]+ιδία Soden
Old Uncial	16 ἱησοῦν B <sup>2</sup> AC τῶν ἱησοῦν 81 (+D)	17 ἦν BAC <sup>2</sup> 81 (+D) om B <sup>2</sup>
	18 πάντα B <sup>2</sup> AC 81 (+D) om A	19 καὶ BAC <sup>2</sup> 81 ο καὶ B (+D)
	τη B <sup>2</sup> (+D) +ιδία B <sup>2</sup> (B <sup>2</sup> Tdf)AC 81	ακελδαμαχ B (cf. D) αχελδαμαχ NA 81
	ακελδαμα C	20 αὐτου 1 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>2</sup> AC (+D) αὐτων 81
	ερημος B <sup>2</sup> AC (+D)	ηρημωμενη 81
	21 ω B <sup>2</sup> AC 81 (cf. D) εν ω B <sup>2</sup>	
Antiochian	16 γραφῇ]+ταυτην S 462 1025 (+D)	τῶν ἱησοῦν S 462 1025 (+D)
	17 εν] συν S 462 1025	18 του μισθου S
	19 τη]+ιδία S 462 1025	ακελδαμα S 462 1025
	19-20 om τούτ' ἐστιν χωρίον αἵματος γεγραπται γαρ	εν S
	20 αὐτου 1 <sup>o</sup> αὐτων S	λαβοι S 462 1025
	21 ω] εν ω S 462 1025	

18 For *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* Aug. *a. Fel.* reads *ei collum sibi alligavit ei depectus in faciem*, a combination with ἀντήξατο (Matt. xxvii. 6); out of this Old Latin reading *vg suspensus* may have come. In place of *πρηνὴς*, the Armenian, followed by the Georgian, has a word which means 'swelling out,' and F. H. Chase has presented evidence to show that this meaning was proper to *πρηνὴς* (cf. *πύπρημι* and *πρήω*), and was intended here; see especially the Latin and Armenian versions of Wisdom iv. 19, and the mediaeval Lexicon of Zonaras. Ephrem on the Diatessaron (Matt. xxvii. 5; Latin tr., p. 240) and in the Catena on Acts i. 18 (see below, p. 391) refers to the same idea, but it is to be remembered that his Syriac comes to us through the Armenian. Euthymius Zigabenus, Comm. on Matthew (xxvii. 5), quotes in a kind of paraphrase the latter part of Acts i. 18, and uses the expression *πρηνὴς εἶναι τεκρησμένος*; but this is probably an explanation, not a variant

reading. Nor is Papias's *πρησθεῖς* (in Chamer's Catena on Acts i. 18), although perhaps due to Acts i. 18, to be regarded as attesting any textual variant ever actually read in Acts. See F. C. Conybeare, *Classical Review*, vol. ix, 1895, p. 258; Zahn, *Forschungen* vi, 1900, pp. 153-157, and p. 126, note 1; *Urausgabe*, pp. 331-332; J. R. Harris, *Am. Journal of Theol.* vol. iv, 1900, pp. 490-513; F. H. Chase, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, vol. xiii, 1912, pp. 278-285, 415; Harnack, *Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1912, cols. 235 ff.; Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 24 f.

19 While the Aramaic phrase would be *αχαλ δεμα*, the usual reading of the Old Uncial text was probably *αχελδαμαχ* NA 81. Old Latin (and *vg*) *sah* (in all known copies) both likewise retained a final guttural. Under varying degrees of influence from Aramaic, B reads *ακελδαμαχ*; D *ακελδαμαχ*; Antiochian, with C (cf. *peah hol*), *ακελδαμα*.

16 Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, δεῖ πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἣν προεῖπεν  
 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυεὶδ περὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ γενο-  
 17 μένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι κατηριθμημένος  
 18 ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὃς ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. οὗτος  
 μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 19 αὐτοῦ. ὃ καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερου-  
 σαλὴμ, ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνω τῇ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν  
 20 Ἀκελδαιμάχ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν  
 βίβλιν ψαλμῶν·

Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ᾗ ὁ κατοικῶν  
 ἐν αὐτῇ.

καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος.

21 δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμεῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὥς  
 22 εἰσηλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἀρξά-  
 20 γενηθῶ η] γενηθῶν

fratres oportet impleri scripturam hanc quam praedixit sp̃s sanctus per os david de d  
 juda qui factus est dux his qui adprehenderunt ihm 17 qui adnumeratus erat inter  
 nos et sortitus fuit sortem ministerium hujus 18 hic ergo possedit praedium ex  
 mercedem injustitiae suae et pronus factus crepavit medius et effusa sunt omnia  
 viscera ejus 19 et notum factum est omnibus qui inhabitant huerusalem ita ut  
 vocetur praedium illud lingua ipsorum aceldemach hoc est praedium sanguinis  
 20 scriptum est enim in libro psalmorum fiat habitatio eorum deserta et non sit qui  
 inhabitet in ea et episcopatum illius sumat alius 21 oportet ergo eorum qui venerunt  
 nobiscum virorū in omni tempore quoniam introibit et exivit ad nos dñs ihs xp̃s

16 viri fratres, oportet adimpleri scripturam istam, quam praedixit spiritus Augustine,  
 sanctus ore sancti David de Juda, qui fuit deductor illorum qui comprehenderant C. Pelicani  
 Jesum, 17 quoniam adnumeratus erat inter nos, qui habuit sortem hujus  
 ministerii. 18 hic igitur possedit agrum de mercede injustitiae suae, et collum  
 sibi alligavit et dejectus in faciem diruptus est medius et effusa sunt omnia  
 viscera ejus. 19 quod et cognitum factum est omnibus qui inhabitabant  
 Hierosolymam, ita ut vocaretur ager ille ipsorum lingua Acheldemach, id est  
 ager sanguinis. 20 scriptum est enim in libro Psalmorum: fiat villa ejus  
 deserta, et non sit qui inhabitet in ea, et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.  
 21 oportet itaque ex his viris qui convenerunt nobiscum in omni tempore quo  
 introivit super nos et excessit dominus Jesus Christus, 22 incipiens a baptismo

16 viri fratres, oportet impleri scripturam hanc quam praedixit spiritus Irenaeus,  
 sanctus ore David de Juda, qui factus est dux his qui apprehenderunt Jesum, in. 12, 1;  
 17 quoniam adnumeratus fuit inter nos. il. 20, 2(22, 1)

20 fiat habitatio ejus deserta, et non sit qui inhabitet in ea; et, episcopatum  
 eius accipiat alter.

20 et episcopatum ejus accipiat alius.

18 τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ] iniquitatis ✕ suae ✓

Harleian

τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἓνα τούτων. καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν, ὃς ἐπ- 23 ἐκλήθη Ἰούστος, καὶ Μαθθίαν. καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν· Σὺ 24 κύριε καρδιογνώστα πάντων, ἀνάδειξον ὃν ἐξελέξω, ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἓνα, λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀπο- 25 στολῆς, ἀφ' ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλήρος ἐπὶ 26 Μαθθίαν, καὶ συνεκατεψήφισθη μετὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα ἀποστόλων.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς II ἦσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 2

Editors	25 τοκον 1 <sup>o</sup> κληρον Soden mg	26 αυτοις] αυτων JHR	ενδεκα]
	δωδεκα JHR	1 ομου] ομοθυμαδον Soden mg	1-2 εν τω συμπληρουσθαι
	. . . εγενετο] εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις του συμπληρουσθαι την ημεραν της πεντηκοστης οντων αυτων παντων επι το αυτο και ειδου εγενετο JHR		
Old Uncial	22 εως BC(+D) αχρι NA 81	25 τοκον 1 <sup>o</sup> BAC(+D) κληρον	
	N 81 τοκον του ιδιου BN 81 (+D) ιδιον τοκον C τοκον του δικαιου A		
	26 συνεκατεψηφισθη BAC <sup>no</sup> 81 κατεψηφισθη N	1 παντες BAC <sup>no</sup> 81	
	Wess <sup>no</sup> om N		
Antiochian	22 γενεσθαι συν ημων S 462 1025	24 παντων] των απαντων S	εκ
	τουτων των δυο ενα ον εξελεξω S	25 τοκον 1 <sup>o</sup> κληρον S 462 1025	αφ]
	εξ S 462 1025 τοκον του ιδιου] τοκον αυτου 462	26 αυτοις] αυτων S 462	
	1025(+D) 1 παντες] απαντες S 462 1025	ομου] ομοθυμαδον 462 1025	
	ομοθυμαδον οι αποστολοι S		

23 D *εστησεν* is shown by Aug. c. Fel. and g1g to be no accident of this one MS. In va. 24 Aug. c. Fel., *precatus dixit* is unique; that the plural is found in the better text of va. 24 speaks strongly for *εστησαν* in va. 23.

For *βαρσαββαν* BNA 81, C Antiochian read *βαρσαβαν*. D is supported by perp g1g t vg.codd in the confused correction *βαρναβαν*. On further confusions see Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 333-335.

26 The ambiguity of *κληρους αυτων* D Antiochian perp g1g e t hcl.text is shown by the Latin rendering *sortes suas* in Aug. c. Fel. d vg.cod. M, which suggests a vote rather than a drawing of lots. Hence *αυτοις* BNA 81 may be due to a substitution made for the sake of clearness.

μετα των δωδεκα ('among the twelve') D Kus. *demonstr. ev. x. 3, 2* hcl.text was probably the 'Western' reading; it may be right, as it would naturally lead to correction, cf. ii. 14. Aug. *contra Felicem, cum undecim apostolis*

*duodecim* may be a secondary result from it.

1-2 The reading of D means 'and it came to pass in those days of the arrival of the day of pentecost that while they were all together behold there came,' etc.; and this is correctly, but freely, rendered by Augustine's text (see apparatus) and (with the plural 'days of pentecost,' cf. vg) by t (*in temporibus illis dum compleretur dies pentecosten*). This Greek can be explained as a literal translation from Aramaic (cf. RC-text of Ruth i. 1 *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ κρῖναι τοὺς κρῖναι καὶ ἐγένετο λιμός*; see Rahlfs, *Stivie über den griech. Text des Buches Ruth*, 1922, pp. 106, 116, 122), or (as Professor J. E. Frame suggests) by the supposition of a clumsy addition to a text which had *εκεινας* but did not mention Pentecost. The smooth text of B seems to be due to an editor. In any case Acts x. 25 (*ἐγένετο τοῦ ελελθεῖν*) is a wholly different construction. Note the omission of *ειδον* in the B-text.

μενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀν-  
 ελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμεῖν  
 23 γενέσθαι ἓνα τούτων. καὶ ἔστησεν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον  
 24 Βαρνάβαν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰούστος, καὶ Μαθθίαν. καὶ προσ-  
 ευξάμενοι εἶπαν· Κύριε καρδιογνώστα πάντων, ἀνάδειξον ὃν ἐξ-  
 25 ἐλέξω ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο | ἀναλαβεῖν τόπον τὸν τῆς διακονίας  
 ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς, ἀφ' ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας πορευθῆναι εἰς  
 26 τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπεσεν  
 κλήρος ἐπὶ Μαθθίαν, καὶ συνεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν ἱβ' ἀποστόλων.  
 II Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τοῦ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν  
 2 ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὄντων αὐτῶν πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ

22 incipiens a baptismo johannen usque in diem quo adsumptus est a nobis d  
 testem resurrectionis ejus nobiscum fieri unum istorum 23 et statuit duos joseph  
 qui cognominatur barnabas qui vocatur justus et matthias 24 et orantes dixerunt  
 dñe qui corda nosti omnium designa quem elegisti ex his duobus unum 25 sumere  
 locum ministerii hujus et apostolatus a quo transgressus judas abire in locum suum  
 26 et dederunt sortes suas et cecidit sors super matthian et dinumeratus est cum  
 xii apostolos

1 et factum est in diebus illis et cum implerentur dies pentecostes erant simul

Johannis usque in illum diem quo adsumptus est a nobis, testem resurrectionis  
 ejus nobiscum esse. 23 et statuit duos, Joseph qui vocabatur Barsabas qui  
 et Justus, et Matthiam, 24 et precatus dixit: tu, domine, cordis omnium  
 intellecter, ostende ex his duobus quem elegisti 25 ad suscipiendum locum  
 hujus ministerii et adnuntiationis, a qua excessit Judas ambulare in locum  
 suum. 26 et dederunt sortes suas, et cecidit sors super Matthiam, et simul  
 deputatus est cum undecim apostolis duodecimus.

1 in illo tempore quo subpletus est dies pentecostes fuerunt omnes simul in

1 illo loco MSS.

simul in uno] eadem animatione simul in uno Fund

25-26 [Judas autem abdicatus est et ejectus, et in] locum [ejus Mathias  
 ordinatus est].

Irenaeus,  
 II 20, 2;  
 cf. II 20, 5

24 ἀναλαβεῖν τόπον τὸν τῆς διακονίας ταύτης] *mg* unum, ut accipiat locum  
 ministerii hujus

The plural 'days,' representing *tas*  
*ἡμέρας* (which does not occur in any  
 known Greek authority), is found in  
 perp gig vg peah, and is clearly  
 secondary, having perhaps been in-  
 troduced in the two languages in-  
 dependently of one another. The  
 difficult *συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν* was  
 altered to the plural in accordance  
 with the later Christian use of *ἡ*  
*πεντηκοστή* to denote the fifty days

from Easter to Pentecost (cf. Origen,  
*contra Celsum* viii. 22 *ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς*  
*πεντηκοστῆς* in this sense); but that  
 meaning seems to have been wholly  
 unknown to Hellenistic Jews, and is  
 probably impossible for a Christian  
 writer of the first century. See J. H.  
 Ropes, *Harvard Theological Review*,  
 1928, pp. 168-175, where, however,  
 the archaic superiority of the text of  
 D in Acts II 1-2 was not recognized.

ἦχος ὡς περ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν ὅλον τὸν οἶκον οὐ ἦσαν καθήμενοι, καὶ ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμενοι 3 γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, | καὶ 4 ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἐτέραις γλώσσαις καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδίδου ἀποφθέγγεσθαι αὐτοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐ- 5 λαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν· γενομένης δὲ 6 τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης συνῆλθε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ συνεχύθη, ὅτι ἤκουσεν εἰς ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων αὐτῶν· ἐξίσταντο δὲ 7 καὶ ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες· Οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ πάντες οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες Γαλιλαῖοι; καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ 8

Editors 3 καὶ ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθισεν τε Soden 4 πάντες] ἀπάντες Soden 5 ἐν] εἰς WHmg JHR om ἰουδαῖοι JHR 6 ἡκούεν Soden 7 δε] +πάντες Soden ουχι] ουχ WHmg ουκ Soden πάντες] ἀπάντες Soden

Cld Uncial 2 ὡσεὶ B<sup>NA</sup>C 81 (+D) +απο Wess<sup>mo</sup> καθημενοι B<sup>NA</sup> 81 Wess<sup>mo</sup> καθεζομενοι C(+D) 3 καὶ ἐκάθισεν B<sup>NA</sup> 81 καὶ ἐκάθισαν N Wess<sup>mo</sup> (af. D) ἐκάθισεν τε A ἐκάθισεν δε C αὐτῶν B<sup>NA</sup>C Wess<sup>mo</sup> (+D) αὐτον 81 4 πάντες B<sup>NA</sup> 81 Wess<sup>mo</sup> (+D) ἀπάντες B<sup>C</sup> 5 ἐν (N<sup>A</sup> εἰς, N<sup>C</sup> ἐν, Wess<sup>mo</sup> def) ἱερουσαλημ κατοικοῦντες ἰουδαῖοι (N om ἰουδαῖοι) ἄνδρες B<sup>NA</sup> 81 Wess<sup>mo</sup> κατοικοῦντες ἐν ἱερουσαλημ ἄνδρες ἰουδαῖοι C 6 ἡκούσεν B<sup>N</sup> ἡκούεν C 81 ἡκούον A(+D) εἰς B<sup>A</sup>C 096 81 (+D) om N 7 δε B(+D) +ἀπάντες N +πάντες A<sup>C</sup>N<sup>C</sup> 096 81 λεγόντες B<sup>NA</sup>C 81 +προς ἀλλήλους 096 (+D) ουχι. B ουχ N 81 (+D) ουκ AC πάντες B 81 ἀπάντες B<sup>NA</sup>C 096 (+D) οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες B<sup>NA</sup> 096 (+D) εἰσιν οὗτοι οἱ λαλοῦντες 81 οὗτοι οἱ λαλοῦντες εἰσιν C

Antiochan 3 καὶ ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθισεν τε S 462 102 5 4 πάντες] ἀπάντες S 462 102 5 αὐτοῖς ἀποφθέγγεσθαι S 462 102 5 6 ἡκούον S 462 102 5 (+D) om εἰς S 102 7 δε] +πάντες S 5 λεγόντες] +προς ἀλλήλους S 462 102 5 (+D) ουχι] ουκ S 462 102 5

3 ἐκάθισαν ND is supported by no other Greek or Latin ms., but by Greek fathers peah hol sah boh. Ephr. catena, p. 397, emphasizes the singular number of the verb.

5 The several variants (eis for ἐν; variations in order; omission of ἰουδαῖοι by N; omission of εὐλαβεῖς by Aug. c. Fel., c. ep. Fund) seem to indicate a corruption deeper and more intricate than the ordinary modifications of the authorities, and may perhaps be explained as follows:

(1) The original text read with N: ἦσαν δε εἰς ἱερουσαλημ κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπο παντος εθνους (for εὐλαβεῖς cf. viii. 2, xxii. 12, Lk. ii. 25).

(2) The 'Western' text read ἐν δε ἱερουσαλημ ἦσαν κατοικοῦντες ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες ἀπο παντος εθνους (so Aug.).

(3) In the texts of the Old Uncials a series of confusions and changes ensued. The text of B inserted the 'Western' ἰουδαῖοι (perhaps a pre-western variant) into the original, and improved by the use of ἐν for εἰς (cf. ix. 21). The text of C introduced ἰουδαῖοι in a different place, between ἄνδρες and εὐλαβεῖς, and adopted the order κατοικοῦντες ἐν ἱερουσαλημ.

(4) Meantime D, following in general the 'Western' text, altered it by inserting εὐλαβεῖς from the B-text, but



εἰδὸν ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἤχος ὥσπερ φερομένης βιαίας  
 3 πνοῆς καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἦσαν καθεζόμενοι, καὶ  
 ὠφθήσαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὥσεί πυρός, καὶ ἐκά-  
 4 θισάν τε ἐφ' ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύ-  
 ματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέροις γλῶσσαις καθὼς  
 5 τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδίδου ἀποφθέγγεσθαι αὐτοῖς. ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἦσαν  
 5 ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν· γενομένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης συνήλθε  
 τὸ πλῆθος καὶ συνεχύθη, καὶ ἤκουον εἰς ἕκαστος λαλοῦντας ταῖς  
 7 γλῶσσαις αὐτῶν· ἐξείσταντο δὲ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους· Οὐχ ἰδοὺ ἅπαντες οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες Γαλι-  
 3 λαῖοι; καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τὴν διάλεκτον ἡμῶν ἐν

omnes in unum 2 et factum est repente caelo echo tamquam ferretur violentus d  
 spiritus et inplevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes 3 et visae sunt ejus dividi  
 linguae tamquam ignis et sedit super unum quemquem eorum 4 et impleti sunt  
 universi spū sancto et coeperunt loqui aliis linguis sic ut sps dabat eloqui eis 5 in  
 ierusalem erant habitantes judaei timorati viri ab omni gente quae sub caelo sunt  
 6 cumque facta esset vox haec convenit multitudo et conasae sunt qui audiebant  
 unus quisque loquentes eos lingua sua 7 obtupescabant autem et admirabantur  
 dicentes ad alterutrum nonne ecce universi hi sunt qui locuntur galilaei 8 et  
 quomodo nos audimus unus quisque propria lingua nostra in qua nati sumus

uno. 2 et factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus vehemens, et Augustine,  
 inplevit totam illam domum in qua erant sedentes. 3 et visae sunt illis C. Felicem  
 linguae divisaе quasi ignis, qui et insedit super unumquemque eorum. 4 et 1.42.; C ep.  
 impleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis quomodo Fundam. 9  
 spiritus dabat eis pronuntiare. 5 Hierosolymis autem fuerunt habitatores Cyprian,  
 spiritus dabat eis pronuntiare. 5 Hierosolymis autem fuerunt habitatores Test. ut. 101  
 Judaei, homines ex omni natione quae est sub caelo. 6 et cum facta esset vox,  
 collecta est turba et confusa, quoniam audiebat unusquisque suo sermone et  
 suis linguis loquentes eos. 7 stupebant autem et admirabantur ad invicem  
 dicentes: nonne omnes qui loquuntur natione sunt Galilaei? 8 et quomodo  
 agnoscimus in illis sermonem in quo nati sumus? 9 Parthi, Medi, et Elamitae,  
 2 totum illum locum (locum illum Cyprian. test) in quo Fund Cyprian. test  
 9 Parthi] + et some MSS. om et 1o Fund 4 om variis Fund

6 ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν] mg linguis ipsorum

Harleian

set that word before *ἄνδρες*, instead of after it as in the original text.

6 τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῇ λαλοῦντων αὐτῶν] λαλοῦντας ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν D peah. The change in order (not found in Latins [except d], which otherwise support in part the 'Western' reading) is perhaps intended to make it clear that the speaking, not the hearing only, took place in these languages. The same motive seems to have been

at work in vs. 8, τὴν διάλεκτον D Aug. c. Fel., c. ep. Fund., uniti From perp gig t vg. codā peah, for τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῇ. Note the rendering *agnoscimus* in Aug. c. Fel., c. ep. Fund. From.

7 πάντες (ἀπαντες) after ἐξείσταντο is lacking not only in B but in the 'Western' text (D Aug gig) and perhaps in the Antiochian (yet cf. S). It was perhaps added under the influence of vs. 12.

ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν; Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰλαμείται, 9  
καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππα-  
δοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, | Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, 10  
Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ  
ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, | Κρήτες 11  
καὶ Ἀραβες, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσ-  
σαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ διηποροῦντο, 12  
ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγοντες· Τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι; ἕτεροι 13  
δὲ διαχλευάζοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι Γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν.  
σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ 14  
καὶ ἀπεφθέγγετο αὐτοῖς· Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντες, τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω καὶ ἐνωτίσασθε 15  
τὰ ῥήματά μου. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε οὗτοι μεθύουσιν, 15  
ἔστιν γὰρ ὥρα τρίτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον 16

Editors 12 διηποροῦν Soden

16 om ιωηλ JHE

Old Uncial 9 καὶ αἰλαμείται BAC<sup>80</sup> 096 81 (+D) om B 12 διηποροῦντο B<sup>8A</sup>  
διηποροῦν C 096 81 (+D) πρὸς B<sup>8A</sup>C 096 81 (+D) +τον 076 θελεῖ  
BAC 81 (+D) θελοὶ B θελεῖ τοῦτο B(8)C 81 (+D) τοῦτο θελεῖ A 18 δια-  
χλευάζοντες ελεγον B<sup>8A</sup>C 096<sup>80</sup> 81 (cf. D) χλευάζοντες ελεγον 096 [εχ]λευάζον  
λεγοντες 076 (cf. D) 14 ο B<sup>8A</sup>A 076 096 81 (+D) om C ἀπεφθεγγετο  
B<sup>8A</sup>A 076 096 81 +λεγων C ὑμῶν γνωστον B<sup>8A</sup>C 096 81 (cf. D) γνωστο[ον  
υμῶν] 076

Antiochian 12 διηποροῦν S 462 102 5 (+D)

θελεῖ] αὐ θελοὶ S 462 102 5

13 διαχλευάζοντες] χλευάζοντες S 462 102 5

14 om ο PS 462 5 πάντες]  
απαιτες PS 462 5

9 *ιουδαιαν* is translated *Judaei* in Aug.*univ.* Pesh has 'Jews and Cappadocians' for *ιουδαιαν τε καὶ καππαδοκίαν*. Sah (in spite of Zahn's vigorous argument, *Urausgabe*, pp. 337 f.) is not to be taken as attesting *ιουδαιοι*. Aug.*univ.* and pesh are probably attempts to escape the obvious exegetical difficulty, but the repetition here and in vs. 10 of the word 'Jews' (cf. vs. 5) puts an inappropriate emphasis on the fact that these were Jews. Aug. c. *op. Fund.* and Tertullian *adv. Judaeos*? (Augustine perhaps influenced by Tert.; note their agreement in the words *regiones* [-em] *Africæ* and *incolæ*) substitute *Armeniam*. Jerome on Is. xi 6 ff. substitutes 'Syria,' probably in accord-

ance with the geographical intention of the word 'Judaea.' These are ancient conjectures, no more weighty than the modern suggestions of *ιουμαιαν*, *λυδαν*, *ιωδαν*, *βιβυνιαν*, *γορδ(υ)αν*, *κλικιαν*, or the proposal to reject the word as interpolated.

11 *αραβοι* D is a Latinism.

13 With *hol. mg.* cf. Ephrem on 1 Cor. xiv. 28 (p. 77) *de apostolis discerunt eos musto plenos inebriatos esse*, and pesh 'these have drunk new wine and are intoxicated.'

14 *rore* D pesh is probably the reading of the 'Western' text, which frequently introduces *rore* in what might seem an Aramaizing manner (see above, pp. cccxxii, ccxliv, note 1). By conflation D has both *rore* and *de*.

9 ἡ ἐγεννήθημεν; Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἑλαμεῖται, οἱ κατοικούντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον  
 10 καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, | Φρυγίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον τε καὶ τὰ  
 μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥω-  
 11 μαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, | Κρήτες καὶ Ἀραβοὶ, ἀκούομεν  
 λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ  
 12 θεοῦ. ἐξείσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ διηπόρουν ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον  
 13 ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, καὶ λέγοντες· Τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι; ἕτεροι  
 δὲ διεχλεύαζον λέγοντες ὅτι Γλεῦκους οὗτοι μεμειστωμένοι  
 14 εἰσίν. τότε σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς δέκα ἀποστόλοις  
 ἐπῆρεν πρῶτος τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι  
 καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλήμ, τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν  
 15 ἔστω, ἐνωτίσατε τὰ ῥήματά μου. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπο-  
 16 λαμβάνετε οὗτοι μεθύουσιν, οὗσης ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας γ', | ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου·

11 κρητης

14 υμειν] ημειν

15 υπολαμβάνεται

9 parthi et medi et elamitae et qui inhabitant mesopotamiam judaeam et cappa-  
 dociam pontum et asian 10 frygiam et pamphyliam aegyptum et partes lybiae  
 qui est circa cyrenen et qui hic demorantur romani judaei et proselyti 11 cretenses  
 et arabi audivimus loquentes eos nostris linguis magna haec 12 obstupescabant  
 omnes et hesitabant alius ad alium quod factum est et dicentes quid vult esse hoc  
 13 alii vero deridebant dicentes quia musto isti repleti sunt 14 cum stetisset autem  
 petrus cum decem apostolis et elebabit primus vocem suam et dixit viri judaei et  
 omnes qui inhabitant hierusalem hoc vobis notum sit auscitate verbis meis 15 non  
 enim sicut vos suspicamini hi hebrei sunt est enim hora tertia diei 16 sed hoc est

et qui inhabitant Mesopotamiam, Judaeam et Cappadociam, Pontum, Asiam, *Augustine, C. Pelscom. 1.42; C. ep. Fundam. 8*  
 10 Phrygiam et Pamphyliam, Aegyptum et partes Libyae quae est ad Cyrenem,  
 et qui aderant Romani, 11 Judaeique et proselyti, Cretenses et Arabes, audie-  
 bant loquentes illos suis linguis magnalia dei.

12 stupebant autem et haesitabant ob id quod factum est, dicentes: quidnam  
 hoc vult esse? 13 alii autem inridebant dicentes: hi musto omnes onerati sunt.

9 Judaeam] Armeniam Fund  
 regiones Africae Fund

10 Phrygiam] + que one xx  
 aderant] advenerant Fund

11 Judaeique et proselyti] et

9 Parthi, Medi, Elamitae, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Armeniam, *Tertullian, Adv. Jud. 7*  
 Phrygiam, Cappadociam, et incolentes Pontum et Asiam, Pamphyliam,  
 10 immorantes Aegyptum et regionem Africae quae est trans Cyrenen, in-  
 habitantes Romani et incolae, tunc et in Hierusalem Judaei et ceterae gentes.

15 [dixit Petrus non ebrios quidem illos esse, cum sit] hora tertia diei; *Irenaeus, ul. 12, 1;*  
 16 [esse autem] hoc, quod dictum est per prophetam: 17 erit in novissima *cf. ul. 17, 1;*  
*ul. 11, 9*

8 ἐγεννήθημεν] mg fuimus 12 ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι] mg de illo quod factum est Haeleas  
 13 οἱ γλεῦκους οὗτοι μεμειστωμένοι εἰσιν] mg quia ebrii sunt

oel II. 28-33 διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰαήλ· Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα, λέγει ὁ θεός, 17  
ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεῦ-  
σουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι  
ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους  
ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· καὶ γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς 18  
δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός  
μου, καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω 19  
καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ·

Editors	17 μετὰ ταῦτα] ἐν ταῖς εσχάταις ἡμέραις WH Soden	18 om καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν JER
Old Uncial	17 μετὰ ταῦτα B 076 ἐν ταῖς εσχάταις ἡμέραις NA 096 81 (+D) μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς εσχάταις ἡμέραις C αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν BNA 81 θυγατέρες C ὑμῶν 40 BNA 076 81 om C <sup>ms</sup> (C <sup>3</sup> suppl) (+D) ἐνυπνίους BNA 81 ἐνυπνια 076 <sup>ms</sup> 18 δούλους BAC 076 81 (+D) δούλας N δούλας BAC 076 81 (+D) δούλους N 19 ἄνω BNC 076 81 (+D) om Δ	
Antiochian	17 μετὰ ταῦτα] ἐν ταῖς εσχάταις ἡμέραις PS 462 5 (+D) om οἱ 1 <sup>o</sup> S om νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται καὶ οἱ S ἐνυπνια P 462 5	

16 *μηλ* omitted by D (cf. Justin. *diai* 87), Iren. *Aug. ep.* 199 23, Hil. *trm.* viii. 25. In Pa.-Orig. *Tract.* 20 (ed. Batiffol and Wilmart) it is probably a later addition.

17 μετὰ ταῦτα B 076 Cyr. of Jer. *catech.* xvii. 19 sah (3 late codd.). D, Tertulhan, *adv. Marc.* v. 8, with NA boh and the great body of authorities, have ἐν ταῖς εσχάταις ἡμέραις. This 'Western' reading was apparently drawn from ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, vs. 18, which is therefore in consistency omitted by D gig Priscill Rebapt. Combinations of the two readings appear in C minn, and in sah.cod.B (cent. iv).

The 'Western' substitute in vs. 17 was thus widely adopted in non-western texts, but the corresponding 'Western' omission in vs. 18 scarcely at all.

17-30 The quotation from Joel is found in two forms, that of B and that of D. Each ms. is supported by other witnesses, Greek, Syriac, Sahidic, and notably Latin, which group themselves about the two leaders in kaleidoscopic selection. Apart from the peculiar instance of μου 2<sup>o</sup>, vs. 18, which may or may not belong to the series (D here agrees with B), and with the further exceptions of ο θεος, vs. 17, and καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν, vs. 18,

the reading of B in every case agrees with the LXX.

B	
17 καὶ (LXX)	om D
μετὰ ταῦτα (LXX)	ἐν ταῖς εσχά- ταις ἡμέραις D
ο θεος	κύριος D
ὑμῶν 1 <sup>o</sup> and 2 <sup>o</sup>	αὐτῶν D
(LXX)	
ὑμῶν 3 <sup>o</sup> and 4 <sup>o</sup>	om D
(LXX)	
18 [μου 1 <sup>o</sup> (so D) [om Prisc	
(LXX)]	Rebapt]
[μου 2 <sup>o</sup> (so D gig [om Rebapt	
Prisc Perpet)]	(LXX)]
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις	om D
ἐκείναις (LXX)	
[καὶ προφητεῦσου- σιν]	[om D (LXX)]
19 αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ	om D
ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ	
(LXX)	
20 καὶ ἐπιφάνη (LXX)	om D

In some cases manifestly, and probably in all, the departures in D from the LXX-text spring from one motive, namely to adapt the quotation to the situation to which Peter here applies it. Thus adaptation may be the work of the original author, and the agreement of the B-text with the LXX may have been effected by an editor.

- 17 Ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει κύριος, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πάσας σάρκας, καὶ προφήτεῖσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὁράσει  
18 ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐνπνιασθήσονται, | καὶ ἐγὼ ὦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
19 πνεύματός μου. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ  
20 σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω· ὁ ἥλιος μεταστρέφεται εἰς

quod dictum est per prophetam 17 erit in novissimis diebus dicit dñs effundam d spm meum super omnem carnē et prophetabunt filii eorum et filiae eorum et iuvenes visiones videbunt et seniores omnia connumerabunt 18 et ego super servos meos et super ancillas meas effundam spiritum meum 19 et dabo prodigia in caelo superius et signa in terra deorsum 20 sol convertetur in tenebris et luna in sanguine prius

17 [illa promissio spiritus facta] per Jozelem: in novissimis temporibus effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii. Aequae eorum. 18 et super servos et ancillas meas de meo spiritu effundam. Tertullian, Marc v 5: cf. v 4, 11. 17, R. 1. cur. 63

diebus, dicit dominus, effundam de spiritu meo in omnem carnem et prophetabunt. Irenaeus, iii. 12, 1

Under this view the text of D will be preferred. Equally possible, however, is the view that the author copied exactly, or nearly so, from his LXX, and that the modifications are due to the customary freedom of the paraphrastic 'Western' reviser; cf. vii. 18, 26, 33, 43 (om υμων; ἐν τα μερη βαβυλωνος), xiii. 47 (where D is not conformed to LXX). For this latter view speaks the characteristic transfer of *en tais hmerais ekeinas* (cf. vs. 18) to vs. 17 in the form *en tais eschatais hmerais*, as well as the habitual fidelity to the text of the LXX which the author of Acts elsewhere displays where making formal quotations. Examples of this may be seen in vss. 26-28, 34 f., iv. 25 f., etc.

The case of the addition to the LXX of *καὶ προφητευσουσιν* in vs. 18 is peculiar, because D per r Priso here omit, with best mss. of LXX, while B and all others (including Justin) have the words. These are parallel to vs. 17, and are clearly an adaptation of the OT passage to the present situation. Such an adaptation does occur in the undoubtedly original words *λέγει ο θεος* (v.l. *κυριος*), vs. 16; but in the case of *καὶ προφητευσουσιν*, vs. 18, the

wiser judgement is perhaps to assume an addition to the author's quotation before the formation of the text of B, i.e. a 'Western non-interpolation,' and to reject the words. If they were originally present, the only reason for omitting them in D would have been the desire to conform to the LXX, but, as has been shown, this motive is the opposite of that which, under any hypothesis, governed the formation of the D-text.

In the case of *μου* 1<sup>o</sup> and 2<sup>o</sup> D is on the side of B, and the omission in Latin witnesses may be due to the further working at some later time of the motive of adaptation. But possibly D may here be conflate, and the omission of both words in *De Rebatptismate*, etc., may alone represent the original.

It is to be noted that certain additions to the LXX text, of purely rhetorical nature, seem to have been made by the author himself—not only *λέγει ο θεος*, vs. 17, but *αὐα, σημεια*, and *κατω*, vs. 19. He has also permitted himself *ἐνπνιασι*, vs. 17, for *ἐνπνια* LXX, and perhaps dropped *την* before *ημερας*, vs. 20 (but LXX text is in both cases doubtful). Among these

ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφῆσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα 20  
 πρὶν ἢ ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ. καὶ 21  
 ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἐὰν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.  
 ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλεῖται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους. Ἰησοῦν 22  
 τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς  
 ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε, | τοῦτον τῇ ὀρισμένη βουλῇ 23  
 καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδοτον διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπῆζαντες  
 ἀνείλατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησε λύσας τὰς ὠδεύσας τοῦ θανάτου, 24  
 καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Δαυεὶδ γὰρ 25  
 λέγει εἰς αὐτόν· Προορώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός,  
 ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. διὰ τοῦτο ἠψφράνθη μου 26  
 ἡ καρδία καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου  
 κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείμεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου 27  
 εἰς ᾗδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. ἐγνώρισάς 28  
 μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου

Editors 20 om η WH (but cf. mg) Soden JHR

την ημεραν Soden

Old Uncial 20 πρὶν η B 076 om η BAC 81 (+D) ημεραν B<sup>8</sup> 076 (+D) την ημεραν  
 AC<sup>8</sup> 81 και επιφανη BAC 076 81 om N(+D) 21 om va. 21 N  
 (N<sup>8</sup> suppl) 22 αποδεδειγμενον απο του θεου B<sup>8</sup> C 81 απο του θεου απο-  
 δεδειγμενον A(cf. D) ο B<sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) om C 23 εκδοτον B<sup>8</sup> AC 81  
 +λαβοντες N<sup>8</sup>(+D) 25 αυτων B<sup>8</sup> C 81 (+D) αυτην A κυριον BAC 81  
 +μου N (+D) 26 μου η καρδια B<sup>8</sup> η καρδια μου AC<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D)  
 28 ευφροσυνης B<sup>8</sup> C 81(+D) ευφροσυνην A vi<sup>8</sup>

Antiochian 20 την ημεραν PS 462 5 22 απο του θεου αποδεδειγμενον PS 462 5 (cf. D)  
 καως] +και PS 462 5 23 εκδοτον] +λαβοντες PS 462 5 (+D) χειρων  
 PS 462 5 26 η καρδια μου PS 462 5 (+D) 27 αδου PS 462 5

all but λεγει ο θεος and σημεια have been corrected to the LXX standard in some extant witness or group of witnesses.

Minor variants occur in D which have been deliberately passed by in

this note, as not forming part of the main problem. See also p. cxxxviii.

20 The unimportant addition of η in B 076 and the Antiochian text has against it not only BAC 81, but also D, and may best be rejected from the text.

1 σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν  
μεγάλην. καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ  
κυρίου σωθήσεται.

2 "Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλείται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους. Ἰησοῦν  
τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ᾧδοκίμασμένον εἰς ἡμᾶς  
δυνάμεσαι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις ὅσα ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς  
3 ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἴδατε, | τοῦτον τῇ ὠρισμένῃ βουλῇ  
καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκδοτον λαβόντες διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων  
4 προσπῆξαντες ἀνείλατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδύνας  
τοῦ ἄδου, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.  
5 Δαυεὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν·

Προορώμην τὸν κύριόν μου ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι  
6 ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστω ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. διὰ τοῦτο ἠὺφράνθη  
ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ  
7 σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐφ' ἐλπίδει· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις  
τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν  
8 διαφθοράν. γνωρίσας μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς πληρώσεις με εὐ-  
φροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου.

quam veniat dies dñi magnus 21 et erit omnis quicumque invocaverit nomen dñi d  
salvus erit 22 viri israelitae audite sermones hos ihm nazarenum virum a dō  
probatum in nobis virtutibus et prodigiis et signis quae fecit per eum dñs in medio  
vestrum sicut ipsi scitis 23 hunc destinato consilio et providentia dñi auditum  
acceptis per manus iniquorum affixum interfecistis 24 quem dñs suscitavit solutus  
amictibus inferiorū quoniam possibile non esset defunctum eum ab ipso 25 david enim  
dicit in eum providebam dñm meum in conspectu meo semper quia a dextra mea est  
ut non commovear 26 propterea laetatum est cor meum et exultavit lingua mea  
adhuc autem et caro mea inlabitavit in spem 27 quis non derelinques animam  
meam apud inferos nequae dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem 28 notas  
fecisti mihi vias vitae implevis me iucunditate cum facie tua 29 viri fratres licet

22 viri Israelitae, auribus mandate quae dico: Jesum Nazarenum, virum a Tert. Ped. 21;  
deo vobis destinatum. cf. Roa. carn. 15

22 viri [enim, inquit Petrus,] Israelitae, audite sermones meos: Jesum Irenaeus,  
Nazarenum, virum adprobatum a deo in vobis virtutibus et prodigiis et signis, III. 12, 2  
quae fecit per ipsum deus in medio vestrum, quemadmodum ipsi scitis,  
23 hunc definito consilio et praesentia dei traditum per manus iniquorum  
affigentes interfecistis, 24 quem deus exaltavit solutus doloribus inferorum,  
quoniam non erat possibile teneri eum ab eis. 25 David enim dicit in ipsum:  
providebam dominum in conspectu meo semper, quoniam a dextris meis est, ut  
non movear. 26 propter hoc laetatum est cor meum, et exultavit lingua mea,  
insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe; 27 quoniam non derelinques animam  
meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.

25 meo] mei Turner

σου. ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ 29  
 τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαυεὶδ, ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ τὸ  
 μῆμα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῶν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης· προφῆτης 30  
 Ps. cxxxi. 11 οὗν ὑπάρχων, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὄρκω ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ  
 τῆς ὁσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσει ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, προιδὼν ἐλά- 31  
 λησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη  
 εἰς ᾗδην οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν. τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν 32  
 ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, οὐ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν μάρτυρες. τῇ δεξιᾷ 33  
 οὗν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ  
 ἁγίου λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέχεεν τοῦτο ὃ ὑμεῖς καὶ  
 βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε. οὐ γὰρ Δαυεὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, 34  
 Ps. cx. 1 λέγει δὲ αὐτός· Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν  
 μου | ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. 35  
 ἀσφαλῶς οὐκ ἔγωγε γενοσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ κύριον 36  
 αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς

Editors 30 σφύος αὐτοῦ] + [το κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν χριστὸν] Soden  
 31 οὐδε] ουτε WH Soden JHR 33 [καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup>] WH 34 ο κυριος Soden  
 36 ο θεος ἐποίησεν Soden

Old Uncial 81 ἐγκατελείφθη B<sup>1</sup>AC<sup>2</sup> 81 (+D) ἐγκατελημμένη C αὐτὸν B<sup>1</sup> 81 αὐτοῦ  
 AC(+D) οὐδε B ουτε B<sup>1</sup>AC 81 (+D) 82 ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν BAC 81  
 (cf. D) ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς B 83 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> B(+D) om BAC 81 84 κυριος  
 B<sup>1</sup>(+D) ο κυριος B<sup>2</sup>(B<sup>3</sup> Tdf)AC<sup>2</sup> 81 36 οὐν B<sup>2</sup> οίκος B<sup>1</sup>A 81  
 ο οίκος C(+D) αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν B<sup>1</sup>AC καὶ χριστὸν αὐτὸν 81  
 ἐποίησεν ο θεος B<sup>1</sup> 81 ο θεος ἐποίησεν AC(+D)

Antiochian 30 τοῦ καρποῦ P σφύος αὐτοῦ] + το κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν χριστὸν  
 PS 462 5 (cf. D) θρονοῦ PS τοῦ θρονοῦ 462 5 81 ουτε] ου PS 462 5  
 ἐγκατελείφθη] κατελείφθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ PS 462 5 αὐτοῦ PS 462 5 (+D)  
 82 om ἐσμεν P 83 τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου] τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος PS 462 5 (+D)  
 ο] + οὐ PS 462 5 ἡμεῖς S om καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> PS 462 5 34 ο κυριος  
 PS 462 5 36 καὶ χριστὸν αὐτὸν PS 462 5 ο θεος ἐποίησε PS 462 5 (+D)

30 σφύος] *ventris* (i.e. κοιλίας, con-  
 formed to Ps. cxxxi. 11) *peip gig* Iren  
 pesh. καρδίας D seems based on  
 κοιλίας.

The awkwardness of the Semitic *ex*  
*καρπου*, treated like a noun and serving  
 as object of the verb, gave occasion  
 for the expansion *κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσει*

*τὸν χριστὸν καὶ D*, which in Latin  
 appears only in *d e* (om *secundum*  
*carne*) and, with conflation, in  
 Vigilius, but (with somewhat varying  
 form) was adopted by the Antiochian  
 revisers. The enlargement may have  
 been subsequent to the formation of  
 the 'Western' text.



- 29 ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ  
τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαυεὶδ, ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ τὸ  
30 μνημῖον αὐτοῦ ἔστιν παρ' ἡμῶν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης· προ-  
φήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων, καὶ εἰδὼν ὅτι ὄρκω ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς  
ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστῆσαι τὸν Χρι-  
31 στὸν καὶ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, <προvidens ἐλάλησεν περὶ  
τῆς> ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾧδον  
32 οὔτε ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν. τοῦτον οὖν Ἰησοῦν ἀν-  
33 ἔστησεν ὁ θεός, οὐ πάντες ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν. τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν  
τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαβὼν  
34 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέχεεν ὑμῖν ὁ καὶ βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε. οὐ  
γὰρ Δαυεὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, εἶρηκεν γὰρ αὐτός·  
35 Λέγει κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου | ἕως θῶ  
τοῦ<ς> ἐκθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.  
36 ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γεννωσκέτω πᾶς ὁ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ κύριον  
καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τοῦτον Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἑσταυρώ-  
30 ὠμασεν 31 ἐγκαταλείφθη εἶδεν] εἶδειν

mibi dicere cum fiducia ad vos de patriarcha david quia defunctus est et sepultus d  
est et monumentum ejus est apud nos usque in hunc diem 30 cum esset autem  
propheta et sciret quia jurejurando juravit ei d's de fructu de praecordia ejus  
secundum carne suscitare xpm collocare super thronum ejus 31 resurrectione xpi  
quia neque derelictus est apud inferos neque caro ejus vidit corruptionem 32 hunc  
ergo ih̄n resuscitavit d's cujus nos omnes testes sumus 33 dextera ergo d'i exaltatus  
et pollicitationem sp̄s sancti accepta a patre effudit vobis quod et vidistis et audistis  
34 non enim david ascendit in caelos dixit enim ipse dixit dñs dñō meo sede ad  
dexteram meam 35 donec ponam inimicos tuos scammillam pedum tuorum 36 pro  
certo ergo sciat omnis domus israhel quia et dñm et xpm d's fecit hunc ih̄m quem

33 dextera dei exaltatus [sicut Petrus in Actis contentionatur].

Tert. Proz. 17

26 firmissime itaque cognoscat omnis domus Israhel quod et dominum et Proz. 28  
Christum [id est unctum] fecerit eum deus, hunc Jesum quem vos crucifixistis.

[29 dehinc rursus fiducialiter illis dicit de patriarcha David, quoniam Irenaeus,  
mortuus est et sepultus, et sepulchrum ejus sit apud eos usque in hunc diem.] <sup>th. 12, 2</sup>  
30 propheta autem [inquit] cum esset et sciret quoniam jurejurando ei juravit  
deus de fructu ventris ejus sedere in throno ejus, 31 providens locutus est de  
resurrectione Christi, quoniam neque derelictus est apud inferos, neque caro ejus  
vidit corruptionem. 32 hunc Jesum [inquit] excitavit deus, cujus nos omnes  
sumus testes: 33 qui dextera dei exaltatus, repromissionem spiritus sancti  
accipiens a patre, effudit donationem hanc quam vos nunc vidistis et audistis.  
34 non enim David ascendit in caelos, dicit autem ipse: dixit dominus domino  
meo, sede ad dexteram meam, 35 quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos sub-  
pedaneum pedum tuorum. 36 certissime ergo sciat omnis domus Israel,  
quoniam et dominum eum et Christum deus fecit, hunc Jesum, quem vos  
crucifixistis.

33 e] *test* hoc donum quod, *mg* hoc quod

Harleian

ἐσταυρώσατε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ κατενόγησαν τὴν καρδίαν, εἰπόν 37  
τε πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους· Τί ποιήσω-  
μεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί; | Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· Μετανοήσατε, 38  
καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ  
ἁγίου πνεύματος· ὑμῶν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις 39  
ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσθῃται κύριος  
ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν. ἑτέροις τε λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο, καὶ 40  
παρεκάλει αὐτοὺς λέγων· Σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς  
ταύτης.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν, 41  
καὶ προσετέθησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ψυχαὶ ὥσει τρισχέλιαι.  
ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ 42  
κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς· ἐγένετο 43  
δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος. πολλὰ δὲ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα διὰ τῶν

Editors 37 om λοιποὺς JHR 38 μετανοήσατε] +φήσιν Soden +εφή Soden mg  
en] ενι Soden 43 δε 2<sup>o</sup> τε Soden

Old Uncial 37 εἰπον τε BAC εἰκοντες N εἰπον δε 81 38 μετανοήσατε B +φήσιν  
NA C 81 (cf. D) εν BC (+D) ενι NA 81 ὑμων 2<sup>o</sup> BNA 81 ἡμων C  
39 οσοις BN 81 (+D) ους AC 41 ὥσει BAC<sup>o</sup> 81 (+D) ὡς N  
42 προσκαρτεροῦντες BNC 81 (+D) +εν A κοινωνια BNA C 81 (+D) +και  
N<sup>c</sup> 43 ἐγένετο 1<sup>o</sup> BNA C (+D) ἐγενετο 81 δε 2<sup>o</sup> BN 81 τε AC  
δια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγενετο BN 81 (+D) ἐγενετο δια τῶν ἀποστόλων AC

Antiochian 37 τη καρδια PS 4625 (+D) εἰπον τε] εἰκοντες S om τον 462  
ποιησομεν 5 (+D) 38 δε] +εφη PS 4625 εν] ενι PS 4625  
om των PS 4625 (+D) om ὑμων 2<sup>o</sup> PS 4625 (+D) 40 διεμαρτυρητο  
PS 4625 om αυτους PS 4625 41 ου] +ασμενως PS 4625  
αποδεξαμεναι] δεξαμεναι S om εν PS 4625 42 κοινωνια] +και PS 4625  
43 ἐγενετο 1<sup>o</sup> ἐγενετο PS 4625 δε 2<sup>o</sup> τε PS 4625

37 The omission of *λοιποὺς* D 241 gag Aug *uult* is probably right.

38 For *ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* Iren reads *ἰησοῦ*, *peah* του κυριου ἰησοῦ. The agreement in omission of *χριστοῦ* is probably coincidence. The 'Western' text has an expanded phrase, cf. D Cyp.

That the omission of *ὑμων* after *eis* *ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* D gig *perp* Rebapt Iren Aug. *uult*, etc. *peah* *holiēat* and

Antiochian is conformation to the solemn formula of the Gospels, not an original shorter reading, seems clearly indicated by the complete absence of tendency to expand in Matt. xxvi. 28, Mk. i. 4, Lk. iii. 3.

42 τη κοινωνια τη κλασει] *κοινωνικαί-  
σιονε fractionis* vg sah boh is due to taking τη κλασει as appositive. *Peah* shows the same exegesis.

- 37 **σατε. τότε πάντες οἱ συνελθόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες κατενύγησαν**  
**τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπαν πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ**  
**τοὺς ἀποστόλους· τί οὖν ποιήσομεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί; ὑποδείξατε**  
38 **ἡμεῖν. Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φησιν· Μετανοήσατε, καὶ**  
**βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ**  
**Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ**  
39 **ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἡμεῖν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις**  
**ἡμῶν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς> εἰς μακρὰν ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσεται**  
40 **κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. ἐτέροις δὲ λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο,**  
**καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτοὺς λέγων· Σιώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης**  
**τῆς σκολιᾶς.**  
41 **Οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστεύσαντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν,**  
**καὶ προστεθήσαν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ψυχαὶ ὥσει τρισχειλειαί.**  
42 **καὶ ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν**  
**Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς**  
43 **προσευχαῖς. ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος· πολλὰ τέρατα καὶ**

38 λημψέσθαι

39 προσκαλεσθε

vos crucifixistis 37 tunc omnes qui convenerant exaudientes summati sunt corde d  
et quidam ex ipsis dixerunt ad petrum et ad apostolos quid ergo faciemus viri fratres  
ostendite nobis 38 petrus autem ad eos ait poenitentiam agite et baptizetur  
unus quisque vestrum in nomine dñi ihu xpī in remissione peccatorum et accipite  
gratiam sanctum spm 39 nobis enim est haec repromissio et filius noster et omnibus  
qui in longinquo quos advocaverit dñs dñs noster 40 aliis quoque sermonibus  
pluribus contestabatur et exortabatur eos dicens salvi estote ex progenie hanc prava  
41 hi ergo credentes sermoni ejus baptizati sunt et adjectae sunt in illo die animae  
quasi tria milia 42 et erant perseverantes in doctrina apostolorum in iherusalem et  
in communicatione fractionis panis et orationibus 43 nascebatur quoque omni

38 poenitemini, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine domini Jesu *Cyprian,*  
Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum spiritus sancti. *Ep. 78. 17*  
39 vobis enim est promissio et filiis vestris et omnibus deinceps, quoscunque  
advocaverit dominus deus noster.

37 [cum dixissent igitur turbæ:] quid ergo faciemus? 38 Petrus ad eos *Irenaeus*  
ait: poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu in *tit. 12, 2*  
remissa peccatorum, et accipietis donum spiritus sancti.

37 *τοτε . . . κατενύγησαν*] *mg* tunc omnes qui congregati erant et audierant *Harleian*  
compuncti sunt *υποδείξατε ἡμεῖν*] *mg* monstrare nobis 40 *διεμαρτύρατο*]  
testabatur ✕ iis < 41 *πιστεύσαντες*] *mg* et crediderunt et

ἀποστόλων ἐγείνετο. πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ 44  
 εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά, καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον 45  
 καὶ διμερίζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν· καθ' 46  
 ἡμέραν τε προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλῶντές  
 τε κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον, μετελάμβανον τροφῆς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ  
 ἀφελότητι καρδίας, αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς 47  
 ὅλον τὸν λαόν. ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ'  
 ἡμέραν | ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. III

Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν  
 τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐνάτην, καὶ τις ἀνὴρ χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς 2

Editors 43 *εγεινετο* 20] +*εν ιερουσαλημ φοβος τε ην μεγας επι παντας* Soden within [ ],  
 JHR 44 add *και* before *παντες* Soden JHR *επι το αυτο*] *ησαν επι το*  
*αυτο και* WHmg Soden 47 *ημεραν*] +[*τη εκκλησια*] Soden 1 *δε πετρος*  
 Soden mg 2 *και*] +*ιδου* JHR

Old Uncial 43 *εγεινετο* 20 B 81 (+D) +*εν ιερουσαλημ φοβος τε ην μεγας επι παντας*  $\aleph$ AC  
 44 *παντες* B *και παντες*  $\aleph$ AC 81 *πιστευσαντες* B $\aleph$  *πιστευοντες* AC 81 (+D)  
*επι το αυτο* B *ησαν επι το αυτο και*  $\aleph$ AC 81 (+D) 45 *διμεριζον* B $\aleph$ AC 81 (+D)  
*εμεριζον* A 46 *ομοθυμαδον εν τω ιερω* B $\aleph$ A 81 *εν τω ιερω ομοθυμαδον* C  
 τε 20 B $\aleph$ AC (+D) om 81

Antiochian 44 *πιστευοντες* PS 4625 (+D) *επι το αυτο*] *ησαν επι το αυτο και* PS 4625  
 (+D) 47 *ημεραν*] +*τη εκκλησια* PS 4625 1 *δε πετρος* PS 4625

43 After *εγεινετο* 20  $\aleph$ AC read *εν ιερουσαλημ φοβος τε ην μεγας επι παντας*, and they are supported by some Greek minn and by vg and boh (peah has *εν ιερουσαλημ* only). D perp g g s exhibit the shorter text with B 81 Antiochian.  $\aleph$ AC (but not vg) begin vs. 44 *και παντες δε*. The text of  $\aleph$ AC is probably genuine, for the additional words are not drawn from the 'Western' text, and are not to be accounted for from v. 5. Unless the words are due to mere lust of expansive paraphrase, which does not often appear outside of the 'Western' text, the argument from 'transcriptional' motives tells strongly in their favour, since they seem to repeat vs. 42a. In fact, the first clause of vs. 48 (*εγεινετο δε πᾶση ψυχῇ φόβος*) belongs with the preceding sentence (vs. 42); the later part of vs. 48 was concluded by a similar statement, with an appropriate notice (*μέγας*) of increase of reverent feeling

by reason of the miracles. The same repetition is to be seen in almost exactly the same manner in v. 5, 11. Note *εν ιερουσαλημ* D, vs. 42.

The authorities for the longer text in vs. 43 generally read *και παντες δε* in vs. 44 (but 81 has the shorter text and yet reads *και*). On transcriptional grounds *και* is to be accepted (cf. iii. 24, xxii. 29).

44 *επι το αυτο εχον* is read by B 284 Orig. *Salvian. avarit.* iii. 10 perp g g (*munerum* for *in unum*) m r. The others present the expanded *ησαν επι το αυτο και εχον*. Both here and in vs. 47 *επι το αυτο* gave trouble; cf. C. C. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 10-14.

45-46 D *και οσοι κτηματα εχον η υπαρξεις* (cf. iv. 34) and peah try to avoid the implication that all were property-owners.

After *διμεριζω αυτα* D perp g g m r have *καθ ημεραν*, which D omits

44 σημεῖα διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγείνεται. πάντες τε οἱ πιστεύοντες  
 45 ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἶχον πάντα κοινά, καὶ ὅσοι κτήματα  
 εἶχον ἢ ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμέραν  
 46 πᾶσι τοῖς ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν· πάντες τε προσεκαρτέρουν ἐν  
 τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἴκους ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, κλῶντές τε ἄρτον  
 47 μετελάμβανον τροφῆς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας,  
 αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. ὁ  
 III δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν | ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον  
 εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ δεικνὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐνάτης· τῆς προσ-  
 2 ευχῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ τις ἀνὴρ χλωδὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβαστά-

animae timor multa etiam portenta et signa per apostolos fiebant 44 omnes etiam d  
 credentes erant in unum et habebant omnia communia 45 et qui possessiones  
 habebant et facultates distrahebant et dispartiebantur ea cottidie omnibus secundum  
 quod qui opus erat 46 omnes quoque perseverantes in templo et per domos id  
 ipsum capiebant panes accipientes cibum in exultatione et simplicitate cordis  
 47 laudem dicentes dō et habentes gratiam apud totum mundū dñs autem autem  
 adiciebat eos qui salvi fiebant cottie in unum in ecclesia

1 in diebus autem ipsius petrus et iohannes ascendeant in templū ad vespertinam ad  
 horam nonam orationis 2 et ecce quidam vir clodus ex utero matris suae basolatur

at beginning of vs. 46. The sense would be excellent, cf. vi. 1. The insertion by D of a meaningless, but suggestive, *τοῖς* after *πᾶσιν*, and perhaps also the identity of phrase *καθὼς ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν* with iv. 35, arouse the suspicion of a deep-seated corruption, and that the original text of the passage was something like *διεμερίζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς* [ ] *καθ' ἡμέραν*. The following sentence, vs. 48, might then have begun, as in D, *πάντες τε*, but what follows in D (*κατ' οἴκους ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*) suggests that something is irrecoverably wrong in the text of both verses. As the text of D now stands, an attempt appears to have been made (*κατ' οἴκους*, and especially *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*) to take it as referring expressly to the eucharist. The omission of *ἐν ἱερῷ* by perp gig r (r reads *orationis instanties*) may have had a similar motive. Observe that no trustworthy witness to the primitive African text is here available.

1 *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* belongs with the preceding sentence according to BNA<sup>6</sup> 81 vg sah and the (somewhat expanded) text of D. The reading *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό δὲ πέτρος* is an Antiochian attempt at improvement of this difficult text; it seems to have affected no Latin document except, naturally, e

In the ameliorative addition (e) *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, D pesh Antiochian agree, probably through the 'Western' element in the Antiochian.

*τὸ δεικνόν* D alone, to be taken as an adverb, cf. Lev. vi. 20 (18), Susanna 7.

2 D perp<sup>7</sup> vg. one cod pesh καὶ ἰδοὺ τις ἀνὴρ may be original, since it is more Semitic. For use of *ἰδοὺ* to introduce preliminary explanation, cf. Lk. ii. 25, vii. 37, x. 25, xiii. 11, xiv. 2, xix. 2, xxiv. 13. The omission of *υπαρχῶν* in D pesh (perhaps indicated also by omission of *qui erat* [so vg] in perp gig e Lucif) is probably part of the same original context.

αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων ἐβαστάζε<το>, ὃν ἐτίθουν καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν  
 θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν λεγομένην Ὠραίαν τοῦ αἰτεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην  
 παρὰ τῶν εἰσπορευομένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ὃς ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ 3  
 Ἰωάννην μέλλοντας εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἡρώτα ἐλεημοσύνην  
 λαβεῖν. ἀτενίσας δὲ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἶπεν· 4  
 Βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ ἐπέειχεν αὐτοῖς προσδοκῶν τι παρ' αὐτῶν 5  
 λαβεῖν. εἶπεν δὲ Πέτρος· Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει 6  
 μοι, ὁ δὲ ἔχω τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 τοῦ Ναζωραίου περιπάτει. καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς 7  
 ἤγειρεν αὐτόν· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἑσπερώθησαν αἱ βάσεις αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τὰ σφυδρά, | καὶ ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη καὶ περιεπάτει, καὶ εἰς- 8  
 ἦλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν περιπατῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενος καὶ αἰνῶν  
 τὸν θεόν. καὶ εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα καὶ αἰνοῦντα 9  
 τὸν θεόν, ἐπεγείνωσκον δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐλεη- 10

Editors 2 om ὑπάρχων JHR 3 om λαβεῖν JHR 6 ναζωραίου] +[εγειρε  
 καὶ] Soden 10 οὗτος] αὐτος Soden

Old Uncial 2 ἐβαστάζετο B<sup>2</sup>(B<sup>1</sup> Tdf) πρὸς B<sup>2</sup>AC 095 (+D) ἐπὶ 81 λεγομένην  
 B<sup>2</sup>AC 81 (+D) καλουμένην 095 3 os . . . το ἱερον B<sup>2</sup>AC (cf. D)  
 om 81 ἡρώτα B<sup>2</sup>A 095 81 (+D) ἐρώτα C 4 eis 1<sup>o</sup> BAC 095 81  
 (+D) πρὸς ἥ πετρος eis αυτων B<sup>2</sup>AC 81 (cf. D) eis αυτων πετρος 095  
 5 αυτων B<sup>2</sup>A 095 81 (+D) αυτου C 6 ειπεν δε πετρος B<sup>2</sup> 81 (cf. D)  
 πετρος δε ειπεν AC 095 ναζωραίου B<sup>2</sup>(+D) +εγειρε (C εγειραι) και  
 AC 095 81 7 αι βασεις αυτου B<sup>2</sup>AC 81 αυτου αι βασεις 095 (+D)  
 8 και αιωνων B<sup>2</sup>C 095 81 om και A (cf. D) 9 θεον B<sup>2</sup>A 81 (+D) κυριον C  
 10 αυτων BAC<sup>2</sup> 81 (+D) om ἥ οὗτος B(+D) αὐτος ἡAC 81

Antiochian 3 om λαβεῖν PS 462 (+D) 6 ναζωραίου] +εγειρε (-αι 5') και PS  
 462 5 7 om αυτων 2<sup>o</sup> PS 462 5 (+D)] αυτου αι βασεις PS 462 5 (+D)  
 9 αυτων πας ο λαος PS 462 5 10 δε] τε PS 462 5 (+D) ην] εστιν 462

2 παρ αυτων εἰσπορευομενων αυτων  
 D, for παρα των εἰσπορευομενων,  
 is due to a scribe's blunder, which  
 made necessary the insertion of  
 the second αυτων, but which did not  
 affect d.

3 Omission of λαβεῖν (cf. vs. 5) by  
 D h perp gig Lucif and Antiochian is  
 to be followed.

6 B<sup>2</sup> sah and D have the text with-  
 out εγειρε(-αι) και; all others, including  
 h Cyp Irén, contain the addition (cf.  
 Lk. v. 28 f. and parallels).

8 The superfluous και ἐξαλλόμενος  
 ἐσθ in D (om h Irén) is due to con-  
 flation with the B-text.

περιπατῶν και αλλομενος και, omitted  
 in D h, is probably original, being  
 represented (after the habit of this  
 paraphrase) by ὁ[αυδενς] εἰ ακυιτανς  
 (χαίρων και αγαλλιωμενος) h, χαίρομενος  
 (perhaps for χαίρων και αγαλλιωμενος)  
 D, gaudens d e (χαίρων E), attached  
 in each case to περιπατει. The words  
 themselves are by no means otiose in  
 the context.

ζετο, ὃν ἐτίθουν καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν λεγο-  
 μένην Ὠραίαν τοῦ αἰτεῖν ἑλεημοσύνην παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσπορευο-  
 3 μένων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. | οὗτος ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην μέλλοντας εἰσσιεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν  
 4 ἡρώτα αὐτοὺς ἑλεημοσύνην. ἐμβλέψας δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν  
 5 σὺν Ἰωάννῃ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀτένειςον εἰς ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ ἄτενείσας†  
 6 αὐτοῖς προσδοκῶν τι λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος·  
 Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι, ὁ δὲ ἔχω τοῦτό σοι  
 δίδωμι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου περι-  
 7 πάτει. καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν· καὶ παρα-  
 χρῆμα ἐστάθη, καὶ ἐστερεώθησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ βάσεις καὶ τὰ σφύρά,  
 8 | καὶ ἐξαλλόμενος ἕστη καὶ περιεπάτει ἡγαρόμενος†, καὶ εἰς-  
 9 ἦλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν αἰνῶν τὸν θεόν. καὶ εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ  
 10 λαὸς αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα καὶ αἰνοῦντα τὸν θεόν, ἐπεγείνωσκόν

4 ιωαννην

7 εσταυρωθησαν

quem ponebant cotidie ad januam templi eam quae dicitur pulchra ut peteret a  
 elemosynam ab his qui ingrediebantur in templum 3 hic respiciens oculis suis et  
 vidit petrum et johannem incipientes introire in templum rogabat eos elemosynam  
 4 intuitus autem petrus in eum cum johannem et dixit aspice ad nos 5 ad ille  
 attendebat eos expectans aliquid accipere ab eis 6 dixit autem petrus argentum et  
 aurum non est mihi quod habeo hoc tibi do in nomine ihu xpi nazorei ambula 7 et  
 adprehensum eum dextera manu suscitabit et confestum stetit et firmatae sunt ejus  
 vases et crura 8 et cum exsiluisset stetit et ambulabat gaudens et introibat cum  
 eis in templum laudem dans do 9 et vidit omnis populus eum ambulantem et

2 qui introibant templum. 3 hic contemplatus oculis suis, cum vidisset h  
 Petrum et Johannem incipien[tes] in[tr]oi[re]t in templum, rogabat illos elemosynam.  
 4 [intui]tus autem eum Petrus cum Joanne, adspice, inquit], et contemplare  
 me. 5 ille autem contemplatus e[st] eos,] sperans aliquid accipere ab eo.  
 6 dixit autem [Petrus] ad eum: argentum quidem et aurum non est [mihi:  
 quod] autem habeo, hoc do tibi: in nomine ihu xpi Na[zareni] surge et  
 ambula. 7 et adprehensa manu ejus destet[ra], excitavit eum. et continuo  
 stetit, confirm[at]ique sunt gressus ejus et laccania, 8 et ambulabat [gaudens]  
 et exultans. introivit autem cum eis in tem[plum] lau[dans] dm. 9 et vidit  
 eum omnis populus ambulan[tem et] dm laudantem. 10 agnoscebant autem

6 dixit autem Petrus ad eum: argentum quidem et aurum non est mihi; Cyprus,  
 quod autem habeo hoc tibi do. in nomine Jesu Christi Nazarei surge et Test. in. 61  
 ambula. 7 et adprehensa manu ejus dextera excitavit eum.

6 argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc do tibi: in Irenaeus,  
 nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni surge et ambula. 7 et statim ejus confirmati ill. 12, 8  
 sunt gressus et plantae, 8 et ambulabat et introivit cum ipsis in templum,  
 ambulans et saliens et glorificans deum.

6 πετρος] +συγ ad eum

Hercleum

μοσύνην καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῇ Ὠραία Πύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐπλή-  
 σθησαν θάμβους καὶ ἐκστάσεως ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι αὐτῷ.  
 κρατοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην συνεδραμεν 11  
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ. τῇ καλουμένῃ Σολομώντος  
 ἑκθαμβοί. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Ἄνδρες 12  
 Ἰσραηλείται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀπενίζετε ὥς  
 ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεπονηκόσω τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν; ὁ 13  
 θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων  
 ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρ-  
 ἐδώκατε καὶ ἡγήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πειλάτου, κρείναντος  
 ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἡγήσασθε, 14

Editors 13 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup> το θεος Soden καὶ 2<sup>o</sup> το θεος Soden

Old Unam 10 τη ωραια πυλη BAC<sup>h</sup> 81 (+D) την ωραιαν πυλην S 11 δε BNC 81  
 τε A τον 2<sup>o</sup> BNA 81 om G (cf. D) 12 τουτω BNA C (+D)  
 τουτο S1 του BNA C (+D) om S1 13 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup> B 81 +θεος A (+D)  
 το θεος NC καὶ 2<sup>o</sup> B 81 +θεος A (+D) το θεος NC παιδα  
 BAC 81 (+D) πατερα S κρειναντος BNA 81 (+D) κριναντος G  
 απολιεν BAC 81 (+D) απολλυειν S

Antiochuan 11 αυτου] του ιαθεντος χωλοι PS 5 om τον 2<sup>o</sup> PS 462 5 (cf. D)  
 προς αυτους πας ο λαος PS 462 5 13 om ο PS 462 5 18 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup>  
 το θεος S (cf. D) om μεν S 5 (+D) ηγησασθε] αυτων PS 462 5 (+D)

11 The 'Western' reviser, understanding that the Porch of Solomon was not inside but outside of the Beautiful Gate, has rewritten this verse, and his paraphrase is found substantially intact in D; while h rests on a partial and conflated version of it, in which the words of the B-text from *συνεδραμεν πας ο λαος* to *εκθαμβοι* have been substituted for *οι δε θαμβηθentes εστησαν* of D. In D perhaps *και αυτος*, represented in h, has been dropped after *συνεφερενεντο*, and certainly *εκθαμβοι* is due to conflation from the B-text. *οι θαμβηθentes* refers to the crowd; the awkwardness in the B-text of the plural *εκθαμβοι* after *συνεδραμεν* may have led to the 'Western' rewriting of the second half of the verse.

13 *εὐσεβείᾳ* εἰσουςια h perp<sup>2</sup> vg. *codd* peah arm. Iren omits the word altogether.

13 D του κρειναντος is due to conflation; cf. h Iren.

14 For *εβαρυνατε* D Iren (*adgravastis*) Aug. *peccat. meritis* i. 52 (*in honorastis et negastis*) no good explanation can be given. Harvey on Iren. iii. 12, 3 points out the resemblance of the Syriac words *kephar* (*ἀνέσθαι*) and *kebar* (*βαρύνειν*). See also Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, 1896, pp. 40 f., who suggests *kebar*. It is more probable that *εβαρυνατε* is a retranslation of the Latin *gravastis* d, *adgravastis* Iren. But why the Latin translation took this turn is not explained; the Greek text of Irenaeus, if extant, would probably supply the key to the problem.

The Sahidic rendering (cod. B) would correspond to *ἡγήσασθε και κατεφάρωνσατε αυτου* (or *ἡγμιασατε αυτου*), but it throws no light on the problem, since the second verb 'would never be used to render *βαρύνειν*' (H. Thompson).



- τε αὐτὸν ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ  
 τῇ Ὠρέᾳ Πύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν θάμβους καὶ ἐκς>τά-  
 11 σεως ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ αὐτῷ. ἐκπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου  
 καὶ Ἰωάννου συνεξεπορεύετο κρατῶν αὐτοῦς, οἱ δὲ θαμβηθέντες  
 ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ἣ καλουμένη Σολομώνος, ἑκθαμβοί.  
 12 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλί-  
 ται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ ἡμεῖν τί ἀπενίζετε ὡς ἡμῶν  
 τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβίᾳ τοῦτο πεποιηκότων τοῦ περιπατεῖν  
 13 αὐτόν; ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ  
 θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν  
 Χριστόν, ὃν ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε εἰς κρίσιν καὶ ἀπηνήσασθε αὐτόν  
 κατὰ πρόσωπον Πειλάτου, τοῦ κρείναντος, ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν  
 14 αὐτόν θέλοντος· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐβαρύνετε, καὶ

10 τε] ται  
 13 υμεις] ημεις

12 θαυμαζεται  
 απηνησασθαι

του] τοιτο

laudantem dñm 10 cognoscebantque eum quia hic erat qui ad elemosynam sedebat d  
 in porta illa pulchra templi et repleta sunt terroris et stupefactionis in eo quod  
 conegerat ei 11 exeunte autem petrum et johannem cum eis ibat tenens eos  
 stupentes autem stabant in porticum qui vocatur solomonis stupebant 12 respondens  
 autem petrus dixit ad eos viri istraelitae quid admiramini super hoc aut nos quid  
 intuemini quasi nos nostra propria virtute aut pietate hoc fecerimus ut ambularet hic  
 13 dñs abraham et dñs isac et dñs iacob dñs patrum nostrorum clarificavit puerum suum  
 ihm xpm quem tradidistis in iudicio et negastis eum ante faciem pilati cum iudicasset  
 ille dimittere eum voluit 14 vos autem ipsum sanctum et justum gravastis et

eum, quoniam ipse fuit qui ad elemosynam sedebat ad horreum portam h  
 templi: et in pietate sunt omnes admiration[e], et stupebant de eo quod illi  
 accidit sanitas. 11 [exeu]ntibus autem Petro et Joanne simul et ipse prof[er]ebat  
 tenens eos, et concurrat omnis populus ad eos [in port]u[m] quae vocatur  
 Solomonis, stupentes. 12 cum r[ideret] autem Petrus, respondit ad populum  
 et dixit: v[ir]i Istra[el]itae, quid ammiramini super hoc, aut nos qu[od] intuemini,  
 quasi nos nostra virtute aut potestate [fecerim]us ut ambulare istae! 13 dñs  
 Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, dñs patrum nostrorum clarificabit filium suum ium  
 [xpm, qu]em vos quidem tradidistis ad iudicium, et negastis [ante] faciem Pilati,  
 illo volente eum dimittere. 14 vos autē [sanct]um et justum negastis, et vos

12 viri Israelitae, quid miramini in hoc, et nos quid intuemini, quasi Irenaeus,  
 nostra virtute fecerimus hunc ambulare? 13 deus Abraham, deus Isaac, <sup>ut 12, 3</sup>  
 deus Jacob, deus patrum nostrorum, glorificavit filium suum, quem vos  
 quidem tradidistis in iudicium, et negastis ante faciem Pilati, cum remittere  
 eum vellet. 14 vos autem sanctum et justum adgravastis, et petistis virum

καὶ ἡγήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῶν, | τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν 15  
 τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνετε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς  
 μάρτυρές ἐσμεν. καὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ὃν 16  
 θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἶδατε ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πίστις  
 ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων  
 ὑμῶν. καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί, οἶδα ὅτι κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε, ὥσπερ 17  
 καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος 18  
 πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπλήρωσεν  
 οὕτως. μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλιφθῆναι 19  
 ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ 20  
 προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῶν  
 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀπο- 21

Editors 16 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup> +επι Soden 19 προς] eis Soden

Old Uncial 16 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>9</sup> 81 +επι ΔC<sup>9</sup>(+D) 18 παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν B<sup>9</sup>C 81 (+D)  
 om A 19 ἐπιστρέψατε B<sup>9</sup>A 81 (+D) ἐπιστρέψατε C πρὸς B<sup>9</sup>  
 eis AC 81 (+D) 20 χριστὸν ἰησοῦν B<sup>9</sup>(+D) ἰησοῦν χριστὸν AC 81

Antiochian 16 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup> +επι PS 4625(+D) αὐτοῦ 1<sup>o</sup> τούτου S 18 αὐτοῦ  
 παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν PS 4625 19 προς] eis PS 4625(+D) 20 προ-  
 κεχειρισμένον] προκεκηρυγμένον S προκεχαρισμένον S ἰησοῦν χριστὸν S

14 To the addition of *potius* by hol. mg after *ἡγήσασθε* corresponds *potius* magis e E.

16 τῇ πιστει B<sup>9</sup> 81; ἐπὶ τῇ πιστει ACD h (*supra*); Iren and other Latin documents read *in* and probably represent τῇ πιστει Antiochian. Since the Antiochian text probably did not influence h, the reading with *ἐπὶ* is ancient, but the shorter of

the two ancient readings is to be preferred to the common phrase with *ἐπὶ*.

19 προς B<sup>9</sup> alone; eis AC81D Antiochian. The only ground of decision is the relative value ascribed to the opposing groups.

20 For hol ✕ of the addition of *vobis* in varying positions by Iren boh; by h Tert; and by e vg.codd.

- 15 ἡγήσατε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς  
 ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνετε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἡγείρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες  
 16 ἐσμεν. καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον θεωρεῖτε  
 καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι'  
 αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἐπ' ἐναντίῳ πάντων  
 17 ὑμῶν. καὶ νῦν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν κατὰ  
 18 ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε πονηρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν· ὁ δὲ  
 θεὸς ὁ προκατήγγελεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφῆτῶν  
 19 παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως. μετανοήσατε οὖν  
 20 καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν, ὅπως  
 ἂν ἐπέλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναλύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ  
 21 ἀποστεilh τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ  
 14 φονεῖα 15 ἡμεῖς] υμεῖς

postulastis virum homicidam donari vobis 15 principem vero vitæ interfecistis quem d  
 ds suscitavit a mortuis quibus nos testes sumus 16 et in fide nominis ejus hunc  
 quem vidistis et scitis consolidavit nomen ejus et fides que per ipsum est dedit ei  
 integritatem hanc coram omnibus vobis 17 et nunc viri fratres quia vos quidem per  
 ignorantiam egistis iniquitatem sicut et principes vestri 18 d<sup>ns</sup> autem quæ præ-  
 nuntiavit per os omnium prophetarum pati xpm suum implevit ac 19 pœnitentiam  
 ergo agite et convertimini ad hoc ut deleantur peccata vestra 20 ut veniant tempora  
 refrigerii a facie dñi et mittat prædestinatum vobis ihm xpm 21 quem oportet

petestis homicidam [homi]nem vivere et donari vobis: 15 principem autem h  
 vi]tæ ejuspendentes occidistis, quem d<sup>s</sup> excitavit a mortuis, cujus nos sumus  
 testes. 16 et supra fidelitate nominis [ejus h]unc quem videtis et nostis con-  
 firmavit nomen [ejus, et] fides dedit ei integritatem istam in cons[pectu]  
 o[mnium] vestrum. 17 et nunc, viri fratres, scimus quoniam no]n quidem per  
 scientiam fecistis nequam, sicut [et princ]ipes vestri. 18 verum d<sup>s</sup>, quod  
 adnuntiabit ore [o]mnium pr[oph]etarum passurum xpm suum, et implebit. 19 [peni-  
 tes] itaque vos et convertimini ad perdenda [peccata] vestra, 20 ut tempora  
 vobis refrigerii sup[er]veniant [a facie dñi, et mittat vobis præparatum ihm xpm:

19 pœniteat itaque vos et respicite ad abolenda delicta vestra, 20 uti tempora Tertulian, Beza cura. 28  
 vobis superveniant refrigerii ex persona dei et mittat prædesignatum nobis

homicidam donari vobis: 15 ducem autem vitæ occidistis, quem deus Irenæus, III. 12, 3  
 excitavit a mortuis, cujus nos testes sumus. 16 et in fide nominis ejus hunc quem videtis et scitis confirmavit nomen ejus, et fides quæ est per  
 ipsum dedit ei incolumitatem coram vobis omnibus. 17 et nunc, fratres, scio  
 quoniam secundum ignorantiam fecistis nequam; 18 deus autem quæ prædixit  
 ore omnium prophetarum pati Christum suum adimplevit. 19 pœnitentiam  
 igitur agite et convertimini ut deleantur peccata vestra, 20 et veniant vobis  
 tempora refrigerii a facie domini, et mittat præparatum vobis Christum Jesum,

14 ἡγήσατε]+mg potius  
 veniant ✕ vobis <

17 πονηρὸν] mg malum

20 ἐπελθῶσιν] Harelem

- καταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν  
 ἀγγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Μωυσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι 22  
 Deut. xvi. 13-15 Προφῆτην ὑμῶν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν  
 ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.  
 ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου 23  
 Lev. xxi. 2· ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται 24  
 ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν  
 τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας. ὑμεῖς ἐστέ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ 25  
 τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ὁ θεὸς διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν,  
 Gen. xxi. 13 λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου εὐλογηθή-  
 σονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς. ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας 26

## 24 προφῆτοι

Editors 22 θεος] +ἡμων Soden 25 διέθετο ο θεος Soden ὑμων] ἡμων WHmg  
 εὐλογηθήσονται] εὐελογηθήσονται Soden

Old Uncial 21 αγγίων B<sup>1</sup>AC 81 +των B<sup>1</sup> (B<sup>2</sup> Tūf) <sup>80</sup> (cf. D) 22 θεος B +ἡμων <sup>80</sup>  
 +ὑμων A<sup>1</sup> 81 (+D) 24 προφῆται B<sup>2</sup> (?) σοι BAC 81 οἱ <sup>80</sup>  
 ελάλησαν B<sup>1</sup>AC 81 ἐπροφήτευσαν C<sup>2</sup> κατήγγειλαν B<sup>1</sup>AC 81 (+D)  
 προκατήγγειλαν C<sup>2</sup> [α]ναγγε[λ]αν] 0165 25 ο θεος διέθετο B 0165  
 (+D) διέθετο ο θεος <sup>80</sup>AC 81 ὑμων BA<sup>1</sup> 81 ἡμων <sup>80</sup>AC 0165 (+D)  
 εν B<sup>1</sup>AC 81 (+D) om 0165 εὐλογηθήσονται B εὐλογησονται A  
 εὐελογηθήσονται <sup>80</sup>A<sup>2</sup> 0165 81 (+D) εὐελογηθήσονται C 26 ἀναστήσας  
 ο θεος B<sup>1</sup>AC 0165 ο θεος ἀναστήσας A 81 (+D)

Antiochian 21 των] πατρων των PS 462 πατρων S αυτου προφητων απ αιωνος PS 462 S  
 22 μεν] +γαρ (S om γαρ) προς τους πατερας PS 462 S (cf. D) θεος] +ἡμων P  
 +ὑμων S 462 S (+D) 24 κατήγγειλαν] προκατήγγειλαν S 25 om ο  
 PS 462 S (+D) διέθετο ο θεος PS 462 S ὑμων] ἡμων PS 462 S (+D)  
 om εν S εὐλογηθήσονται] εὐελογηθήσονται PS 462 S (+D) 26 ο θεος  
 ἀναστήσας P S (+D) om ο θεος S

24 D ο ελάλησαν (MS. -εν), for σοι  
 ελάλησαν, is due to misunderstanding  
 of the Latin *quodcumque* (*quodcumque* d h),  
 which accurately rendered σοι.

25 ὑμων BA 81 has been conformed  
 in <sup>80</sup>AC 0165 D Antiochian to the  
 general usage of Acts in referring to  
 'our fathers.'

For αἱ πατριαὶ holmg has *ἐμνησθή*  
*ἀδελφῶν*, perhaps meaning that  
*ἐμνησθή* is the word used in the  
 passage of Genesis (*beritha*) from  
 which the quotation is drawn (Gen.  
 xxi. 18). The Syro-hexaplar is lack-  
 ing in this passage; pesh renders by  
*אבותא*.

οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων  
 ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ τῶν προφῆτῶν.  
 22 Μωυσῆς μὲν εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὅτι Προφῆτην ὑμῖν  
 ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν· ὡς ἐμοῦ  
 23 αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἔσται  
 δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφῆτου ἐκείνου ἐξολε-  
 24 θρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ πάντες οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ  
 καὶ τῶν κατεξῆς ὃ ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας.  
 25 ὑμεῖς ἐστέ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἣν ὁ θεὸς διέθετο  
 πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρ-  
 26 ματί σου ἐνυλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς. ὑμῖν

21 χρονον

22 ακουσεσθαι

24 ελαλησεν

25 εσται

caelum quidem accipere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium quae locutus est d̄s d̄  
 per os sanctorum suorum prophetarum 22 moyses quidem dixit ad patres nostros  
 quia prophetam vobis suscitavit d̄ns d̄s vester de fratribus vestris tamquam me ipsum  
 audietis secundum omnia quaecumq; locutus fuerit ad vos 23 erit autem omnis anima  
 quaecumq; non audierit prophetam illum disperibit de populo 24 et omnis prophetae  
 a samuel et eorum qui ordine fuerunt quodquod locuti sunt et adnuntiaverunt dies  
 hos 25 vos estis filii prophetarum et ejus dispositionis quam d̄s disputavit ad patres  
 nostros dicens ad abraham et in semine tuo benedicetur omnis patriae terrae

21 quē [oportet]t caelos recipere usque ad tempora dispositi[onis om]nium h  
 quae locutus est d̄s ore sanctorum prof[etaru]m suorum. 22 Moyses quidem  
 dixit ad patres [nostro]s: profetam vobis excitavit d̄ns d̄s de fratrib[us  
 [vestri]s tanquam me: enim vos audituri per omnia quaecumq; locutus  
 fuerit ad vos. 23 omnis autem anima quaecumque non audierit profetam  
 illum, e[xtermi]nabitur de populo. 24 et omnes profetae a Samuel [et per]  
 ordinem quodquod locuti sunt, adnuntiaver[unt] istos dies. 25 vos estis filii  
 profetarum, et testament[um] quod] di disposuit ad patres nostros, dicens ad  
 Abrah[am]: et] in semine tuo venedicentur omnes nation[es ter]rae. 26 vobis

Christum, 21 quem oportet accipere caelos ad usque tempora exhibitionis  
 omnium quae locutus est deus ore sanctorum prophetarum. Tertullian,  
 Res. cor. 23

21 quem oportet caelum quidem suscipere usque ad tempora dispositionis  
 omnium quae locutus est deus per sanctos prophetas suos. 22 Moyses quidem Irenaeus,  
 lib. 12, 8  
 dicit ad patres nostros quoniam prophetam vobis excitabit dominus deus  
 vester ex fratribus vestris quemadmodum me, ipsum audietis in omnibus  
 quaecumque locutus fuerit ad vos: 23 erit autem omnis anima quaecumque  
 non audierit prophetam illum peribit de populo. 24 et omnes a Samuel et  
 deinceps, quotquot locuti sunt, et adnuntiaverunt dies istos. 25 vos estis  
 filii prophetarum et testamenti quod deus disposuit ad patres nostros, dicens  
 ad Abraham: et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes tribus terrae. 26 vobis

ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν.

Λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἹV ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι, δια- 2 πονούμενοι διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαὸν καὶ καταγγέλλειν ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπέβαλον αὐτοῖς 3 τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν εἰς τὴν αὔριον, ἣν γὰρ ἐσπέρα ἦδη. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν λόγον ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ 4 ἐγενήθη ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς χειλιάδες πέντε.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας 5 καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (καὶ Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀλέξ- 6

Editor, 26 πονηριῶν] +{ὑμῶν} WH +{ὑμῶν} Soden JHR 1 ἀρχιερεῖς]  
 ιερεις WHmg Soden JHR 4 [ο] αριθμος Soden ως] [ωσαι] Soden  
 5 εν] eis JHR 6 ιωαννης] ιωανθας JHR

Old Test. 26 αὐτου B<sup>NA</sup>C 81 (+D) αὐτων 0165 πονηριῶν B +{ὑμῶν} **NA** 0165 81  
 (+D) +αὐτων C 1 ἀρχιερεῖς BC ιερεις **NA** 0165 81 (+D) 2 διαπονούμενοι  
 B<sup>NA</sup>A 0165 81 καὶ διαπονούμενοι C<sup>id</sup> (cf. D) τῷ B<sup>NA</sup>C 81 om 0165 τὴν εκ  
 B<sup>NA</sup>C 81 τῶν 0165 (+D) 3 εθεντο B<sup>NA</sup> 0165 81 (+D) +αὐτους AC  
 eis τὴν αὐριον (N γανριον) B<sup>NA</sup>A 81 τὴν εἰς αὐριον 0165 (cf. D) 4 τὸν λογον  
 B<sup>NA</sup> 0165 81 (+D) om A αριθμος B<sup>NA</sup> 0165 (+D) ο αριθμος A 81  
 τῶν ἀνδρων B<sup>NA</sup>A 81 (cf. D) ἀνθρωπων 0165 ως B 0165 (+D) om **NA** 81  
 5 τοις 3<sup>o</sup> B<sup>NA</sup>A 81 om 0165 (cf. D) εν BA 81 (+D) eis N 0165

Antiochian 26 αὐτου] +{ὑμῶν} PS 462 5 πονηριῶν] +{ὑμῶν} PS 462 5 (+D)  
 1 ἀρχιερεῖς] ιερεις PS 462 5 (+D) 2 τὴν εκ] τῶν PS 462 (+D) 4 ο αριθμος  
 PS 462 5 ως] ωσαι PS 462 5 5 τοις 2<sup>o</sup> om PS 462 5 τοις 3<sup>o</sup>  
 om PS 462 5 (cf. D) εν] eis PS 462 5 6 ανων τον αρχιερεα  
 και καιαφαν και ιωαννην και αλεξανδρον PS 462 5

26 The omission of αὐτον by D h perp gig Iren is improvement of style.

1 ιερεις **NA**D Antiochian sah is to be preferred to the more usual ἀρχιερεῖς BC.

D omits καὶ ο στρατηγος του ιερου. The word used for στρατηγος in gig pesh hcl. text sah. cod boi is plural.

5 The agreement of h pesh in translating: (ei pesh) *posiero die collecti sunt magistratus*, etc. suggests that *egeneto* (de) in D is due to conflation with the B-text, and that the shorter text is the true 'Western,' a simplifi-

cation, at the same time providing a grammatical construction for the nominatives in vs. 6, which Antiochian has made over into the accusative. But the paraphrase might have been independent in Syriac and Latin.

eis N 0165 is to be preferred to the more elegant εν; see Note on ff. 5.

6 D perp gig prov tepl read ιωανθας for ιωαννης of all other mss. and versions (including h). Probability seems to lie with the far less usual 'Jonathan,' for h is by no means impeccable. *Jonatha* is included as one of the proper names of Acts in Jerome,

πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν εὐ-  
 λογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ᾧ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν ποιηριῶν  
 ὑμῶν.

IV Λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπ-  
 2 ἔστησαν οἱ εἰρεεῖς καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι, διαπονούμενοι διὰ τὸ  
 διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ  
 3 ἀνάστασει τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπειθαλόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ  
 4 ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν εἰς τὴν ἐπαύριον, ἣν γὰρ ἑσπέρα ἦδη. πολλοὶ  
 δὲ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν λόγον ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ ἀριθμὸς τε ἐγενήθη  
 ἀνδρῶν ὡς χιλιάδες ἑ.

5 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον ἡμέραν συνήχθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες  
 6 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, | καὶ Ἄννας  
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καίφας καὶ Ἰωνάθας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὅσοι

26 εὐλογοντας ἑκαστος 2 διαπονουμενοὶ] καιαποινουμενοι

26 volis primum d̄s suscitavit puerum suum misit benedicientem vos in eo cum d̄  
 aberatur unus quisque a nequitia suis

1 loquentibus autem eis ad populum verba haec adstiterunt sacerdotes et  
 sadducei 2 dolore percussi eo quod docerent ipsi populum et adnuntiarent ihm in  
 resurrectione mortuorum 3 et iniecerunt eis manus et posuerunt in adsertionem in  
 crastinū erant enim vesp̄a jam 4 multi vero eorum qui audierunt verbum  
 crediderunt et factus est numerus virorum ad quinq. milia 5 contigit autem in  
 crastinum diem congregati sunt principes et seniores et scribae in hierusalem 6 et  
 annas pontefex et caifas et joathas et alexander et quodquod erant ex genere

primo d̄s excitabit filium suum, et [misit] benedicientem vos, ad avertendum h  
 unumqu[emque] a nequitia suis.

1 loquentibus autem illis ad po[pulum] verba ista, adstiterunt sacerdotes et  
 praeto[r templi] et sadducei, 2 dolentes de eo quod docerent po[pulum], et  
 adnuntiarent in ihm resurrectionem mo[r]tuorū]. 3 et iniectis manibus et  
 tenuerunt eos et tra[diderunt] custodie in crastinum: fuit autem jam vesper[a].  
 4 mul[ti] tamen ex eis qui audierunt crediderunt: nu[m]erus autem factus ad  
 quinq[ue] milia hominum. 5 postero die collecti sunt magistratus et prin[cipes  
 et] seniores et scribe 6 et pontifex annas et Caip[has et Jo]hannes et alexander

primum deus excitans filium suum misit benedicientem vos, uti convertat se Irenaeus  
 unusquisque a nequitia suis.

2 in Jesu resurrectionem quae est a mortuis adnuntiāns.

II. 12, 3

2 ἐν Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν κηρύσσων.

[catena]

1 τα ῥήματα ταῦτα] mg sermones hos

Harleian

Nom. hebr. p. 108), which probably  
 rests on a Greek work of the latter  
 half of the third century. It does  
 not seem likely that the 'Western'

reviser has made a learned correction  
 on the basis of Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii.  
 4, 3, or from similar information of  
 his own.

αὐδρος καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ), καὶ στήσαντες 7  
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο· Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ  
ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; τότε Πέτρος πληθεὶς πνεύ- 8  
ματος ἁγίου εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρε-  
σβύτεροι, εἰ ἡμεῖς σήμερον ἀνακρινόμεθα ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἀνθρώ- 9  
που ἀσθενούς, ἐν τίνι οὗτος σέσωσται, | γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν 10  
ὑμῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χρι-  
στοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν  
ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγιής.  
Pa. cxviii 21 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ 11  
γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ 12

Editors 8 πρεσβυτεροι] +του ισραηλ Soden

Old Uncial 7 τω B<sup>9</sup>A 81 om 0165 (+D) ἐποιήσατε τούτο BA 0165 81 (+D) τούτο  
ἐποιήσατε B 10 τω 2<sup>o</sup> B<sup>9</sup>A (+D) om 0165 ὑμεῖς B<sup>9</sup>A (+D)  
+μεν 0165 ἐσταυρώσατε B<sup>9</sup>A (+D) ἐστρώσατε 0165 ον ο B<sup>9</sup>A (+D)  
o δε 0165

Antiochian 7 om τω PS 462 (+D) 8 πρεσβυτεροι] +του ισραηλ PS 462 5 (+D)  
9 om εἰ S ἀνακρινόμεθα PS 462 5 11 οἰκοδομων] οἰκοδομουντων  
PS 462 5

8 The addition of *του ισραηλ* after *πρεσβυτεροι*, found in D Cypr h perp gig Iren (perp<sup>a</sup> w προν τεpl vg. *coad* pesh have *του οικου ισραηλ*) and in Antiochian, is a good example of the 'Western' element in the Antiochian text.

10, 12 *υγιης*, va. 10, is followed in Cypr h hel. *mg* by *in alio autem nullo* (= *et in alio nullo*). Correspondingly, va. 12, Cypr h Iren Aug. *peccat. merit.* i. 52 omit *και ουκ εστιν εν αλλω ουδενι*

*η σωτηρια*, with *non* (instead of *nec*; Iren has *et non*) for the following *ουδε*. The rearrangement, in which *η σωτηρια* necessarily fell out, is doubtless secondary, but probably belonged to the 'Western' text. In D conflation has reintroduced the reading of the B-text both in va. 10 and va. 12, but has left traces of the 'Western' in va. 12 in the omission of *η σωτηρια* and the reading *ου* for *ουδε*.



7 ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ  
ἐπιθυνοῦντο· Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε  
8 τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; τότε Πέτρος πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου εἶπεν πρὸς  
9 αὐτούς· Ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, | εἰ  
ἡμεῖς σήμερον ἀνακρινόμεθα ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ ἀνθρώπου  
10 ἀσθενοῦς, ἐν τίνι οὗτος σέσωσται, | γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν  
καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τοῦ Ναζωραίου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ  
11 νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγιής. οὗτός  
ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενό-  
12 μενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ οὐκ ἔστω ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενί, οὐ

pontificali 7 cum statuisset eos in medio interrogabant in qua virtute aut quo d  
nomine fecistis hoc vos 8 tunc petrus impletus sp̄o sancto dixit ad eos principes  
huius populi et seniores israhel 9 si nos hodie interrogamur a vobis super bene-  
facio hominem infirmum in quo hic saluus factus est 10 notum sit omnibus vobis  
et omni populo israhel quia in nomine xp̄i ihu nazoraei quem vos crucifixistis quem  
d̄s suscitavit a mortuis in isto hic adstuit in conspectu vestro sanum 11 hic est  
lapis qui praejectus est a vobis aedificatoribus qui factus est in capud anguli 12 et

et quodquod fuer[unt ex ge]nere pontificali; 7 et cum statuissent [eos in h  
medi]um, quaerebant in qua virtute aut in q[uo nomine] id fecissent. 8 tunc  
Petrus repletus sp̄u sc̄o ait ad] eos: principes populi et seniores Israel: 9 [si  
nos hodie inter]rogamus a vobis super benefacto hominis in[firmi], in quo iste  
salvatus est, 10 sit vobis omnibus no[tum, e]st omni populo Israel, quoniam  
in nom̄ dñi ihu [xp̄i N]azareni, quem vos crucifixistis, quem d̄s excitav[it a  
m]ortuis, in illo iste in conspectu vestro sanus ad[stat, i]n alio autem nullo.  
11 hic est lapis qui contem[tus es]t a vobis quia aedificatis, qui factus est in  
caput [anguli]: 12 non est enim nomen aliud sub caelo da[ctum h]ominibus, in

8 principes populi et seniores Israel, 9 ecce nos hodie interrogamur a Cyprian,  
vobis super benefacto hominis infirmi, in quo iste salvatus est. 10 sit Test. II. 16  
vobis omnibus notum et omni populo Israel, quia in nomine Jesu Christi  
Nazarei, quem vos crucifixistis, quem deus excitavit a mortuis, in illo iste  
in conspectu vestro sanus adstat, in alio autem nullo. 11 hic est lapis  
qui contemptus est a vobis qui aedificabatis, qui factus est in caput anguli.

8 Petrus dixit ad eos: principes populi et seniores Israelitae, 9 si nos Irenaeus,  
hodie redarguimur a vobis in benefacto hominis infirmi, in quo hic sal- ul. 12, 4  
vatus est, 10 cognitum sit omnibus vobis et omni populo Israel, quoniam  
in nomine Jesu Christi Nazarei, quem vos crucifixistis, quem deus excitavit  
a mortuis, in hoc hic adstat in conspectu vestro sanus. 11 hic est lapis  
sp̄retus a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli. 12 et non

ἡ σωτηρία, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ὑμᾶς. θεωροῦντες 13 δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται, ἐθαύμαζον, ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν, τὸν τε ἄνθρωπον 14 βλέποντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐστῶτα τὸν τεθεραπευμένον οὐδὲν εἶχον ἀντειπεῖν. κελύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ συνεδρίου ἀπελθεῖν 15 συνέβαλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους | λέγοντες· Τί ποιήσωμεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονεν δι' αὐτῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φανερόν, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀρνεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον διανεμηθῇ εἰς τὸν λαόν, ἀπειλη- 17 σάμεθα αὐτοῖς μηκέτι λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων. καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς παρήγγειλαν καθόλου μὴ 18 14 τεθεραπευμένοι

Editors	12 ἡμας] ημας WH Soden JHR	18 το καθολου Soden
Old Unc. a1	12 ονομα εστιν ετερον B ονομα ετερον εστιν A 0165 (cf. D) uias B ημας NA 0165 (+D) 0185 (+D) 17 ινα BNA (+D) +δε A <sup>2</sup> 18 καθολου BN το καθολου AN <sup>o</sup> (cf. D)	ετερον ονομα εστιν B 18 τε BNA 0165 <sup>u</sup> δε μηκετι BN (+D) μη A
Antiochian	12 αι δε ουτε PS 462 5 om υπο τον ουρανον PS 462 PS 462 5 (+D) 14 τε] δε PS 462 5 uias] ημας 16 ποιησωμεν PS 5 (+D) αρνησασθαι PS 462 5 15 συνεβαλον 5 (+D) PS 462 5 απειλησωμεθα P 462 (+D) 17 λαον] +απειλη ανθρωπων P απειλησωμεθα P 462 (+D) om τούτω S 18 παρηγγειλαν] +αυτοις PS 462 5 το καθολου PS 462 5 (cf. D)	

13-15 The text of vs. 13-15 as found in full in h alone doubtless represents accurately the 'Western' rewriting. Besides minor alterations, such as vs. 13 ακολουσας for θεωρουτες, etc., vs. 14 has been inserted after εθαυμαζον of vs. 13, and the altered connexion has led to various further changes, of which the most noteworthy is the introduction of τιμες δε εξ αυτων as the subject of επεγινωσκον.

The only clear trace of this 'Western' text in D consists of the addition ποιησαι η in vs. 14. In pesh the following fragments of the 'Western' text have survived: vs. 13 cum audierunt; vs. 14 conuersati erant (αποστρέψαν for ησαν), illis infirmum; vs. 15 iunc iussurunt. All these have been eliminated in hcl. text.

16 The impossible γεγονεναι of D may

have come about through some adjustment between the text of h (cf. pesh) and that of B, but the precise method is matter for conjecture only. The process of conflation seen in D contained the possibility of many an accident. It is, however, also possible that ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ became by a corrupt dittography ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΑΙ.

17 With help of the Latin additions after populum: verba ista e B vg. cod., verba istorum h, verba haec gig Lucif.

Antiochian adds unaccountably απειλη before απειλησωμεθα. Possibly we should know why, if we knew the whole cause of the strange reading of D απειλησωμεθα ουν ουτως.

18 Παρηγγειλαν το καθυ το D is probably a mere corruption of παρηγγειλαν το καθολου of A Antiochian.

γάρ ἐστιν ἕτερον ὄνομα ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὃ δεδομένον ἀνθρώποις  
 13 ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς. θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρ-  
 ρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμ-  
 ματοὶ εἰσιν, ἐθαύμαζον, ἐπεγείνωσκον δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ  
 14 ἦσαν· τὸν ἄνθρωπον βλέποντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐστῶτα τὸν τεθερα-  
 15 πευμένον οὐδὲν εἶχον ποιῆσαι ἢ ἀντιπεῖν. κελεύσας αὐτοὺς  
 16 ἔξω τοῦ συνεδρίου ἀπαχθῆναι συνέβαλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους | λέγοντες·  
 Τί ποιήσομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ γνωστὸν  
 σημεῖον ἔγγεγονέναι· δι' αὐτῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ  
 17 φανερότερόν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀρνῆσθαι· ὥα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον  
 τι διανεμηθῇ εἰς τὸν λαόν, ἀπειλησόμεθα οὖν αὐτοῖς μηκέτι  
 18 λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων. συνκατα-  
 τιθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τῇ γνώμῃ φανήσαντες αὐτοὺς παρήγγει-

14 αυτοῖς] αυτων  
 αυτοῖς] ουτοις

καλευσαντες

17 επιληγομεθα

non est in alio quondam neque aliud est nomen sub caelo quod datum est hominibus d  
 in quo oportet salvari nos 13 intuentes vero petri fiduciam et johannis et  
 adsecuti quia homines sine litteris sunt admirabantur cognoscebant autem eos quia  
 cum ihu erant 14 hominem quoque conspicientes cum ipsis stantem illum que  
 curatum nihil habebant contradicere 15 cum jussissent autem eos extra concilium  
 habere conferebant ad invicem 16 dicentes quid faciamus hominibus istis quoniam  
 quidem notum signum factum est per ipsos omnibus qui inhabitant iherusalem  
 manifestum est et non possumus negare 17 sed ut non amplius quid serpiat in  
 populum comminemur ergo eis jam non loqui in nomine hoc cuiquam hominum  
 18 consentientibus autem omnibus notitiā vocantes eos praeceperunt illis ne omnino

quo oportet salvari nos. 13 cum au[diren]t autem omnes Petri constantiam et h  
 Joannis, [persu]asi quoniam homines inlitterati sunt et idio[tae], am[ir]ati sunt :  
 14 videntes autem et illum infirmū [cum ei]s stantem curatum, nihil potuerunt  
 facere [aut co]ntradicere. quidam autem ex ipsis agnosce[bant] ei]s, quoniam cum  
 ihu conversabantur. 15 tunc [conlo]cuti iusserunt foras extra concilium adduci  
 [Petru]m et Johanem : et querebant ab invicem, 16 dice[tes] : quid faciemus  
 istis hominib[us] ? nam manifestum [signum] factum ab eis omnibus habitantib[us]  
 Hierosoly[mis] apparet, et non possumus negare. 17 sed ne plus [divulgentu]r  
 in populum verba istorum, comminavi[mur] eis ult[ra] non loqui in nomine isto  
 ulli hominum. 18 [consentien]tib[us] autem ad sententiam, denuntiaverunt

12 non est enim nomen aliud sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oportet Cyprianus,  
Test. II. 16  
 salvari nos.

est aliud nomen sub caelo quod datum sit hominibus in quo oportet salvari Irenaeus,  
II. 12, 4  
 nos.

12 [And there is] none other name [of the Lord] given under heaven whereby Dion. of Ap.  
Presch. 66  
 men are saved.

17 eis των λαων] +mg a sermonibus his 18 συνκατατιθεμενων δε αυτων Harclean  
 τη γνωμη] mg quum consensissent autem ad sententiam

φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος 19  
καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτούς· Εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν 20  
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ κρείνατε, οὐ 20  
δυνόμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἃ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μὴ λαλεῖν. οἱ δὲ 21  
προσαπειλησάμενοι ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς, μηδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς  
κολάσωσιν αὐτούς, διὰ τὸν λαόν, ὅτι πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν  
ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι· ἐτῶν γὰρ ἦν πλείονων τεσσαεράκοντα ὁ ἄνθρωπος 22  
ἐφ' ὃν γέγονει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως.

Ἀπολυθέντες δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν 23  
ὅσα πρὸς αὐτούς οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπαν. οἱ δὲ 24  
ἀκούσαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἤραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ εἶπαν·  
Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου 25

Ps. II. 1 f. στόματος Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών· Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ

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Editors	18 [του] ἰησοῦ WH	του ἰησοῦ Soden JHR	21 κολασονται WH Soden
	JHR	22 om τουτο JHR	24 συ] [+o theos] Soden
			25 †o του
	πατρος ἡμων δια πνευματος ἁγίου στοματος† WHmg		

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Old Uncial	18 ἰησοῦ B	του ἰησοῦ B <sup>2</sup> (B <sup>2</sup> Tdf) NA 0165 (+D)	19 ο δε πετρος BNA
	πετρος δε 0165 (cf. D)	ιωαννης B <sup>2</sup> 0165 (+D)	ο ιωαννης A
	B εἶπον NA(+D)	εἶπε 0165	21 κολασωσιν B
	NA(+D)	28 ἀπηγγειλαν BA(+D)	ἀπηγγειλαν N

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Antiochian	18 του ἰησοῦ PS 462 5 (+D)	19 προς αυτους εἶπον PS 462 5
	21 κολασονται P 462	24 συ] +o theos PS 462 5 (+D)
	25 ο του πατρος ἡμων δια πνευματος ἁγίου στοματος δαυειδ	ο δια στοματος δαβιδ
	PS 462 5	του παιδος 5

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21 The reading of B κολασωσιν is supported only by 61 (codex Montfortianus). The change spoils the neat sense of the middle κολασονται, 'have them punished.'

22 The omission of τουτο D perpig Iran Lucif may well be original.

23 With hel-x of. αυτος 1874 vg.

25 The consistent reading of all the Old Uncial group, BNA (081 are lacking) Athanasius, ο του πατρος ἡμων δια πνευματος ἁγίου στοματος δαυειδ παιδος σου εἶπον is probably to be adopted here; see exegetical note for Torrey's explanation from Aramaic original. To assume, as the Antiochian revisers appear to have done, that both του πατρος ἡμων and πνευματος ἁγίου were

interpolated, imputes too great ingenuity to the supposed primitive interpolator, whose text was certainly widely adopted; and the hypothesis is intrinsically too easy to be safe. Iren has the full text, but with changed position of του πατρος ἡμων; vg is similar.

The 'Western' text of D (no 'African' document is here extant) excised the unintelligible του πατρος ἡμων, and, failing to recognize the dependence of πνευματος ἁγίου on στοματος, created an additional member by inserting δια του. Whether D's <ε>αλησας, with its noteworthy but not unsuitable position, may be original instead of B's εἶπον is a question impossible to answer. The

λαν ἴτο κατὰ τὸ ἢ φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι  
 19 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ἀποκρεῖβεις δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπον πρὸς  
 αὐτούς· Εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον  
 20 ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ κρεῖναιτε, οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἡκού-  
 21 σαμεν λαλεῖν. οἱ δὲ προσαπειλησάμενοι ἀπέλυσαν αὐτοίς, μὴ  
 εὐρίσκοντες αἰτίαν τὸ πῶς κολάσσονται αὐτούς, διὰ τὸν λαόν, ὅτι  
 22 πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι· ἐτῶν γὰρ πλείονων  
 μ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ὃν γέγονει τὸ σημεῖον τῆς εἰσσεως.  
 23 Ἀπολυθέντες δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν  
 24 ὅσα πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπαν. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἐπιγινόντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν  
 ἦραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπαν· Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ θεὸς ὁ  
 ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα  
 25 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου διὰ τοῦ στόματος <ε>λάλησας  
 Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου·

22 γαρ] + ην

loquerentur neque docerent in nomine ihu 19 respondens autem petrus et iohannes d  
 dixerunt ad eos si iustum est in conspectu dī vestri audire n. a. s. quam dñm iudicate  
 20 non possumus enim nos quae vidimus et audivimus loqui 21 ad fil. etiam  
 comminatus dimiserunt eos nihil inventientes causam quae preirent eos propter populum  
 quoniam omnes clarificabant dñm super quod factum est 22 annorum autem erat  
 plurimum xl his homo super quem factum erat hoc signum sanitatis 23 dimissi  
 autem venerunt ad suos et renuntiaverunt quanta ad eos pontifices et seniores  
 dixerunt 24 ad illi cum audissent et cognovissent dī virtutē unanimiter autem  
 vocem levaverunt ad dñm et dixerunt dñs tu es dñs qui fecisti caelum et terram et  
 mare et omnia quae in eis sunt 25 qui per spm̄ sanctum per os locutus est david

22 annorum enim [inquit scriptura] plus quadraginta erat homo in quo Irenaeus,  
 factum est signum curationis. ill. 12, 6

24 [audientes, inquit, tota ecclesia] unanimes extulerunt vocem ad deum  
 et dixerunt: domine, tu es deus qui fecisti caelum et terram et mare et omnia  
 quae in eis, 25 qui per spiritum sanctum ore David patris nostri pueri

23 ἀπήγγειλαν] annuntiaverunt \* us ✓

Harclean

versions, no one of which seems to correspond exactly to the text of D although most of them have retained the device of *δια του στοματος*, have helped themselves by various rearrangements and slight retouchings. Apparently with a confusion, sah has *qui locutus est* . . . *dicens*, cf. eth and

arm. The investigation of the many divergent combinations is rendered unsatisfactory because the versions exercise a legitimate freedom in order of words, and are incapable of indicating exactly the minor differences of the Greek by which the influence of the two Greek texts could be traced.

λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ 26  
 ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει 27  
 ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρειςας, Ἑρῳδῆς  
 τε καὶ Πόντιος Πειλᾶτος σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ποιῆσαι 28  
 ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή προώρισεν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ νῦν, 29  
 κύριε, ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου  
 μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, ἐν τῷ τὴν χεῖρα 30  
 ἐκτείνειν σε εἰς ἴασιν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γείνεσθαι διὰ  
 τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ. καὶ δεηθέντων 31  
 αὐτῶν ἐσαλευθῇ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλησθῇσαν  
 ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ  
 μετὰ παρρησίας.

Τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ 32

Editors 28 βουλή] +σου Soden  
 καὶ [η] ψυχῇ Soden

30 χεῖρα] +σου Soden JHR

32 [η] καρδία

1 Uncial 25 κενὰ B καὶνα B<sup>AD</sup>(+D) 27 πολεὶ B<sup>N</sup>(+D) +σου A 28 βουλή  
 BA +σου B<sup>A</sup>2(+D) 30 χεῖρα ἐκτείνειν σε B χεῖρα σε ἐκτείνειν A χεῖρα σου  
 ἐκτείνειν σε (B<sup>c</sup> om σε) B<sup>N</sup>3 (cf. D) 31 ἅπαντες B<sup>A</sup>N<sup>c</sup>(+D) πάντες B Pap<sup>8</sup>

Antiochian 27 om ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ PS 462 5 28 βουλή] +σου PS 462 5(+D)  
 29 ἀπειλὰς] βουλὰς B 30 χεῖρα] +σου PS 462 5(+D) 31 τοῦ ἁγίου  
 πνεύματος] πνεύματος ἁγίου PS 462 5 32 ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ PS 462 5

25 κενὰ B Antiochian. Even with the spelling καὶνα B<sup>AD</sup>, the meaning was *vana*, as in all versions.

27 For λαοὺς B<sup>N</sup>AD perp gig Iren Lucif sah (cod. B), the reading λαοὺς E (a *populo*) minn Aug. *praed. sanct.* Hil is probably an ancient correction, and may give the 'Western' text; cf. *peah* (*synagoga*) hol.*text* (*populo*) sah ('the people,' codd. of cent. xii-xiii).

30 Holmg attaches to the word which renders *onomatos* this note: 'Copies exist in which "name" does not occur.' This probably relates to Greek copies, but no such variant in Greek or in any version is otherwise recorded.

32 Cyprian cites not only in *Test.* iii. 3, but also in *De unit.* 25, *De op. et el.* 25, *Ep.* 11. 3.

- 26 ἵνα τί ἐφύρξαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; | παρ-  
έστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν  
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
27 συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγίον  
σου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρειςας, Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος  
28 σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ σου καὶ ἡ  
29 βουλή σου προώρισεν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ νῦν, κύριε, ἑώραδε ἐπὶ  
τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου μετὰ πάσης παρ-  
30 ρησίας λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, ἐν τῷ τῇν χεὶρά σου ἐκτείνεις <ελίς  
ἴασιν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ  
31 ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ. καὶ δεηθέντων αὐτῶν ἑσαλευθῇ ὁ  
τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου  
πνεύματος, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας  
παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεῦειν.  
32 Τοῦ δὲ πληθύνους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία,  
25 κενά] καίνα 29 ἀπειλας] ἀγίας

puero tuo quare fremuerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania 26 adstiterunt d  
reges terrae et principes congregati sunt in unū adversus dñm et adversus xpm ejus  
27 collecti sunt enim revera in civitate hac super sanctum puerum tuum ih̄m quem  
unxisti] herodes vero et pontius pilatus cum gentibus et populis israhel 28 facere  
quaecumq. manus tua et voluntas tua] praedestinavit fieri 29 et nunc sunt dñe aspice  
super minas eorū et da servis tuis cum f. locis omni loqui verbum tuum 30 in eo  
cum manum extendas ad curationē et signa et portenta fiant per nomen sancti pueri  
tui ih̄u 31 et cum obsecrarent ipsi commotus est locus in quo erant collecti et  
impleti sunt omnes sancto sp̄o et loquebantur verbum dī cum fiducia omni volenti  
credere 32 multitudinis autem eorum qui crediderunt erat cor et animus una et non

27 convenerunt enim universi in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum, quem unxisti, Herodes et Pilatus cum nationibus.

convenerunt enim universi] collecti sunt: et in vere B<sup>1</sup> et

Tertullian,  
Prax. 25;  
ed. Bap. 7

32 turba autem eorum, qui crediderant, animis ac mente una agebant, nec etc.

Cyprian,  
Test. 12, 3  
etc.

tui dixisti: quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? 26 adstiterunt reges terrae, et principes congregati sunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum ejus. 27 convenerunt enim vere in civitate hac adversus sanctum filium tuum Jesum, quem unxisti, Herodes et Pontius Pilatus, cum gentibus et populis Israel, 28 facere quaecumque manus tua et voluntas tua praedestinaverat fieri.

Irenaeus,  
lib. 12, 5

31 commotus est [enim, inquit,] locus in quo erant collecti. et repleti sunt ul. 12, 5 (e) omnes spiritu sancto, et loquebantur verbum dei cum fiducia omni volenti credere.

31 ἑσαλευθῇ [γάρ, φησίν,] ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν [ἐπλησθη] ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεῦειν.

μία, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγον ἴδιον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς πάντα κοινά. καὶ δυνάμει μεγάλη ἀπεδίδουν τὸ 33 μαρτύριον οἱ ἀποστόλοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, χάρις τε μεγάλη ἦν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτούς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεὴς ἦν τις 34 ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὅσοι γὰρ κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκίων ὑπῆρχον, πωλοῦντες ἔφερον τὰς τεμῶς τῶν πιπρασκομένων | καὶ ἐτίθουν 35 παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων· διεδίδετο δὲ ἐκάστῳ καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρνάβας ἀπὸ 36 τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευόμενον υἱὸς παρακλήσεως, Λευεΐτης, Κύπριος τῷ γένει, | ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ ἀγροῦ πωλήσας 37 ἤνεγκεν τὸ χρήμα καὶ ἔθηκεν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Ἀνὴρ δέ τις Ἀνανίας ὀνόματι σὺν Σαπφείρῃ τῇ γυναικὶ ὧ αὐτοῦ ἐπώλησεν κτῆμα | καὶ ἐνοσφίσατο ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς, συν- 2 ιδυῖν καὶ τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἐνέγκας μέρος τι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας

Editors 32 ελεγεν WH Soden JHR πάντα] απαρτα Soden 33 της  
 αναστασεως του κυριου ιησου Soden JHR 34 τις ην WH Soden JHR  
 36 ερμηνευομενον] μεθερμηνευομενον WH Soden JHR

Cld Uncial 32 αυτω B<sup>5</sup>A αυτου Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) ελεγον B ελεγεν N<sup>5</sup>A Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D)  
 παρτα B Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) απαρτα N<sup>5</sup>A 33 το μαρτυριον οι αποστολοι B<sup>5</sup>N Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D)  
 οι αποστολοι το μαρτυριον A του κυριου ιησου της αναστασεως B της  
 αναστασεως του κυριου ιησου Pap<sup>8</sup> (cf. D) της αναστασεως ιησου χριστου του κυριου  
 N<sup>5</sup>A (cf. D) 34 ην τις B τις ην N<sup>5</sup>A τις υπηρχεν Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) υπηρχον  
 B<sup>5</sup>N<sup>5</sup> Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) om N 35 δε B<sup>5</sup>N<sup>5</sup>A(+D) om Pap<sup>8</sup> 36 ερμηνευομενον B  
 μεθερμηνευομενον N<sup>5</sup>A Pap<sup>8</sup> πα(+D) 37 παρα BA(+D) προς N  
 1 ανανιας ονοματι B<sup>5</sup> ονοματι ανανιας A(+D)

Antiochian 32 αυτω] αυτων P 462 ελεγον] ελεγεν PS 462 5(+D) παρτα]  
 απαρτα PS 462 5 33 μεγαλη δυναμει PS 462 5 της αναστασεως του  
 κυριου ιησου PS 462 5 (cf. D) 34 ην τις] τις υπηρχεν PS 462 5(+D)  
 35 καθοτι αυ] καθο PS 36 ιωσης PS 462 5 απο] υπο 5(+D)  
 ερμηνευομενων] μεθερμηνευομενον (-ος S) PS 462 5(+D) 37 αυτω] αυτου 462  
 2 γυναικος] ταυτου PS 462 5

32 Tertullian, *apol.* 39, *itaque qui a seipso anitmagus miscetur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus. omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos propter uoces*, may be a reminiscence of the 'Western' text of this verse.

33 The original reading was *απεδιδουν το μαρτυριον οι αποστολοι της αναστασεως του κυριου ιησου* Pap<sup>8</sup> (cent. iv.). Antiochian sah, with *της αναστασεως* taken as dependent on *μαρτυριον*. This was doubtless the Greek which underlay

the 'Western' text, as in *perp* *gig* *Iren* (Aug. *serm.* 356). In B alone (the support from Chrys. *Hom.* xi.—note the longer phrase with *χριστου*—is probably a coincidence) the order of the last two phrases was reversed so as to connect *του κυριου ιησου* with *αποστολοι*. In a revised text, seen in N, *ιησου χριστου του κυριου* was substituted for the simpler *του κυριου ιησου*, and in AE *minn* *vg* the text suffered further by the change of order



καὶ οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία, καὶ οὐδεὶς <τι> τῶν  
 ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς πάντα  
 33 κοινά. καὶ δυνάμει μεγάλη ἀπεδίδουν τὸ μαρτύριον οἱ ἀπόστολοι  
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, χάρις τε μεγάλη  
 34 ἦν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτούς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεής τις ὑπῆρχεν ἐν αὐτοῖς·  
 ὅσοι γὰρ κτήτορες ἦσαν χωρίων ἢ οἰκειῶν ὑπῆρχον, πωλοῦντες  
 35 [κ]αὶ φέροντες τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκόμενων | καὶ ἐτίθουν παρὰ  
 τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων· διεδίδετο δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ καθότι  
 36 ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρνάβας ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον υἱὸς παρακλήσεως,  
 37 Κύπριος, Λευεΐτης τῷ γένει, | ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ χωρίου πωλήσας  
 ἤνεγκε τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ἔθηκεν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων.  
 V Ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ὀνόματι Ἀνανίας σὺν Σαφφύρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ  
 2 ἐπώλησεν κτῆμα | καὶ ἐνοσφίσατο ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς, συνειδυίας καὶ  
 τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἐνέγκας μέρος τι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀπο-

37 χωριον

2 γυναικαικος

erat accusatio in eis ulla et nemo quicquam ex eo quod possidebant dicebat suum d  
 esse sed erant eis omnia communia 33 et virtute magna reddebant testim apostoli  
 resurrectionem dñi ihu xpi gratia magna erat super eos omnes 34 nec enim inosp  
 quiesquam erat in eis quodquod possessores erant praediorum aut domum vendentes  
 et adferebant prastia quae vaniebant 35 et ponebant ad pedes apostolorum distri  
 buebantur vero singulis secundum cuique opus erat 36 joseph autem qui  
 cognominatus est barnabas ab apostolis quod est interpretatum filius exhortationis  
 cyprius levita genere 37 cum esset ei ager venundato eo adtulit hanc pecuniam et  
 posuit juxta pedes apostolorum

1 quidam autem vir nomine ananias cum sapphire uxore sua vendidit pos  
 sessione 2 et subtraxit de praedio conscia uxore sua et cum adtulissent partem

fuit inter illos discrimen ullum, nec quicquam suum judicabant ex bonis, quae  
 eis erant, sed fuerunt illis omnia communia.

Cyprian,  
 Fest. iii. 8:  
 De op. et al. 25

33 virtute [enim] magna [inquit] reddebant testimonium apostoli resurrec  
 tionis domini Jesu.

Irenaeus,  
 III. 12, 6 (6)

ἀπεδιδουν οἱ ἀποστολοι το μαρτυριον. D  
 preserves the original text, with only  
 the addition of *χριστου* at the end.  
 The Antiochian here followed the true  
 text, not the revised form.

The difference in the form of the  
 name is the index of the most import  
 ant bifurcation of the text. If this  
 guide be followed, the witnesses fall  
 into two groups: (1) Pap<sup>s</sup> B, 'Western,'

Antiochian, sah; (2) δ, A<sup>s</sup> E minn vg.  
 Within each group subordinate mod  
 ifications took place. Between the  
 two forms of the name the tendency  
 to expand is a more significant  
 transcriptional motive to be taken  
 as text-critical guide than a supposed  
 disposition to alter the unusual, but  
 wholly unexceptionable, phrase *ιησου  
 χριστου του κυριου*.

τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθηκεν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· Ἀνανία, διὰ τί 3  
ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου ψεύσασθαι σε τὸ πνεῦμα  
τὸ ἅγιον καὶ νοσφίσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ χωρίου; οὐχὶ μένον 4  
σοὶ ἔμενεν καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν; τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν  
τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο; οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ  
τῷ θεῷ. ἀκούων δὲ ὁ Ἀνανίας τοὺς λόγους τούτους πεσὼν 5  
ἐξέψυξεν· καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας.  
ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι συνέστειλαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες 6  
ἔθαψαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ὥρων τριῶν διάστημα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ 7  
μὴ εἰδυῖα τὸ γεγονός εἰσῆλθεν. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν Πέτρος· 8  
Εἰπέ μοι, εἰ τοσούτου τὸ χωρίον ἀπέδοσθε; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Ναί,  
τοσούτου. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος πρὸς αὐτήν· Τί ὅτι συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν 9  
πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου; ἰδοὺ οἱ πόδες τῶν θαψάντων τὸν  
ἄνδρα σου ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ ἐξοίσουσίν σε. ἔπεσεν δὲ παραχρῆμα 10  
πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξέψυξεν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι  
εὗρον αὐτὴν νεκράν, καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες ἔθαψαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα  
αὐτῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπὶ 11  
πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα.

Διὰ τε τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγένετο σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα 12

Editors 8 [ο] petros Soden 10 προς] παρα Soden mg 12 τε] δε  
WH Soden JHR

Old Uncial 3 δια BNA(—D) om Pap<sup>s</sup> vid επληρωσεν BA Pap<sup>s</sup> Nc(+D) επηρωσεν N  
5 τους 2ο BNA(+D) om Pap<sup>s</sup> 7 ως BAN(+D) εως N γεγωνος  
BNA(+D) γεγωνσι] Pap<sup>s</sup> 8 petros BNA ο petros Pap<sup>s</sup> vid(+D)  
ναι BN(+D) om A 9 petros BN(+D) +ειπε A τι BAN(+D)  
+ων N τη θυρα BN(+D) ταις θυραις A 11 επι BN(+D) om A  
12 τε B δε NA(+D)

Anthochian 3 om o before petros PS 462 5(+D) νοσφισασθαι] +σε PS 462 (+D)  
4 om εν 1ο P 5 om o before ανανιας 5(+D) ακουοντας] +ταυτα  
PS 462 5 8 προς αυτην] αυτη PS 462 5 ο petros PS 462 5(+D)  
9 petros] +ειπε PS 462 5 10 προς 1ο] παρα PS 462 5 αυτου] αυτων S  
νεανισκοι] νεωτεροι 462 11 ακουοντας] κατοικουτας P 12 τε] δε  
PS 462 5(+D) εγενετο S5

3 With *hel* ✕. of. the addition of *προς αυτων* in E minn versions.

For *επληρωσεν* (*επηρωσεν* N) vg reads *ισπλῶντι*, and is supported (*επεωρσεν*) by Athanasius, Epiphanius, Didymus, but by no Greek ms. Theodoret twice quotes the verse with *ηπατησεν* for *επληρωσεν*.

3, 4 Cyprian, *test.* iii. 30, has as

substitute for *και νοσφισασθαι* . . . *υπηρχεν* only the words *οις εσσεσ* *functus in tua potestate*. No explanation of this text is forthcoming. Valerian of Cimiez (c. 450), *hom.* 4, used the *Testimonium*, and has the reading. Augustine, *c. litt. Petri*. iii. 48 (58), and Ambrosiaster, *quæst. vet. et novi test.* 97, curiously agree in break-

3 στόλων ἔθετο. εἶπεν δὲ Πέτρος πρὸς Ἀνανίαν· Διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν  
 ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου ψεύσασθαι σε τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ  
 4 νοσφίσασθαι σε ἀπὸ τῆς τεμιῆς τοῦ χωρίου; οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ  
 ἔμενεν καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν; τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ σου ποιῆσαι πονηρὸν τοῦτο; οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ  
 5 τῷ θεῷ. ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀνανίας τοὺς λόγους τούτους παραχρῆμα  
 πεσὼν ἐξέφυξεν· καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούον-  
 6 τας. ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι συνέστυλαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες  
 7 ἔθαψαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ὥρων ᾧ διάστημα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ  
 8 μὴ ἰδυῖα τὸ γεγονός εἰσῆλθεν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Πέτρος·  
 Ἐπερωτήσω σε εἰ ἄρα τὸ χωρίον τοσούτου ἀπέδοσθε. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν·  
 9 Ναί, τοσούτου. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος <πρὸς> αὐτήν· Τί ὅτι ἴσυνεφώνησεν  
 ὑμεῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κυρίου; ἰδοὺ οἱ πόδες τῶν θαψάν-  
 10 των τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ ἐξοίσουσίν σε. καὶ ἔπρεσεν  
 παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξέφυξεν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ  
 οἱ νεανίσκοι εὗρον αὐτὴν νεκράν, καὶ συνστελλάντες ἐξήνεγκαν  
 11 καὶ ἔθαψαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐφ'  
 ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα.  
 12 Διὰ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγείνετο σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα

4 μενον] μεσιν  
 8 δε 2<sup>o</sup>] ὅη

εἴψουσιν  
 11 ακοιουσιν

7 διαυτεμα

quandam juxta pedes apostolorum posuit 3 dixit autem petrus ad ananiam ut quid d  
 adimplevit satanas cor tuum mentiri te spiritui sancto et intercepte te ex praetium  
 praedii 4 nonne manens tibi manebat et distractum in tua potestate erat quid  
 utique posuisti in corde tuo facere dolose rem istam non es mentitus hominibus sed  
 do 5 audies autem ananias sermones hos subito cum cecidisset obriguit et factus  
 est timor magnus super omnes qui audiebant 6 cum surrexissent autem jubenes  
 involuerunt eū et cum extulissent sepelierunt 7 factum est quasi horarum trium  
 spatium et uxor ejus nesciens quod factum erat introibit 8 dixit autem ad eam  
 petrus dic mihi si tanti praedium vendidistis ad illa dixit etiam tantum 9 petrus  
 vero ad eam quid utique convenit vobis temptare spm̄ dñi ecce pedes eorum qui  
 sepelierunt virum tuū ad ostium et effecer te 10 et ceciditque confestim ad pedes  
 ejus et perobriguit cumque introissent jubenes invenerunt eam mortuam et cum  
 extulissent sepelierunt ad virum suum 11 et factus est timor magnus super totam  
 ecclesiam et super omnes qui audierunt haec 12 per manus vero apostolorum

3 inplevit Satanas cor tuum mentiri te aput spiritum sanctum, 4 cum Cyprian,  
 esset fundus in tua potestate. non hominibus mentitus es, sed deo. Test. nī. 80

3 προς αναναν] ✕ ad eum ✓ Anania  
 10 αυτου] mg ejus

8 προς αυτην] ✕ ei ✓ Barlaam

ing off their quotation at just this point, and may have been using the *Testimonia*. Moreover, Augustine may be dependant on Ambrosiaster.

πολλὰ ἐν τῷ λαῷ· καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν πάντες ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ  
 Σολομώνος· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐθεὶς ἐτόλμα κολλᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς· 13  
 ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός, | μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο πι- 14  
 στεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· ὥστε καὶ 15  
 εἰς τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ κλιναρίων  
 καὶ κραβάττων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κᾶν ἡ σκιά ἐπισκιάσει  
 τινὲ αὐτῶν. συνήρχετο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πέριξ πόλεων 16  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ, φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων  
 ἀκαθάρτων, οἵτινες ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὖσα 17  
 αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλους | καὶ ἐπέβαλον 18  
 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τηρήσει  
 δημοσίᾳ. ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου διὰ νυκτὸς ἤνοιξε τὰς θύρας τῆς 19  
 φυλακῆς, ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Πορεύεσθε καὶ σταθέντες 20  
 λαλεῖτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ λαῷ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης.  
 ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἐδίδασκον. 21  
 παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσαν τὸ  
 συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀπ-  
 έστειλαν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀχθῆναι αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ παραγενό- 22  
 μνοι ὑπηρέται οὐχ εὗρον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, ἀναστρέψαντες  
 δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν | λέγοντες ὅτι Τὸ δεσμωτήριον εὗρομεν κεκλει- 23

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Editors	12 πάντες] ἅπαντες Soden	16 πόλεων] +[eis] Soden	17 ζήλου
WH Soden JHR	18 χεῖρας] +[αὐτῶν] Soden	19 ἀναξας Soden	
de 2 <sup>o</sup> ] τε WH Soden JHR	21 παραγενομενος WH Soden JHR		
23 το] +[μεν] Soden			

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Old Uncial	12 πάντες BA ἅπαντες N(+D)	14 τιστευοντες B <sup>2</sup> N(+D)	αἱ τιστευοντες A
15 κλινარიον B <sup>2</sup> N(+D)	των κλινარიων A	αὐτων BA <sup>2</sup> N(+D)	αὐτω N
17 ζήλου B	ζήλου NA(+D)	18 ἐπέβαλον B <sup>2</sup> N(+D)	ἐπεβαλλον A
19 νυκτος B <sup>2</sup> NA(+D)	της νυκτος N <sup>c</sup>	ἤνοιξε B	ἀναξας NA
τε NA(+D)	21 παραγενομενοι B	παραγενομενος B <sup>2</sup> NA(+D)	de 2 <sup>o</sup> B

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Antiochian	12 εν τω λαω πολλα PS 462 5	πάντες] ἅπαντες PS 462 5(+D)
15 και εις] κατα PS 462 5 (of. D)	κλινარიον] κλινων PS 462 5	επισκιαση
PS 5(+D)	16 πόλεων] +εις PS 462 5(+D)	17 ζήλου PS 462 5(+D)
18 χεῖρας] +αὐτων PS 462 5	19 της νυκτος PS 462 5	de 2 <sup>o</sup> ] τε
PS 462 5(+D)	21 παραγενομενος PS 462 5(+D)	22 υπηρεται
παραγενομενοι PS 462 5(+D)	23 το] +μεν PS 462 5	

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17 For *αναξας* p<sup>ap</sup> has 'Annas' (cf. vg. *cod. ardm.*), clearly primitive, but wrong.

21 For *ακουσαντες* de the reading εἰ-

ελθοντες de εκ της φυλακης E a, and similarly pesh arm, is probably a bit of 'Western' text not elsewhere preserved.

πολλὰ ἐν τῷ λαῷ· καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν  
 13 τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Σολομώνος· καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐ-όλμα κολλᾶσθαι  
 14 αὐτοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός, μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο  
 15 πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· ὥστε  
 κατὰ πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ  
 κλιναρίων καὶ κραβάττων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κἂν ἡ σκιὰ  
 ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὲ αὐτῶν· ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενίας  
 16 ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. συνήρχετο δὲ πλῆθος τῶν πέρι<ξ>  
 πόλεων εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους  
 ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ εἰῶντο πάντες.  
 17 Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὖσα  
 18 αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου | καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὰς  
 χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τρηρσί δημοσίᾳ·  
 19 καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια. τότε διὰ νυκτὸς ἄγγελος  
 20 εἶπεν· Πορεύεσθε καὶ σταθέντες λαλεῖτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ λαῷ  
 21 πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης. ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον  
 ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκον. παραγενόμενος δὲ  
 ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωὶ καὶ συν-  
 καλεσάμενοι τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν  
 Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον ἀχθῆναι αὐτούς.  
 22 οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται παραγενόμενοι καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ  
 23 εὗρον αὐτοὺς ἔσω· ἀναστρέψαντες καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν | λέγοντες ὅτι

14 πληθι 18 ηθεντο 19 ανεωξαν 20 λαλειται  
 22 ανυξαντες

flebant signa et portenta multa in populo et erant pariter universi in tam in porticum d  
 solomonis 13 nec quisquam ex ceteris curabat adherere eis sed magnificabat eos  
 populos 14 magisque adiciebantur credentes in omni multitudo virorumque et mulierum  
 15 ita ut in plateis inferrent infirmos eorum et ponerent in lectulis et grabattis ut  
 venientis petri vel umbra inumbraret quemcumque illorum et leverantur ab omnem  
 valetudinem quem habebant unus quisque eorum 16 conveniebat vero multitudo  
 finium undique in hierusalem ferentes infirmos et qui vexabantur ab spiritibus in  
 mundis qui curabantur universi 17 cum surrexisset autem pontifex et omnes qui  
 cum ipso quae est secta sadduceorum impleti sunt asputationem 18 et miserunt  
 manus in apostolos et posuerunt eos in adseruatione publica et abierunt unus quisque  
 in domicilia 19 per nocte vero angelus dñi aperuit januas carceris cumque dixisset  
 eos dixit 20 ite et stantes loquimini in templo populo omnia verba vitae ejus  
 21 cum audissent autem introierunt sub antelocū in templum et docebant cumque  
 venisset pontifex et qui cum ipso exurgentes ante lucem et convocaverunt concilium  
 et omnem senatum filiorum israhel et miserunt ad carcerem adduci eos 22 ministri  
 vero cum venissent et aperuissent carcerem non inveniunt eos intus reversi sunt et

22 καὶ ανοιξαντες την φυλακην] ✕ aperuerunt carcerem ✕

Harleian

σμένον ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν, ἀνοίξαντες δὲ ἔσω οὐδένα εὗρομεν. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν τοὺς 24 λόγους τούτους ὁ τε στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, διηπόρουσαν περὶ αὐτῶν τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο. παραγενόμενος δὲ τις 25 ἀπηγγέλειεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστῶτες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὸν λαόν. τότε 26 ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἤγεν αὐτοὺς, οὐ μετὰ βίας, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν, μὴ λιθασθῶσιν. ἀγαγόντες δὲ 27 αὐτοὺς ἕστησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς | λέγων· Παραγγελία παρηγγεῖλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδά- 28 σκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πεπληρώκατε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ βούλεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπό- 29

23 εθεσθαι

Editors	26 ηγαγεν Soden	25 παραγγελια] ου παραγγελια Soden JHR
Old Uncial	24 τι ΒΑΝ <sup>α</sup> (+D) το τι Ν και ΒΑΝ <sup>α</sup> (+D) ομι Ν (Ν <sup>α</sup> suppl estwtes) μη ΒΝ(+D) ινα μη Α διδασκειν ΒΝ(+D) λαλειν Α	25 οι ΒΑΝ <sup>α</sup> (+D) ομι Ν 26 ηγεν ΒΝ ηγαγεν Α (cf. D) 28 παραγγελια ΒΝΑ ου παραγγελια Ν(+D) τεπληρωκατε Β(+D) επληρωσατε ΝΑ
Antiochian	23 φυλακας] +εξω 5 PS 462 5 μη] ινα μη PS 462 5 ημας] υμας S	επι] προ PS 462 5 25 αυτους] +λεγων 5 28 παραγγελια] ου παραγγελια PS 462 5(+D) 29 ο πετρος 5 (cf. D)

23 In D *εγκλεισμενον* the first two letters are by dittography from the preceding *ειρομεν*.

26 D omits *ου*: h probably had *non terto* ('*αλλ ου*'). Perhaps *ου* was omitted by oversight in the process of deleting *αλλ*.

*φοβουμενοι* γαρ D is conflation; h *metuetes* (for *metuens*) translates *φοβουμενος*.

27 For *εν*, l and pesh seem to have followed a text which read *εμπροσθεν*.

h *prator* for *archiereus* may have in mind a Roman trial, but possibly (cf. iv. 1) his text read *ο στρατηγος*. D *iepeus* is probably due to the influence of the Latin (cf. gig Lucifer, the oldest form of which often translates | *archiereus* by *sacerdos*; see Zahn, *Ursprung*, p. 177.

28 *επηρωτησεν*, vs. 27, seems to imply the presence before *παραγγελια* of *ου* D h (*non*), perp e (*nonne*) sah Antiochian pesh. But the text of h pesh, perhaps

from the feeling that even so the utterance was not properly called a question, seems to have read *ηρατο λεγειν προς αυτους* for *επηρωτησεν αυτους*.

D omits *και* before *ιδου*. Probably *υμας δε*, represented in h pesh, has been omitted in D to conform to the ordinary text, but without restoring *και*.

28, 29 The rendering of vs. 29 in h Aug c. Crescon. i. 8 (11) doubtless correctly represents the 'Western' text. Gig has the same, but with some conformation to the B-text: *respondens autem petrus et apostoli dixerunt: utrum oportet obaudire deo an hominibus? at ille dixit: deo et petrus ait ad illos*. Of this Lucifer has *utrum* and *deo an hominibus*. Six vulgata codices have retained the sentence *at ille dixerunt: deo*; and a single trace in e (*an* for *quam*) caught the keen eye of Bede ('interrogative legitur in Graeco').

Τὸ δεσμωτήριον εὖρομεν ἐνκεκλεισμένον ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφάλειᾳ  
καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν, ἀνοίξαντες δὲ ἔσω  
24 οὐδένα εὖρομεν. ὥς δὲ ἤκουσαν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὁ τε  
στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, διηπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν τί  
25 ἂν γένηται τοῦτο. παραγενόμενος δὲ τις ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι  
Ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστῶτες  
26 καὶ διδάσκοντες τὸν λαόν. τότε ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς  
ὑπηρέταις ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς μετὰ βίας, φοβούμενοι ὅτι γὰρ τὸν  
27 λαόν, μὴ λιθασθῶσιν· ἀγαγόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ συν-  
28 εδρίῳ. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ ἱερεὺς | λέγων· Οὐ παραγγελία  
παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ;  
ἰδοὺ πεπληρώκατε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ βού-  
29 λεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου· πειθ-  
30 αρχεῖν δὲ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς  
23 ἐνκεκλεισμενον 28 βουλευσθαι ἐπαγαγεῖν

renuntiaverunt 23 dicentes qui in carcerem invenimus clausum in omni firmitate et custodes stantes ante ostium aperientes intus neminem invenimus 24 ut vero audierunt sermones hos praetorque templi et ipsi pontifices haesitabant de eis quidnam fieret de hoc 25 cum venisset autem quidam adnuntiavit eis quia ecce viri quos posuisti in carcerem sunt in templo stantes et docentes populum 26 tunc cum adisset ipse praetor cum ministris deducebant eos cum vim timebant enim populum ne lapidarentur 27 cumque adduxissent eos constituerunt in concilio et interrogavit eos pontifex 28 dicens denuntiatione praecepimus vobis non docere in nomine hoc ecce impletis hierusalem doctrine vestra et vultis adducere super nos sanguinem hominis huius obtemperare 29 deo oportet magis quam hominibus 30 petrus vero respondit

22 [.....] verunt 23 dicentes: quoniam pignarium in[venimus] clausum h[ab] in omni firmitate, et custodes stan[tes ante] ostia: cum aperuimus autem, neminem in[venimus] 24 et quomodo audierunt verba ista magistrat[us templi] et pontifices, confundebantur de ipsis quidn[am illud] esset. 25 adveniens autem quidam nuntiavit [eis, dicens]: quoniam ecce viri quos misisti in custodi[am, in tem]plo sunt, stantes et docentes populum. 26 tu[n]c abiit magistratus cum ministris, et adduxit eos, n[on vero] per vi, metues ne forte lapidaretur a popul[o]. 27 et quo[m]modo perduxerunt eos in conspectu concil[i], incept[us] ad eos praetor dicere: 28 non praecepto prae[cepimus] vobis ne umquam in hoc nomine doceretis? vos autem ecce impletis Hierosolymam do[ctrina] vestra: et vultis super nos adducere sanguine h[ominis] illius 29 respondens autem Petrus dixit

The text of D has here again suffered by conformation, consisting of the excision of the words corresponding to *respondens autem petrus dixit ad illum cui h*, for which the B-reading ought to have been substituted, and of the insertion of *μᾶλλον θεο* (*d oportet*) is an attempt at connexion. In the sentence following *ανθρωποις* the 'Western' Greek reappears in D.

Second and third century witnesses to the B-text are Polycrates' letter to Victor, ap. Eus. *h.e.* v. 24, 7, Origen *c. Cels.* viii. 26, and Hippolytus, *c. Noët.* 6 fin. (ed. Lagarde p. 48), all of whom quote the affirmative form *πειθαρχεῖν γὰρ δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις*, and would not have found the text available for their purpose in its 'Western' guise.

στολοι ειπαν· Πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις. ὁ θεὸς 30  
τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἡγρεῖν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσαθε  
κρεμάσας ἐπὶ ξύλου· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα 31  
ὑψωσεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δοῦναι μετάνοιαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ  
καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ μάρτυρες τῶν ρημάτων 32  
τούτων, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν  
αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες διεπρείοντο καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς. 33  
ἀναστὰς δέ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, 34  
νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω βραχὺ τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι, | εἰπὲν τε πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλεῖ- 35  
ται, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις τί μέλλετε  
πράσσειν. πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεοδῶς, λέγων 36  
εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν, ᾧ προσεκλήθη ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς ὡς τετρακοσίων·

Editors	31 [του] WH om του Soden JHR en αυτω σε εσμεν αυτω WHmg εβουλεοντο Soden	32 εν αυτω] εσμεν WH Soden JHR αγιον] +ο WH Soden JHR 33 εβουλεοντο] Soden 34 ανθρωπους Soden mg αποστολους Soden	32 εν αυτω] εσμεν WH Soden JHR αγιον B +ο NA 33 εβουλεοντο BA εβουλεοντο N(+D) 36 εαυτων BNAC +μεγαλ A <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) ως BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) ωσει N προσεκληθη BNAC <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) προσ- εκληθησαν C τετρακοσιων BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) τετρακοσιοι N
Old Uncial	30 ο B(+D) +δε NA μαρτυρες B εσμεν μαρτυρες N(+D) (cf. D) 33 εβουλεοντο BA εβουλεοντο N(+D) 36 εαυτων BNAC +μεγαλ A <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) ως BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) ωσει N τετρακοσιοι N	31 του BN om AN <sup>2</sup> (+D) μαρτι.ρες εσμεν A 33 εβουλεοντο N(+D) 36 εαυτων BNAC +μεγαλ A <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) ως BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) ωσει N τετρακοσιων BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) τετρακοσιοι N	32 εν αυτω] εσμεν WH Soden JHR αγιον B +ο NA 33 εβουλεοντο BA εβουλεοντο N(+D) 36 εαυτων BNAC +μεγαλ A <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) ως BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) ωσει N τετρακοσιων BACN <sup>2</sup> (+D) τετρακοσιοι N
Antiochian	31 om του HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D) HPS <sup>5</sup> αγιον] +ο HPS <sup>5</sup> (cf. D) εβουλεοντο HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D) (+D) προσεκολληθη 5	32 εν αυτω] εσμεν αυτου HPS <sup>5</sup> 33 ακουοντες P 34 βραχυ τους ανθρωπους] βραχυ τι τους αποστο- λους P <sup>5</sup> τους αποστολους βραχυ τι HS 36 προσεκληθη] προσεκληθη HPS αριθμος ανδρων HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D) ως] ωσει HPS <sup>5</sup>	πνευμα] +δε εβουλεοντο] βραχυ τι τους αποστο- λους HPS ως] ωσει HPS <sup>5</sup>

31 For δεξια the reading δοξη D perp gig (h<sup>1</sup>, Iren Aug sah seems to be a very ancient accidental error; for the same confusion cf. LXX. Is. lxii. 8, 2 Chron. xxx. 8 (Nestle, *Expositor*, 5th ser., ii., 1895, pp 288 f)

του BN (dittography?) is probably to be omitted with A D Antiochian. In such cases the author of Acts sometimes uses του, as in Acts xxvi 18 (twice), Lk. i. 74, 77, 79, sometimes not, as in Lk. i. 54, 79.

32 The text of N(A) gig vg pesh, which lacks εν αυτω and reads και ημεῖς εσμεν μαρτυρες, is probably right. The 'Western' text had the addition εν αυτω at the close of vs. 31; so D d h perp Aug. peccat. merit. i. 52 sah. (The Greek basis of h apparently had εσμεν mutilated into μν.) The words were inserted in B, but in the wrong

place, contrary to the sense, after ημεῖς; and εσμεν was extruded in making the correction. Iran has exactly the text of B. Several minuscules read εν αυτω εσμεν. The Antiochian, on the basis of the B-text, improved εν αυτω awkwardly into αυτου.

The omission of δ by B minn sah boh was probably an accidental error; the variants εν DE, ο NA Antiochian, and του πνευματος του αγιου ο h perp may possibly suggest a deeper but hidden cause.

33 With hol ✕: cf. the added τα ρηματα ταυτα 614 minn.

34 For the lacuna in h, Berger's conjecture μι[nimum] is not wholly satisfactory, and Buchanan's μι[nistris] still less so. Vg cod. par. 11633 reads modicum.

36 The attestation of the expanded



αὐτοὺς· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς  
 31 διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλον· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγόν  
 καὶ σωτήρα ὑψώσεν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ, δοῦναι μετάνοιαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ  
 32 καὶ ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν μάρτυρες  
 πάντων τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃν ἔδωκεν  
 33 ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πιθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες διεπρίοντο καὶ  
 34 ἐβουλεύοντο ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς. ἀναστὰς δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ  
 35 λαῷ, ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔξω βραχὺ ποιῆσαι, | εἰπὲν  
 τε πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραη-  
 λείται, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις τί μέλλετε  
 36 πράσσειν. πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεودᾶς, λέγων  
 εἶναι τινα μέγαν ἐαυτόν, ᾧ καὶ προσεκλήθη ἀριθμὸς ἀνδρῶν ὡς

30 διεχειρισασθαι  
 εαυτους μελλεται

35 σι: εὐριοις  
 36 προσεκληθη

προσεχεται

ad eos d[eu]s patr[um] nostr[orum] suscitavit i[esu]m quem vo[st]ri interfece[re]tis suspendent[es] in ligno d  
 31 hunc d[eu]s ducem et salvatorem exaltavit caritate sua dare poenitentiam israel et  
 remissionem peccatorum in ipso 32 et nos ip[s]i testes sumus omnium verborum  
 horum et sp[iritu] sanctum quem dedit d[eu]s h[is] qui o[bed]iunt ei 33 ad ill[os] addente[re]  
 discernebantur et cogitabant interficere eos 34 cum surrexisset autem quidam in  
 concilio phariseus nomine gamaliel legis doctor honoratus apud omne[m] populu[m]  
 iussit apostolos foras pusillum facere 35 dixitque ad principes et concilio[m] viri  
 israelitae attendite vobis super istis hominib[us] quidam incipiens agere 36 ante  
 hos enim dies surrexit theudas dicens esse quendam magnu[m] ipsorum cui adsensum

ad ill[um]: cui obedire oportet, d[eu]o an hominib[us] ille aut[em] ait: d[eu]o. 30 et h  
 dixit Petrus ad eum: d[eu]s patr[um] nostr[orum] exaltavit illum, quos vos inter-  
 fecistis, suspendent[es] in ligno. 31 hunc principem d[eu]s et salvatorem exaltavit  
 gloria sua, dare poenitentiam israel et remissionem peccat[orum] in se: 32 et  
 nos quidem testes sumus omnium verborum istorum, et sp[iritu]s s[an]c[t]i, quem dedit d[eu]s  
 eis qui cumq[ue] crediderint in eu[m]. 33 haec cum audirent verba, dirrupie-  
 bantur, [et cogita]bant perdere eos. 34 exurrexit autem de c[on]cilio far[isae]us  
 quidam, nomine Gamaliel, qui erat legis [doctor et] acceptus totae plebi: et  
 iussit apostolos nu[nc] . . . duci interim foras: 35 et ait ad totum concilio[m]:  
 [viri Isra]elite, attendite vobis quid de istis hominib[us] [agere] incipiat.  
 36 nomen ante hoc tempus surrexit [Theudas] quid[am], dicens se esse magnu[m],

30 deus patr[um] nostr[orum] excitavit Iesum, quem vos adprehendistis, et Irenaeus,  
 interfecistis suspendentes in ligno. 31 hunc deus principem et salvatorem m. 12, 3  
 exaltavit gloria sua, dare poenitentiam israel, et remissionem peccatorum:  
 32 et nos in eo testes sermonum horum, et sp[iritu]s sanctus, quem dedit deus  
 credentibus ei.

33 ακουσαντες] quum audivissent \* sermones hos <

Harelean

reading τινα εαυτον μεγαν (cf. viii. 9)  
 is interesting. Not only does its

presence in D (τινα μεγαν εαυτον), Old  
 Latin (h. gig. vg. cod. Jerome), peah,

ὅς ἀνῆρέθη, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν 37 ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν. καὶ νῦν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων 38 καὶ ἄφετε αὐτούς· ὅτι ἐὰν ᾗ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ βουλή αὕτη ἡ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, καταλυθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστίν, οὐ δυνήσεσθε 39 καταλῦσαι αὐτούς· μή ποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὗρεθῇτε. ἐπείσθησαν 40 δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἀποστόλους δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπέλυσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου 41

Editors 38 τα νυν Soden JHE [τα νυν] WH  
40 ἀπελυσαν] +[αυτους] Soden

ἀφετε Soden mg εἰσατε Soden

Old Uncial 37 λαον B<sup>9</sup>A +πολυ C +πολι<sup>9</sup> C<sup>opp</sup> (+D) όσοι B<sup>9</sup>AC<sup>9</sup>(+D) οι C  
38 νυν B τα νυν B<sup>4</sup>(?)B<sup>9</sup>AC(+D) υμιν B<sup>9</sup>AC(+D) om N 39 δινη-  
σεσθε B<sup>9</sup>C(+D) δυνασθε A αυτους B<sup>9</sup>AC<sup>9</sup>(+D) αυτο C 40 λαλειν  
B<sup>9</sup>C(+D) +αυτους A

Antiochian 37 ἀπεστησε] ἀνεστησεν H λαον] +ικανον HPS<sup>5</sup> (cf. D) 38 νυν]  
τα νυν HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D) ἀφετε] εἰσατε HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D) om αυτη HPS  
39 δε] +και S δυνασεσθε] δυνασθε HPS<sup>5</sup> αυτους] αυτο HPS<sup>5</sup>  
40 ἀπελυσαν] +αυτους HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D)

614 and many minuscules show it to have been 'Western,' but it is found in Origen c. *Cels.* i. 57 and in Cyril Alex., and has been inserted by A<sup>3</sup>.

36, 37 The use, instead of *ἀνῆρέθη* in vs. 36, of *διελύθη* D, *κατελύθη* Euseb. h.e. ii. 11, 1, *dissoluitus est* perp, and in vs. 37 of *dissolutus est* perp for *ἀπώλετο*, may be an attempt to improve the argument of Gamaliel, under the view that the apostles (rather than Jesus) are here compared with Theudas and Judas. But more probably in vs. 36 *ος διελύθη* D was taken to refer to *αριθμοι*. καὶ πάντες will then stand in

apposition, *διελυθησαν* being necessarily omitted.

38 On the late Latin use of *sic* for *si*, found in d, cf. vii. 1, Jn. xxi. 22, and see J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 33-40.

39 The 'Western' gloss, *οὐτε υμεις οὐτε βασιλεις οὐτε τυραννοι*. ἀπεχεσθε οὐν ἀπο των ανθρωπων τούτων D hcl ✕ and, in part, h e E minn, may possibly show use of Wisdom xii. 14 *οὐτε βασιλεὺς ἡ τύραννος ἀντοφθαλμήσαι δυνήσεται σοι περὶ ὧν ἀπόλασας*. See J. R. Harris, *Expositor*, 6th ser., vol. ii., 1900, pp. 394-400.

τετρακοσίων ὅς διελύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπίθοντο  
 37 αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐθέν. μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰαίδας ὁ  
 Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησεν λαὸν  
 πολὺν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο, καὶ ὅσοι ἐπίθοντο αὐτῷ  
 38 διεσκορπίσθησαν. καὶ τὰ νῦν τείνω,† ἀδελφοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπό-  
 στητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ ἑάσατε αὐτοὺς μὴ μῖναντες  
 τὰς χεῖρας· ὅτι ἐὰν ᾗ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη ἢ τὸ ἔργον  
 39 τοῦτο, καταλυθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστίν, οὐ δυνήσεσθε κατὰ-  
 λύσαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι. ἀπέχεσθε  
 οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων μὴ ποτε θεομάχοι εὗρεθῇτε.  
 40 †[.]επειστ[. . .]εσ† δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἀπο-  
 στολούς δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ  
 41 Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπόστολοι ἐπορεύοντο

39 δυνησθαι

ἀπεχεσθαι

40 ἐπ[.]επει

est numeri virorum quasi quadringentorum qui interfectus est et omnes quodquod d  
 obtemperabant ei facti sunt nihil 37 post hunc surrexit judas galilaean in diebus  
 professionis et alienavit populum post se et ille perit et qui credebant illi disper-  
 sunt 38 et quae nunc fratres dico vobis discedite ab hominibus istis et discite  
 eos non inquinatas manus quia sic erit ab hominibus consilium istud aut hoc  
 destruetur 39 si autem a deo est non poteritis destruere eos nec vos nec imperatores  
 nec reges discedite ergo ab hominibus istis ne forte deo repugnantes inveniamini  
 40 consenserunt itaque ei et et cum vocasset apostolos caesis eis praeceperunt non  
 loqui in nomine ihu et dimiserunt eos 41 apostoli vero ibant gaudentes a conspectu

cui sensit [numer]us hominum non minus quadringentorum: [qui jugulatus est, h  
 et omnes qui ei consenserant confusi sunt et nihil sunt facti. 37 post hunc  
 deinde surrexit Judas Galileus in diebus census, et convertit [multam] plebem  
 post se: et ille perit, quodquod ei crediderant persecutiones habuerunt.  
 38 nunc autem, fratres, dico vobis, ab istis hominib[us] recedatis, et [eos  
 dimittatis, et non maculetis manus vestras: quoniam si] haec potestas humani  
 voluntatis est, dissolvetur vir[tus] ejus: 39 si autem haec potestas ex d[omi]ni  
 volu[n]tate est, non poteritis dissolvere illos, neque vos neq[ue] [principes] ac  
 tyranni. abstinete itaque vos ab istis hominib[us], ne forte et adversus  
 d[omi]n[u]m inveniamini pugnantes. 40 con[sens]erunt itaque illi: et vocaverunt  
 apos[tolos, et caeso]s dimiserunt eos, praecipientes ne umquam loquerentur  
 alicui in nomine ihu. 41 [illi] autem dimissi aierunt gaudentes et conspe[ctu]

[39 non te terremus, qui nec timemus, sed velim ut omnes salvos facere Tertullian,  
 possimus monendo μὴ θεομαχεῖν.] Scap. 4

39 οὔτε υμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τυράννοι· ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων Harsleian  
 τούτων] \* neque vos neque reges neque tyranni; abstite ergo ab hominibus  
 his <

ὅτι κατηξιώθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι· πᾶσάν τε 42  
 ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἶκον οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ  
 εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν VI  
 ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὅτι  
 παρεθεωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν·  
 προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπαν· 2  
 Οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ  
 διακονεῖν τραπέζαις· ἐπισκεψώμεθα δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν 3  
 μαρτυρουμένους ἐπὶ πλήρεις πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας, οὓς κατα-  
 στήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ 4  
 τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν. καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐν- 5  
 ὥπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, ἄνδρα πλήρη

Editors 3 ἐπισκεψασθε WH Soden JHR  
 5 πληρης Soden JHR

δε] ουν Soden [δη] WHmg

Old Uncial 42 χριστον BNA κυριον C (cf. D) 1 παρεθεωρουντο BNA C(+D)  
 παραθεωρουνται Pap<sup>8</sup> 2 ημας BNA ημων C(+D) καταλειψαντας  
 BNA Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) καταλειψαντες C 3 επισκεψωμεθα B επισκεψασθε BAC  
 Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) δε B<sup>8</sup> δη A ουν C αδελφοι BNC om A(+D)  
 πληρεις BNC Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) πληρης A πνευματος BNC<sup>a</sup> via Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) +αγιου AC  
 και BAC<sup>8</sup> Pap<sup>8</sup>(+D) om N 5 ενωπιον BNA(+D) ενωπιον C  
 εξελεξαντο BAC εξελεξαν τον N πληρη BC<sup>100</sup> πληρης BAC(+D)

Antiochian 41 υπερ του ονομματος (+αυτου 5) κατηξιωθησαν HPS<sup>6</sup>(+D) 42 ιησουν  
 τον χριστον HPS<sup>6</sup> (cf. D) 3 επισκεψασθε HPS<sup>6</sup>(+D) δε]  
 ουν HPS<sup>6</sup> πληρεις] πληρης HP πληρης S πνευματος] +αγιου  
 HPS<sup>6</sup> καταστησωμεν HPS 4 προσκαρτερησωμεν HS  
 5 πληρης HS(+D) πληρης P

3 επισκεψωμεθα B, attested by no other witness, seems to be due to the desire not to exclude the apostles from a share in the selection of the Seven. It is clearly inconsistent with vs. 6 in the usual text. Perhaps the

'Western' ουντι εσταθησαν in the latter verse has arisen from the same motive.

5 πληρη BC<sup>100</sup> minn is a correction for the indefinable πληρης BACD Antiochian.

χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος  
 42 κατηξιώθησαν ἀτιμασθῆναι· πᾶσαν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ'  
 οἶκον οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸ· κίριον  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

VI Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν  
 ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὅτι  
 παρεθεωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ καθημερινῇ αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ  
 2 διακονίᾳ τῶν Ἑβραίων. προσκαλεσάμενοι οἱ ἐβ' τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
 μαθητῶν εἶπον πρὸς αὐτούς· Οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν καταλεί-  
 3 ψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διακονεῖν τραπέζας. τί οὖν ἐστίν,  
 ἀδελφοί; ἐπισκέψασθε ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας μαρτυρουμένους  
 5 πλήρεις πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας, οὓς καταστήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 4 χρείας ταύτης· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δια-  
 5 κονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτεροῦντες. καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος  
 ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ ἐξελέξαντο  
 Στέφανον, ἄνδρα πλήρης πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου,  
 3 ἐπισκεῖσθαι

conclii quia pro nomine digni habitati sunt contumeliarum pati 42 omni autem die d  
 in templo et domi non cessabant docentes et evangelizantes um ihm xpm

1 in diebus autem istis multiplicantibus discipulis facta est murmuratio quae ex  
 grecis erant adversus aebraeos quia disempuntur in ministerio diarno viduae ipsorum  
 in ministerio haebreorum 2 convocantes itaque xii multitudinem discipulorum  
 dixerunt ad eos non enim placet nobis derelicto verbo ut ministrare mensis 3 quid  
 ergo est fratres prospicite itaque ex vobis viros testimonio bono vii plenos spu et  
 sapientia quos constituamus in negotio hoc 4 nos autem sumus oratione et ministerio  
 verbi perseveramus 5 et placuit sermo hic in conspectu omni multitudini discipu-  
 lorum et elegerunt stephanum virum plenum fidei et spiritu sancti et philippum et

con]cilli, quod digni habiti essent ignominias pati [in nomi]ne ihu. 42 omni h  
 atquae die in templo et in domib[us non] cessabant docentes et annuntiantes  
 dnm ih[m xpm].

1 in diebus autem illis, cum abundaret turba di[scenti]u, facta est contentio  
 Graecorum adversus Ebr[.] . . . quod in cotidiano ministerio viduae Graec[orum]  
 a ministris Hebraeorum discupierentur. 2 et [convo]caverunt illi xii totam  
 plebem discipulorum, [et dix]erunt eis: non est aequum vobis reliquisse var[bum  
 di] et ministrare mensis. 3 quid est ergo, frat[re]s? ex]quirite ex vobis ipsis  
 homines probatos sep[tem], plenos spu sco et sapientia dmi, quos constitu[amus  
 in] hunc usum. 4 nos autem orationi verbi adse[rvientes] erimus. 5 et placuit  
 sermo iste in conspectu o[mnium] discipulorum: et elegerunt Stefanum, hominem

2 et convocaverunt [inquit] illi duodecim totam plebem discipulorum et Cyprian,  
 dixerunt eis. Ep. 67, 4

42 omni [quoque] die [inquit] in templo et in domo non cessabant docentes Irenaeus,  
 et evangelizantes Christum Jesum filium dei. ul. 12, 5 (6)  
 in domo] domo or domi Turner

4 ἐσόμεθα προσκαρτεροῦντες] mg [erimus] perseverantes

Harleian

πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Πρόχορον καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Τείμωνα καὶ Παρμενῶν καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχέα, | οὓς ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ 6 προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας.

Καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἠῤῥαυεν, καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν 7 μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα, πολὺς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει.

Στέφανος δὲ πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ 8 σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ. ἀνέστησαν δὲ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς 9 συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας συνζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι 10 ᾧ ἐλάλει. τότε ὑπέβαλον ἄνδρας λέγοντας ὅτι Ἀκηκόαμεν 11 αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ῥήματα βλάσφημα εἰς Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν θεόν·

Old Uncial 5 πιστεις και πνευματος BACN<sup>o</sup> Pap<sup>2</sup>(+D) πνευματος και πιστεις N  
7 ιερων BACN<sup>o</sup> 0175 vid (+D) ιουδαιων N υπηκουον BNC 0175(+D)  
υπηκουεν A 9 των 1<sup>o</sup> BAC 0175(+D) om N της λεγομενης BC(+D)  
των λεγομενων NA 0175 αλεξανδρων BNA 0175(+D) αλεξανδριων  
Pap<sup>2</sup> κλικιας BNA C(+D) της κλικιας 0175 και ασιας BNC  
0175 om A(+D) 11 λεγοντας BC λεγοντες NA λαλουντος  
BCN<sup>o</sup> A<sup>2</sup> Pap<sup>2</sup>(+D) λεγοντος N om A βλασφημα BNA C Pap<sup>2</sup> βλασ-  
φημιας N(+D)

Antiochian 8 χαριτος] πιστεις HPS<sup>5</sup>

6 *hos statuerunt* h (cf. d *quas*) is partial conformation to the B-text, against 'Western' *οὗτοι ἐσταθῆσαν* D perp pesh.

7 *των ιερων* BACD Antiochian is to be accepted in preference to *των ιουδαιων* N minn pesh, and to the obviously corrupt *εν τω ιερο* which underlies h (≠ *temple*). This last reading seems to be due to some confusion with *εν ιερουσαλημ* (just before), which h 181 omit.

9 For *λιβερτινων* the conjecture of *λιβυτινων* or *λιβυστινων* ('Libyans') has been much discussed ever since

the mention of it by Beza, in his notes in R. Stephen's Latin New Testament, Geneva, 1558. It is attractive but unnecessary. The explanation 'Libyans' quoted from Chrysostom in the Armenian catena, and found in the Armenian vulgate text, may be an interpretation, not a variant reading; see Conybeare, *Am. J. Philol.* xvii., 1896, p. 152.

A 60<sup>lect</sup> support D d in omitting *και ασιας*.

10 The 'Western' addition is found in vg. *codd* and in *tepl* and the Bohemian.

καὶ Φίλιππον  
καὶ Νικάνορα  
καὶ Παρμενᾶν  
προσήλυτον

καὶ Πρόχορον  
καὶ Τίμωνα  
καὶ Νικόλαον  
Ἀντιοχέα.

6 οὗτοι ἐστάθησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων, οἵτινες προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας.

7 Καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου ἤξανε, καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα, πολὺς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπήκουον ᾧ αὐτῷ τῇ πίστι.

8 Στέφανος δὲ πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χρι-

9 στοῦ. ἀνέστησαν δέ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτείνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ

10 Κιλικίας συνζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ, οἵτινες οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ᾧ ἐλάλει,

11 διὰ τὸ ἐλέγχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας. μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐδ' ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τότε ὑπέβαλον ἄνδρας λέγοντ[ες] ὅτι Ἀκηκόαμεν αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ῥήματα βλασφημίας

prochorum et nicanorem et timonem et parmenan et nicolaum ieroselym antiochenem. 6 quos statuerant in conspectu apostolorum cumque orassent superposuerunt eis manus. 7 et verbum dñi crescebat et multiplicabatur numerus discipulorum in hierusalem nimis multaue turba sacerdotum. obohebant fidei. 8 stephanus vero plenus gratia et virtute faciebat portenta et signa magna in populo per nomen dñi ihu xpi. 9 surrexerunt autem quidam qui erant de synagoga quae dicitur libertinorum et cyrenensium et alexandrinorum et eorum qui sunt a cubica altarcantis cum stephano. 10 qui non poterant resistere sapientiae quae erat in eo et sp̃o sancto in quo loquebatur quoniam probatur illis ab illo cum omni fiducia. 11 non potentes autem resistere veritati tunc summisserunt viros qui dicerent quia audivimus eum loquentem

[plenum] fide et sc̃o sp̃u, et Filippum et Proculum et N[icanorē] et Simonem et h[ar]m[en] et Nicolaum pros[elytum] Antiochenem. 6 hos statuerunt ante apostol[os] et orā[tes] inposuerunt eis manus. 7 et verbum dñi ad[cre]sc[ebat], et multiplicabantur numeri discipul[or]um . . . : magna autem turba in templo audiebat fid[el]e[m]. 8 [Stef]anus autem plenus gratiam et virtute faciebat prodigia et signa coram plebem in nomine ihu xpi. 9 [exur]rexerunt autem quidam ex synagoga quae [dicitu]r Libertinorum et alii Cyrenaei et ab Alexandria et Cilicia et Asia, contendentes cum Stefano: 10 qui [non] valebant contradicere sapientiae quae erat in [eo] et a[pp]ui sc̃o quo loquebatur, et quod revincebantur [ab eo] cum omni fiducia. 11 tunc itaque, non valen[tes] res[ist]ere adversus veritatem, summisserunt ho[m]ines, qui dicerent: audivimus

7 πιστε[ι] +mg evangelii

nomen domini ✓

8 δια του ονομ[α]τος κυριου ιησου χριστου. ✕ per Haraican

10-11 δια το ελεγχεσθαι αυτους εκ αυτου μετα πασης παρρησιας. μη δυναμενοι ουν αντοφθαλμειν τη αληθεια] mg quoniam arguerentur ab eo cum omni libertate. quum non possent igitur intuei contra veritatem

συνεκείνησάν τε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἐπιστάντες συνήρπασαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, | ἔστησάν τε μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς λέγοντας· Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐ πάντως λαλῶν ῥήματα κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου καὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν τόπον τούτον καὶ ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθνη ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς. καὶ ἀπενίσταντες εἰς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ καθεζόμενοι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶδαν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὥσει πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου.

Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· Εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει; | ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ἄνδρες VII 2  
ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατε. ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι  
Gen. xii. 1 αὐτὸν ἐν Χαρρὰν, | καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς 3  
σου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι  
14 ἐθῇ] ἐθῆγ

Editors	13 [τουτου] WH	3 και 2 <sup>o</sup> +εκ WHmg Soden	[την] Soden
Old Uncial	12 τε B <sup>h</sup> AC Pap <sup>h</sup> (+D) δε 0175 επιστάντες BAC <sup>h</sup> Pap <sup>h</sup> 1075(+D) om N +αυτων A 13 λεγοντας BAC(+D) λεγοντες N 0175 ο ανθρωπος ουτος B <sup>h</sup> A Pap <sup>h</sup> 1075(+D) ουτος ο ανθρωπος C λαλων ρηματα B <sup>h</sup> OC Pap <sup>h</sup> 1075 ρηματα λαλων A(+D) του αγιου τουτου BC τουτου του αγιου Pap <sup>h</sup> om τουτου NΔ 0175(+D) 14 ἐθῇ B <sup>h</sup> (*)B <sup>1</sup> 15 eis B <sup>h</sup> AC 0175 om N 3 και 2 <sup>o</sup> B(+D) +εκ NAC η B <sup>h</sup> A(+D) om C	τους 2 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>h</sup> AC <sup>h</sup> 0175(+D) om C ηγαγον B <sup>h</sup> OC Pap <sup>h</sup> 1075(+D) ο ανθρωπος λαλων ρηματα B <sup>h</sup> OC Pap <sup>h</sup> 1075 του αγιου τουτου BC τουτου του αγιου Pap <sup>h</sup> om 14 ἐθῇ B <sup>h</sup> (*)B <sup>1</sup> 15 eis B <sup>h</sup> AC 0175 η B <sup>h</sup> A(+D) om C	
Antiochian	13 τε] δε H om τουτου HPS(+D) ημιν] υμιν S 3 και 2 <sup>o</sup> ] +εκ HPS <sup>c</sup>	λαλων ρηματα] ρηματα βλασφημα λαλων HPS <sup>c</sup> 14 καταλυση H 15 παρτες] απαντες HPS <sup>c</sup> om την HPS <sup>c</sup>	a παρεδωκεν] απεδ εδωκεν P 1 ει] +αρα HPS <sup>c</sup> (+D)

15 J. R. HARRIS, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, pp. 70-74, argues that the rendering of *d stans in medio ecclesiae* points to a text in which this phrase related to the high priest and belonged to the following sentence (cf. Mk. xiv. 60); in reply see OORSEN, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, pp. 484 f.

8-51 In the phrases drawn from the O.T. in vs. 8-51 about 80 variants between B and D occur in which one agrees with LXX against the other. Vs. 21, D adds *κατα τον ποταμον*, and is supported for substance by E e vg. 8 *codd* *hol* x. Vs. 24, D with support from w vg. one *cod* *eth* adds *και εκρηψεν αυτων εν τη αμυν*. Since both these

readings are from LXX, a large number of others where D agrees with LXX may safely be ascribed to the same tendency to conformation. In another series of cases, such as vs. 18, *εμνησθη* D E e *gig* *perp*; vs. 26, *τι ποιειτε ανδρες αδελφοι* (without *εστε*) D; vs. 43, *επι τα μερη* D *gig* (*perp*) (e) *sah* (see note below), and others, the reading of D in departure from LXX has the appearance of 'Western' paraphrase. Vs. 31, *ο κυριος ειπεν αυτω λεγων* D *eth* (*peah* seems to be a combination of both readings) was probably introduced to agree with LXX, and in compensation, vs. 32, *και εγενετο φωνη προς αυτων* D (not in LXX) was substituted for the original reading. In



- 12 εἰς Μωυσὴν καὶ τὸν θεόν· συνεκείνησάν τε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς  
 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἐπιστάντες συήρπασαν  
 13 αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἔστησαν μάρτυρας ψευ-  
 δεῖς κατὰ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας· Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐ παύεται ῥήματα  
 14 λαλῶν κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ  
 αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν  
 τόπον τούτον καὶ ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθνη ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς.  
 15 καὶ ἠτένιζον δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ καθήμενοι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ  
 εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὥσει πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου ἐστῶτος ἐν  
 μέσῳ αὐτῶν.
- VII Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ Στεφάνῳ· Εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει;  
 2 | ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατε. ὁ θεὸς τῆς  
 δόξης ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ  
 3 πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Χαράν, | καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐξέλθε  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ τῆς συγγενίας σου, καὶ δεῦρο ἵεῖς εἰς τὴν γῆν

2 ἀδελφοὶ] ἀδελφῇ

3 ἐξέλθῃ

verba blasphemia in moysen et in dñm 12 commoverantque populum et seniores et d  
 scribas et adgressi adripuerunt eum et adduxerunt in conciliū 13 et steterunt  
 testes falsos adversum eum dicentes homo hic non cessabit verba loquens adversus  
 locum sanctum et legem 14 audivimus enim eam dicentem quia ihs nazarenus hic  
 destruet locum istum et mutavit iterum quos tradidit nobis moyses 15 et intui in  
 eum omnes qui sedebant in concilio et viderunt faciem ejus quasi faciem angeli stans  
 in medio eorum

1 ait autem pontifex stephano sic haec sic habent 2 ad ille dixit viri fratres et  
 patres audite dñs claritatis visus est patri nostro abraham cum esset in mesopotamiam  
 postea quam mortuus esset in charris 3 et dixit ad eum exi de terra tua et a

eum loquentem [verba] blasphemias in Monsen et dñm. 12 et concitaverunt h  
 [plebe]m et majores natu et scribas: venerunt et rapu'erunt eum, et  
 perduxerunt in conciliū, 13 et statu'erunt a'dversus eum testes falsos, qui  
 dicerent: non [quies]cit homo iste verba jacere adversus legem [et adv'ersus  
 hunc locum scm]: 14 audivimus autem eum [dicent]em quod ihs Nazarenus  
 dissolvet templum is[tum et] consuetudinem istam mutavit quam trade[dit  
 no]bis Moyses. 15 et cum 'intueretur eum omnes [qui er]ant in concilio,  
 videbant vultu ejus tamquā [vultum] angeli dñi stantis inter illos.

1 et interrogavit [sacer]dos Stefanum: si haec ita se haberent. 2 [ad ille  
 re]spondit: viri fratres et patres audite: dñs clari[tatis]

2 deus gloriae visus est patri nostro Abrahæ, 3 et dixit ad eum: exi Irenæus,  
 de terra tua et de cognatione tua, et veni in terram quam demonstrabo tibi: ul. 12, 10 (12)

3 tibi demonstrabo Turnar

only one instance (va. 18, see below)  
 is there reason to suspect that the  
 B-text has been conformed to LXX.  
 On the agreement of BD minn against

the other uncials in omitting *υμων* in  
 va. 43 see note below.

3, 4, 5 With the purpose of bringing  
 the text into better accord with the

δείξω· | τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων κατώκησεν ἐν Χαρράν. 4  
 κάκειθεν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μετώκισεν αὐτὸν  
 εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν 5  
 αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός, καὶ ἐπηγγέλατο  
 Gen. xvii. 8 δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ'  
 αὐτόν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου. ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι 6  
 Gen. xv. 13 f. ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροις ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ, καὶ δουλώσουσιν  
 αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη τετρακόσια· καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύ- 7  
 σωσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται καὶ  
 λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην 8  
 περιτομῆς· καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ περιέτεμεν  
 αὐτὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ Ἰακώβ  
 τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας. καὶ οἱ πατριάρχαι ζήλωσαντες τὸν 9  
 Ἰωσήφ ἀπέδοντο εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, | καὶ 10  
 ἐξέειλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλείψεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ  
 χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, καὶ  
 κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον  
 τούτου. ἦλθεν δὲ λευμὸς ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Χαναὰν καὶ 11

Editors 5 αὐτὴν εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτῶν Soden 7 δουλεύουσιν WH Soden  
 εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Soden 10 add ἐφ before ὅλον WHmg Soden τούτων]  
 αὐτοῦ WH Soden JHR 11 αἰγυπτῶν] γῆν αἰγυπτίου Soden (but cf. mg)

Old Uncial 4 το D<sup>8</sup>NC(+D) om A 5 αὐτῶ εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτὴν BC(+D) αὐτὴν εἰς  
 κατάσχεσιν αὐτῶ ΝΔ αὐτῶ 3<sup>o</sup> B<sup>9</sup>NA(+D) αὐτοῦ C 6 οὕτως  
 BAC(+D) αὐτῶ Ν αὐτοῦ BAC(+D) σου Ν κακώσουσιν  
 B<sup>9</sup>NA(+D) +αὐτο C 7 καὶ το B<sup>9</sup>NA(+D) το δε C δουλεύουσιν  
 B<sup>9</sup> δουλεύουσιν AC(+D) λατρεύουσιν B<sup>9</sup>NA λατρεύουσιν C<sup>9</sup>nd  
 8 ὀγδοῇ BAC<sup>9</sup>NC(+D) ἐβδομῇ Ν 10 αὐτῶ B<sup>9</sup>NC (cf. D) om A  
 ἐναντίον BAC(+D) ἐναντὶ Ν ὅλον B(+D) ἐφ ὅλον NAC τούτων B  
 αὐτοῦ B<sup>9</sup>NA C(+D)

Antiochian 4 εἰς HS 5 αὐτῶ δούναι 5 6 οὕτως] αὐτῶ H 7 εἶπεν  
 ὁ θεὸς HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D) 8 om αὐτῶ S Ἰσαὰκ 2<sup>o</sup>] ὁ Ἰσαὰκ HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D)  
 Ἰακώβ 2<sup>o</sup>] ὁ Ἰακώβ HPS<sup>5</sup> τούτων] αὐτοῦ HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D) 11 αἰγυπτῶν]  
 γῆν αἰγυπτίου HPS<sup>5</sup>

statements of Gen. xi. and xii., per p<sup>g</sup>ig have a text which removes μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ from its place in vs. 4 and inserts the words just before vs. 3. Possibly with the same motive, in vs. 4, D reads κακεῖ ἦν (d ei ubi erat) for κακεῖθεν. The quotation by Irenaeus is so greatly abridged that its omissions ought not to be used as evidence here.

4 With *hel* ✕ agree minn in reading *νῶν* in both cases.

10 It is noteworthy that *φαραὼ*, which *hel* marks with ✕, is omitted in Greek texts, so far as known, only by 614 481. The ✕ is usually employed by the Harcleian to indicate a word added, not omitted, by the 'Western' text; cf. xxvii. 7 and p. clix above.

4 ἦν ἂν σοι δείξω· τότε Ἀβραάμ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων καὶ  
κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαρράν. κακεῖ ἦν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα  
αὐτοῦ· καὶ μετώκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς τὴν ὑμεῖς νῦν  
5 κατοικεῖτε καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν  
αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός, ἀλλ' ἐπηγγείλατο  
δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς κατάρχεσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ'  
6 αὐτόν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου. ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς πρὸς  
αὐτόν ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἁλλοτρίᾳ, καὶ  
7 δουλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη ὕ· καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν  
δουλεύσουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, εἶπεν ὁ θεός, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται  
8 καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ  
διαθήκην περιτομῆς· καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ περι-  
έτεμεν αὐτόν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ  
9 Ἰακώβ τοὺς ἰβ πατριάρχας. καὶ οἱ πατριάρχαι ζηλώσαντες τὸν  
10 Ἰωσήφ ἀπέδοντο εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, | καὶ  
ἐξίλατο αὐτόν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλειψέων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν  
χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραῶ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, καὶ  
κατέστησεν αὐτόν ἡγούμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον  
11 αὐτοῦ. ἦλθεν δὲ λειμὸς ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Χαναὰν καὶ

4 μετώκησεν

κατοικεῖται

cognatione tua et veni in terra quamcumq. tibi monstravero 4 tunc abraham exiit d  
de terra chaldeorum et habitavit in charra et ibi erat post mortem. 12.10 sui et  
intransmigravit eum in terram hanc in qua vos nunc habitatis et patres nostri qui  
ante nos 5 et non dedit ei possessionem hereditatis in ea nec quantum. tenet gradus  
pedis sed promisit ei dare eam in possessionem et semini ejus post ipsum quando non  
esset ei filium 6 locutus est autem sic dñs ad eum quia erit semen ejus peregrinum  
in terra aliena et in servitute redigent eos et male tractabunt annis cccc 7 et gentem  
cui servierint judicabo ego dicit dñs et postea xibunt et deservient mihi in loco hoc  
8 et dedit ei dispositionem circumcisionis et sic genuit isac et circumcidit eum die  
octavo et isac ipsum jacob et jacob 11 patriarchas 9 et patriarchas henulsti joseph  
distraxerant in aegyptum et erat dñs cum illo 10 et eripuit eum ex omnibus con-  
flictationibus ejus et dedit ei gratiam et sapientiam coram farao regis aegypti et  
constituit eum in aegyptum et omnem domum suam 11 venit autem famus super

4 et transtulit illum in terram hanc, quam nunc et vos inhabitatis, 5 et non  
dedit ei hereditatem in ea, nec gressum pedis, sed promisit dare ei in possessionem  
eam, et semini ejus post eum. 6 locutus est autem sic deus ad eum, quoniam  
erit semen ejus peregrinans in terra aliena, et in servitutem redigentur, et  
vexabuntur annis quadringentis; 7 et gentem cui servient judicabo ego, dicit  
dominus, et postea exient et servient mihi in isto loco. 8 et dedit ei testa-  
mentum circumcisionis, et sic generavit Isaac. Irenaeus,  
lib. 12, 10 (11)

4 καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν] ✱ et patres vestri ante vos ✱ 10 φαραῶ, Hieronim  
✱ Pharaonis ✱

θλεῖς μεγάλη, καὶ οὐχ ἡῦρισκον χορτάσματα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν·  
 ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰακώβ ὄντα σειτία εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξαπέστειλεν τοὺς 12  
 πατέρας ἡμῶν πρῶτον· καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐγνωρίσθη Ἰωσήφ 13  
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ φανερόν ἐγένετο τῷ Φαραὼ τὸ γένος  
 Ἰωσήφ. ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ μετεκαλέσατο Ἰακώβ τὸν πατέρα 14  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε,  
 | κατέβη δὲ Ἰακώβ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, 15  
 καὶ μετετέθησαν εἰς Συχέμ καὶ ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῷ μνήματι ᾧ 16  
 ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἑμμὼρ ἐν  
 Συχέμ. καθὼς δὲ ἡγγίζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἥς ὡμο- 17  
 λόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἠῤῥξῃσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ, | ἄχρι οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ὃς 18  
 οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ. οὗτος κατασοφισάμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν 19  
 ἐκάκωσεν τοὺς πατέρας τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ βρέφη ἔκθετα αὐτῶν εἰς  
 τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωυσῆς, καὶ ἦν 20  
 ἀστείος τῷ θεῷ· ὃς ἀνεδράφη μῆνας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς·

Editors 12 eis aigupton] εν αιγυπτω Soden mg 18 εγνωρισθη] ανεγνωρισθη WHmg  
 Soden ιωσηφ 20] του ιωσηφ Soden 15 κατεβη δε] και κατεβη WHmg  
 Soden JHR ιακωβ] [+eis aigupton] WH +eis αιγυπτον Soden JHR  
 ετελευτησεν αυτος WH Soden JHR 18 om εκ αιγυπτον JHR  
 19 πατερας] +[ημων] Soden εκθετα τα βρεφη Soden (but cf. mg)

Old Vulgal 13 εγνωρισθη BA ανεγνωρισθη NC(+D) τω 20 BAC(+D) om N  
 ιωσηφ 20 BC (cf. D) αυτου NA 15 κατεβη δε B και κατεβη NAC  
 ιακωβ B +eis αιγυπτον NAC(+D) αυτος ετελευτησεν B ετελευτησεν αυτος  
 NAC(+D) 16 εν συχεμ BNC του εν συχεμ ANO (cf. D) 17 καθως  
 BNC(+D) ως A χρωος BNC(+D) καιρος A ωμολογησεν BNC  
 ωμοσεν 81 18 εν αιγυπτον BNC om 81 (+D) 19 πατερας  
 BN(+D) +ημων AC 81 εκθετα αυτων BNC αυτων εκθετα 81  
 20 πατρος BNC 81 +μου N (cf. D)

Antiochian 12 σεια] σεια HPSS<sup>c</sup> eis αιγυπτον] εν αιγυπτω HPSS(+D)  
 13 εγνωρισθη] ανεγνωρισθη HPSS(+D) om αδελφαις P ιωσηφ 20]  
 του ιωσηφ HPSS(+D) 14 των πατερα αυτου ιακωβ HPSS<sup>c</sup> συγγενειαν]  
 +αυτου 5(+D) εβδομηκοντα πεντε ψυχαις H (cf. D) 15 κατεβη δε]  
 και κατεβη P ιακωβ] +eis αιγυπτον HPSS(+D) ετελευτησεν αυτος  
 HPSS(+D) 16 ω] ο HPSS<sup>c</sup> εν συχεμ] του συχεμ (P χειμ) HPSS(+D)  
 17 ωμολογησεν] ωμοσεν HPSS<sup>c</sup> 18 om εκ αιγυπτον HPSS(+D)  
 19 πατερας] +ημων HPSS<sup>c</sup> εκθετα τα βρεφη HPSS(+D) 20 πατρος]  
 +αυτου 5(+D)

15 The omission of δε in D perp gig into connexion with the following  
 brings the mention of Jacob's journey statement of his death, but the

θλειψις μεγάλη, καὶ οὐχ εὗρισκον χορτάσματα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν·  
 12 ἀκούσας οὖν Ἰακώβ ὄντα σειτία ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξαπέστειλεν τοὺς  
 13 πατέρας ἡμῶν πρῶτον· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀνεγνωρίσθη Ἰωσήφ  
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ φανερόν ἐγείθη τῷ Φαραῶ τὸ γένος τοῦ  
 14 Ἰωσήφ. ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ μετεκαλέσατο Ἰακώβ τὸν πατέρα  
 15 αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἔψυχαῖς. κατέβη  
 Ἰακώβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ πατέρες  
 16 ἡμῶν, καὶ μετήχθησαν εἰς Συχὲν καὶ ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῷ μνημιατι  
 ᾧ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τειμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἑμμῶρ  
 17 τοῦ Συχέμ. καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἧς ἐπ-  
 ηγγεῖλατο ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, ἠῤῥξῃσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐπληθύνθη  
 18 ἐν Ἑγύπτῳ, ἄχρι οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ὃς οὐκ ἐμίσησεν τοῦ  
 19 Ἰωσήφ, καὶ κατασφισάμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐκάκωσεν τοὺς  
 πατέρας τοῦ ποιεῖν ἔκθετα τὰ βρέφη αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖ-  
 20 σθαι. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωυσῆς, καὶ ἦν ἄσπιος τῷ θεῷ· ὃς  
 21 ἀντεράφη μῆνας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐκτεθέντος δὲ

11 θλειψις

19 ζωογονεῖσθαι

omnem terram aegypti et chanaan et confictatio magna eo loci inveniebatur de iacob d  
 patres nostri 12 cum audisset vero iacob esse frumentum in aegypto iacob patres  
 nostros primum 13 et in secundo recognitus est ioseph a fratribus suis et mani-  
 festum factum est ipsi pharaon genus ioseph 14 cum misisset autem ioseph ad iacob  
 iacob patrem suum et omnem cognationem eius in egyptum et animabus 15 descendit  
 iacob in aegyptum et defunctus est ipseque et patres nostri 16 et translati sunt in  
 sychem et positi sunt in sepulchro quod iheratus est: abraham promissio augenti a  
 filius emmor et sychem 17 ut vero adpropinquavit tempus mortis eius iacob  
 pollicitus est de ipsi abraham auctus est populus et multiplicatus est in aegypto  
 18 donec alius exurrexerat rex qui non meminisset iacob ioseph 19 cum iustitias  
 coepisset cum genus nostrum male tractavit patres ut faceret exproliantes eorum ut  
 non educarentur 20 in quo tempore natus erat moyses et erat elegans deo qui  
 mensibus tribus educatus est in domo patris eius 21 cum vero expositus esset secus

17 ἐπηγγεῖλατο] *mg* pollicitus erat18 βασιλεὺς ἕτερος] *+mag* in aegypto Harclean

context speaks for the conjunction.  
 For de B Antiochian the more Semitic  
 καὶ NACP may be preferable

16 *en sychem* BNC sah boh; *τον εν*  
*συχημ* AE e *vg.codd*; *του συχημ* D  
 Antiochian perp (*qui fuit sychem*)  
*vg* (*hinc sychem*). Cf. Josh. xxiv. 32  
 (Heb. and LXX differ), Gen. xxxiii.  
 19. The 'Western' text has taken

Sychem as a personal name but con-  
 fused the relationship; perhaps the  
 B-text is to be preferred, but a con-  
 sistent decision is not possible

18 *en aegypto* BNC *peah* is omitted  
 by DE e *gg* Antiochian, and may be  
 addition under influence of LXX.  
 With *hel.mg* here agrees *peah*, but  
 not the Latin 'Western' and D.

ἐκτεθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνείλατο αὐτὸν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραὼ καὶ 21  
 ἀνενθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἑαυτῇ υἱόν. καὶ ἐπαυδεύθη Μωυσῆς πάσῃ 22  
 σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων, ἣν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.  
 ὥς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρεκονταετῆς χρόνος, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ 23  
 τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ υἱούς  
 Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικούμενον ἡμύνετο καὶ ἐποίησεν 24  
 ἐκδίκησιν τῷ καταπονουμένῳ πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύτιον. ἐνόμizen 25  
 δὲ συνιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὅτι ὁ θεὸς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ διδωσιν  
 σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, οἳ δὲ οὐ συνήκαν. τῇ τε ἐπιουσίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὥφθη 26  
 αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ συνήλλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην εἰπὼν·  
 "Ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε· ἵνα τί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους; | ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν 27

Ex. 11. 14 τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπὼν· Τίς σέ κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα  
 καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὅν τρόπον 28  
 ἀνείλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύτιον; ἔφυγεν δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ 29  
 τούτῳ, καὶ ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν γῇ Μαδιάμ, οὗ ἐγέννησεν υἱούς  
 δύο. καὶ πληρωθέντων ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὥφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ 30  
 ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὄρους Σεινὰ ἄγγελος ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου· ὁ δὲ 31  
 Μωυσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν τὸ ὄραμα· προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 Ex. 11. 6 κατανοῆσαι ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου· Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, 32  
 ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. ἔντρομος δὲ γενόμενος

Editors 21 υἱον, eis υἱον WH Soden JHR 28 τους υἱους WH Soden JHR  
 25 ἀδελφους] +[αυτου] Soden 30 αγγελος] +[κυριου] Soden

Old Unal 21 υἱον B eis υἱον NAC 81 (+D) 22 παση B 81 εν παση NAC  
 23 υἱους B τους υἱους NAC 81 (+D) 25 ἀδελφους BNC +αυτου A 81 (+D)  
 26 συνήλλασεν BNC(+D) συνήλασεν A συνήλασεν 81 αυτοις BNA 81  
 (+D) αυτοις C 28 συ BNA C(+D) om 81 εχθες (81 χθες) του  
 αἰγυπτιον BNC 81 (+D) τον αἰγυπτιον χθες A 30 φλογι πυρος BN 81 (+D)  
 πυρι φλογος AC 31 εθαυμασεν BAC εθαυμαζεν N 81 (+D) το οραμα  
 BNC 81 (+D) om A κυριου BNA 81 +προς αυτου C 32 ο 1ο  
 BNA 81 (+D) om C ο 2ο BNA 81 (+D) om C γενομενος B<sup>2</sup> (?)  
 γενομενος μωυσης BAC 81 (+D) μωυσης γενομενος N

Antiochian 21 εκτεθετα δε αυτον HPS<sup>c</sup> υἱον] eis υἱον HPS<sup>c</sup> (+D) 22 add  
 εν before εργοις PSS om αυτον HPS<sup>c</sup> 28 επι] eis H τους  
 υἱους HPS<sup>c</sup> (+D) 25 ἀδελφους] +αυτου HPS<sup>c</sup> (+D) αυτοις  
 σωτηριαν HPS<sup>c</sup> 26 τε] δε P συνήλλασεν] συνήλασεν PSS  
 συνήλασεν H αυτοις] αυτοις H εστε] +υμεις HPS<sup>c</sup> αλληλοις S  
 27 ημας S (+D) 30 αγγελος] +κυριου HPS<sup>c</sup> (+D) 31 εθαυμαζεν  
 HPS (+D) κυριου] +προς αυτου HPS<sup>c</sup> 32 γεω] +εμμ S add ο  
 θεος before ισαακ HPS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) add ο θεος before ιακωβ HPS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D)

25 Hol. mg 'the children of Israel' is found also in pesh, but not in D or Latin witnesses.

αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνείλατο αὐτὸν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραώ, ἀν-  
 22 εθράβησεν αὐτῇ εἰς υἱόν. καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν Μωυσῆς πᾶσαν τὴν σοφίαν  
 23 Αἰγυπτίων, ἣν τε δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ  
 ἐπληροῦτο τεσσαρακονταετὴς αὐτῷ χρόνος, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ.  
 24 καὶ ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικούμενον ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμύνετο καὶ ἐποίησεν  
 ἐκδίκησιν τῷ καταπονουμένῳ πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ  
 25 ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ. ἐνόμιζεν δὲ συνιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφούς  
 αὐτοῦ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ δίδωσιν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς,  
 26 οἱ δὲ συνήκαν. τότε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς μαχομένοισι  
 καὶ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἀδικούντας, καὶ συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην  
 εἰπών· Τί ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἵνα τί ἀδεικεῖτε εἰς ἀλλήλους;  
 27 ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπας· Τίς σέ κατ-  
 28 ἔστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις  
 29 ὃν τρόπον ἀνέειλες ἐχθρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον; οὕτως καὶ ἐφύγαδευσεν  
 Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν γῇ Μαδιάμ,  
 30 οὗ ἐγέννησεν υἱούς δύο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλησθέντων αὐτῷ ἐτῶν  
 μὲν ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὄρου Σινᾶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν  
 31 φλογὶ πυρὸς βάλτου· ὁ δὲ Μωυσῆς εἰδὼν ἐθαύμαζεν τὸ ὄραμα·  
 καὶ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ [κ]αὶ κατανοῆσαι ὁ κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ  
 32 λέγων· Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς  
 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ. ἔντρομος δὲ γεγόμενος Μωυσῆς οὐκ

22 ἐπεδενθῇ 23 τεσσαρακονταετῆς] ·μ· ετῆς 25 ἐνομίζοι  
 26 ἀδεικεῖται 28 αἰχθεῖς 29 διῶ 30 ἐτῶν] ἐτῇ

flumen sustulit eum filia pharae et vice fili educavit eum 22 et eruditus est moyses d  
 omni sapientia aegyptiorū eratque potens in sermonibus et operibus suis 23 ad  
 ubi impletur ei xl annorum tempus ascendit in cor ejus visitare fratres suos filios  
 israhel 24 et cum vidisset quendam injuriari de genere suo vindicavit et praestitit  
 vindictam ei qui vexabatur percusso aegyptio et abscondit eum in harena 25 arbi-  
 trabatur autem intellegere fratres suos quia dñs per manus ejus dat salutem ipsis ad  
 illi non intellexerunt 26 tunc sequenti die visus est eis litigantibus et vidit eos  
 iniquitantes et reconciliavit eos in pacem dicens quid facitis viri fratres ut quid  
 injuriam facitis invicem 27 qui autem injuriam faciebat proximo repulit eum dicens  
 quis te constituit principem et judicem super nos 28 numquid interficere me vis  
 quemadmodum interfecisti externis die aegyptium 29 adque ita profugit moyses in  
 sermone hoc et fuit incolae in terram mediam ubi genuit filios duos 30 et post haec  
 et impletis annis xl visus est ei in solitudine in monte sina angelus dñi in flamma  
 ignis rubi 31 moyses enim cum vidisset mirabatur visum cumque ipse accederet et  
 consideraret dñs ait ad eum dicens 32 ego sum dñs patrum tuorum dñs abraham et  
 dñs isac et dñs jacob tremibundusque factus moyses non audebat considerare 33 et

21 παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν] ✕ in flumen ✓ 24 ἐκ τοῦ γένους] ✕ ex genere Harclean  
 suo ✓ 25 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ] +mg filios israelis

Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· 33  
 Ex. 11. 5 Ἀύσον τὸ ὑπόδημά σου τῶν ποδῶν, ὃ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστηκας  
 Ex. 11. 7 L, 10 γῇ ἁγία ἐστίν. ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν 34  
 Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέ-  
 σθαι αὐτούς· καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον. τοῦτον 35  
 τὸν Μωυσῆν, ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες· Τίς σέ κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα  
 καὶ δικαστήν; τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπ-  
 ἐσταλκεν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάρῃ.  
 οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ 36  
 καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ Θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαεράκοντα.  
 Deut. 31. 15 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωυσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· Προφῆτην ὑμῖν 37  
 ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ 38  
 γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ  
 λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐξ-  
 ἐλέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ὑμῖν, ᾧ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γενέ- 39  
 σθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ ἀπώσαντο καὶ ἐστράφησαν ἐν ταῖς  
 Ex. xxxi. 1 καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, | εἰπόντες τῷ Ἱαρών· Ποίησον 40  
 ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος, ὃς

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Editors	38 των ποδων σου WH Soden JHR	54 αυτου] αυτων Soden
	36 τη 1 <sup>ο</sup> γη Soden	37 ειπας] ειπων Soden
	WH Soden JHR	38 εξελεξατο] εδεξατο υμων] ημων WHm Soden JHR

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Old Uncial	32 ετολμα BAC 81 (+D) ετολμησεν N	33 ο 1 <sup>ο</sup> BNC 81 om A
	σου των ποδων B των ποδων σου NA 81 (+D) σου (C <sup>a</sup> om σου) εκ των ποδων σου C	
	ω BNA 81 (+D) +σιν C (σιν C <sup>a</sup> )	34 αυτου B(+D) αυτων NAC 81
	35 δικαστην BA +εφ ημων NC 81 (+D)	και 2 <sup>ο</sup> BNA 81 (+D) om NAC
	λυτρωτην BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) δικαστην N	απεσταλκεν BNA 81 (+D) απ-
	εστειλεν C σιν BAC 81 (+D) εν N	36 τη 1 <sup>ο</sup> BC γη NA 81 (+D)
	37 αναστησει BNA 81 (+D) +αυριος C	υμων BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) om N
	εμε BNA 81 +αυτου ακουσεσθε C(+D)	38 ημων BAC 81 (+D) υμων N
	εξελεξατο B εδεξατο NAC 81 (+D) υμων BN ημων AC 81 (+D)	39 ημων
	BNA C(+D) υμων 81 εστραφησαν BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 (cf. D) +και N εν BNA C	
	om 81 (+D) 40 ουτος BAC 81 (+D) +ο ανθρωπος N	

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Antiochian	33 των ποδων σου HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	εφ] εν HPS <sup>5</sup>	34 αυτου] αυτων
	HPS <sup>5</sup> αποστειλω HPS <sup>5</sup>	35 om και 2 <sup>ο</sup> HPS <sup>5</sup>	απεστειλεν HPS <sup>5</sup>
	σιν] εν HPS <sup>5</sup> 36 τη 1 <sup>ο</sup> γη HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	αιγυπτου S(+D)	37 om
	ο βασιτος μωυσης HS(+D)	ειπας] ειπων HPS <sup>5</sup>	αναστησει] +κυριος
	HPS <sup>5</sup> θεος] +υμων PS <sup>5</sup> +ημων H	εμε] +αυτου ακουσεσθε S	
	(cf. D) 38 αυτω] αυτου H	εξελεξατο] εδεξατο HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	
	υμων] ημων HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	39 om εν HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	τη καρδια HPS



33 ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι. καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀὖθ' οὐ γὰρ  
 τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὃ γὰρ τόπος οὐ ἔστηκεν γῆ ἀγία  
 34 ἐστίν. καὶ ἰδὼν γὰρ ἰδοὺ τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐγύπτῳ,  
 καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκήκοα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς·  
 35 καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον. τοῦτον τὸν Μωυσήν,  
 ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες· Τίς σέ κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκεν  
 36 σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάτῳ. οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν  
 αὐτούς, ὃ ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐν  
 37 Ἐρυθρᾷ Θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη μ'. οὗτος ἐστὶν Μωυσῆς  
 ὃ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· Προφῆτην ὑμεῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ  
 38 τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡσεὶ ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούεσθε. οἷτός ἐστιν ὁ  
 γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου  
 λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς  
 39 ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γε-  
 νέσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ ἀπώσαντο καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν ταῖς  
 40 καρδίαις εἰς Αἴγυπτον, | εἰπαντες τῷ Ἀαρών· Ποίησον ἡμεῖν  
 θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν. ὃ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος, ὃς

36 ἐριθρα] γρεθρα  
 39 γενεσθε

37 ἀκουεσθε] MS perhaps reads ακουσεσθε

facta est vox ad eum: olve calcamentum pedum tuorum locus enim in quo stas terra d  
 sancta est 34 intuitus enim vidi cruciationem populi qui est in aegypto et genitus  
 ejus audivi et descendendi eripere eos et nunc veni mittam te in aegyptum 35 hunc  
 ipsum moysen quem negaverunt dicentes quis te constituit principem et judicem  
 super nos hunc dñs et principem et redemptorem misit in manu angeli qui visus est ei  
 in rubo 36 hic eduxit eos cum fecisset portenta et signa in aegypto et in rubro mari  
 et in solitudine per annos xl 37 hic est moyses qui dixit filius israhel prophetam  
 novis suscitavit dñs de fratribus vestris tamquam me ipsum audietis 38 hic est qui  
 fuit in ecclesia in solitudine cum angelo qui loquebatur ei in monte sina et patribus  
 nostris qui accepit eloquia viventium dare vobis 39 cui noluerunt obediētes esse  
 patres nostri sed repulerunt et conversi sunt cordibus in aegyptum 40 dicentes ad  
 aaron fac nobis deo qui praecedant nos moyses enim hic qui eduxit nos de terra

38 [ille quidem] accepit praecepta dei vivi dare vobis, 39 cui noluerunt Irenaeus,  
 obediēre patres vestri, sed abjecerunt et conversi sunt corde suo in Aegyptum, iv. 15, 1  
 40 dicentes ad Aaron: fac nobis deos qui nos antecedant, Moyses enim qui (28, 1)

38 praecepta] 'words' (=λόγια) Armen  
 would not be submissive and obedient' Armen  
 40 Moyses] 'this Moses' Armen

39 cui . . . vestri] 'and when our fathers  
 corde suo] 'with their hearts' Armen

35 εφ ἡμῶν] ✕ super nos ✓

Harclean

38 ἡμῶν AC 81 D Antiochian seems  
 preferable to ὑμῶν B<sup>1</sup> minn perp Iran.  
 The variation being probably due to

accident, the intrinsic evidence of  
 fitness to the context (cf. oi πατέρες  
 ἡμῶν) is to be accepted.

ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ. 41  
καὶ ἐμοσχοποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν  
τῷ εἰδῶλῳ, καὶ εὐφραίνοντο ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν.  
ἔστρεψεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς λατρεύειν τῇ στρατειᾷ 42  
Amos v. 25-27 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν· Μὴ  
σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσεράκοντα, οἶκος  
Ἰσραὴλ; καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον 43  
τοῦ θεοῦ Ῥομφά, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς.  
καὶ μετοικιδύ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος. | ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου 44  
ἦν τοῖς πατράσις ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθὼς διετάξατο ὁ λαλῶν τῷ  
Μωυσῇ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ἐωράκει, ἦν καὶ εἰς- 45  
ἡγαγον διαδεξάμενοι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ κατα-  
σχέσει τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἐξῴσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πατέρων

Editors 42 τεσσερακοντα] +εν τη ερημῳ WH Soden JHR 43 θεου] +υμων Soden  
ρομφα] ρεφαν Soden JHR

Old Uncial 41 ἐγένετο B<sup>1</sup>AC γέγονεν 81 (+D) 42 δε B<sup>1</sup>A 81 (+D)  
+αυτοῖς C αυτοὺς B<sup>1</sup>AC(+D) αυτοὺς 81 ἐτη τεσσερακοντα οικος  
ισραηλ B ἐτη τεσσερακοντα εν τη ερημῳ οικος ισραηλ B<sup>2</sup>(?)NC 81 (+D) εν τη ερημῳ  
οικος ισραηλ ἐτη τεσσερακοντα A ισραηλ B<sup>1</sup>(A) 81 (+D) +λεγει κυριος C  
43 θεου B(+D) +υμων NAC 81 ρομφα B ρομφαν N ρεμφα 81 ραιφαν  
AN<sup>o</sup> ρεφαν C 44 ημων BNC 81 (+D) υμων A διαταξατο BACN<sup>o</sup>  
81 (+D) εταξατο N

Antiochian 40 γεγονεν HPS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 42 λατρευει] +εν S τεσσερακοντα] +εν  
τη ερημῳ HPS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 43 θεου] +υμων HPS<sup>c</sup> ρεφα H ρεφαν 102  
462 m<sup>s</sup> ρεφραν P ρεμφαν 462 txt 5 (cf. D) ρομφα S 44 η] +εν 5(+D)  
ημων] υμων S εωρακεν HS(+D)

43 The omission of υμων after θεου in BD gg Iren Philast might have been due to a reluctance to admit that the heathen divinity was in any sense the Hebrews' ('your') god; but the original writer may have been led by the same motive to omit the word. On the whole it is better to explain the presence of the word in NAC Antiochian as a case of conformation to the text of the LXX, and to follow BD.

It is safest to assume that the original spelling for the name of the god here was ρεφαν (ραιφαν), as in LXX. The chief spellings in the MSS. of Acts are as follows: ρεφαν (rai- A) ACE e (repham) pesh hel sah boh (ρεφαν or ρηφαν); ρεφα H; ρεφφαν (-φρ- P) P 102 462 m<sup>s</sup>; ρεμφαν 1 69 minn d h perp gig Iren vg. W. W. (in all these

Latin documents rephram); ρεμφαν D (Latinism?); ρεμφα 81 vg. cod<sup>l</sup>. BS Origen (Oels. v. 8, but *vu. ll.*) have ρομφα, N 3 ρομφαν, but the untrustworthiness of B and N in the spelling of unusual proper names is notorious; cf. Torrey, *Extra Studies*, pp. 94 f.

επι τα μερη D (parp) gig (e) sah ('to this side of Babylon') is probably 'Western' paraphrase, bringing the statement into better agreement with historical fact. The reading επεκεινα of all other witnesses agrees indeed with LXX (Amos v. 27), but a corrector, conforming to LXX, would not have left βαβυλωνος untouched.

The addition of hel text and ✕ (from Amos v. 27) is found in full in 1611 λεγει κυριος ο θεος ο παντοκρατωρ



ἡμῶν ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Λαυεῖδ' ὃς εὗρεν χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ 40  
καὶ ἡτήσατο εὗρεν σκῆνωμα τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰακώβ. Σολομῶν δὲ 47  
οἰκοδομήσεν αὐτῷ οἶκον. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ὑψίστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις 45  
Is Lxvi. 1f. κατοικεῖ καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· | 'Ο οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, 49  
καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσατέ  
μοι, λέγει κύριος, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; οὐχὶ ἡ 50  
χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα; σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερί- 51  
τμητοι καρδίας καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν, ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ  
ἀντιπεῖπτετε, ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς. τίνα τῶν προφητῶν 52  
οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτευναν τοὺς προκατ-  
αγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου οὐ νῦν ὑμεῖς προ-  
δύται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς δια- 53  
ταγὰς ἀγγέλων, καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε.  
'Ακούοντες δὲ ταῦτα διεπρίοντο ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν καὶ 54

Editors	46 οἶκῳ] θεω WH Soden	κυρια JHR	† θεω] WHing	49 καὶ ἡ] η θε
	WHing Soden	οἰκοδομήσετε WH Soden JHR		51 καρδίας
	WH Soden JHR	καρδίας WHing		
Old Uncial	46 ἡτήσατο B <sup>4</sup> A <sup>1</sup> C <sup>1</sup> (+D)	om N	οἶκῳ B <sup>4</sup> N (+D)	θεω A <sup>1</sup> C <sup>1</sup> N <sup>1</sup> 81
	B <sup>4</sup> A <sup>1</sup> S <sup>1</sup> (+D)	εαυτω C	49 καὶ ἡ B	η θε N A C 81 (+D)
	B	οἰκοδομήσετε N A C S <sup>1</sup> (+D)	50 ταῦτα πάντα B <sup>4</sup> N 81	πάντα ταῦτα
	A C (+D)	51 καρδίας B	καρδίας A C (+D)	ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν N
	53 ἐφυλάξατε B <sup>4</sup> N C 81 (+D)	ἐφυλάξεσθε A	54 ταῦτα B A C N <sup>1</sup> 81	om N
Antiochian	46 οἶκῳ] θεω P <sup>5</sup>	47 αὐτῶν] εαυτῶν H	48 χειροποιήτοις] +ναοῖς	
	HP <sup>5</sup>	κατοικεῖ] +ναοῖς S	49 καὶ ἡ] η θε HP <sup>5</sup> S (+D)	om οἶκον H
	οἰκοδομήσετε HP <sup>5</sup> S (+D)	50 πάντα ταῦτα P (+D)	51 καρδίας] τη	
	καρδία HP <sup>5</sup> S	52 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν S	γεγεννησθε HP <sup>5</sup> S	

46 οἶκῳ B<sup>4</sup> N<sup>1</sup> S<sup>1</sup> 429 D d sah (cod. B); is generally held to be so difficult that it must be considered a very ancient error, for which θεω ACP with Latin (except d), Syriac, Bohairic, was an early emendation, probably following P<sup>5</sup> cxxxii. 5. Hort conjectured that KQ was the original, and although this does not appear among the various Greek translations of 'the Mighty One of Jacob' (פֶּה יָקֹב, Ps. cxxxii. 5, cf. Gen. xlix. 24, Ps. cxxxii. 2, Is. xlix. 26, lx. 16, see also Is. i. 24) yet that phrase was evidently a difficult one, and received several renderings in the Greek Old Testament, one of which, δυνάστης Ἰακώβ (Gen. xlix. 24, Is. i. 24 [u.l.], and Ps. cxxxii. 2 Aquila),

is not very far from κυριος Ἰακώβ. Plainly οἶκῳ was found admissible by many early readers of Acts, and it is not quite impossible; but the whole context makes it unlikely. If we have here a translation from an Aramaic source, it is easy to suppose that the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew phrase was first rendered by τῷ κυρίῳ ἰακωβ, and then this unusual expression corrupted to the familiar-sounding but inappropriate phrase τῷ οἴκῳ ἰακωβ.

51 καρδίας N A C D is to be preferred to καρδία B unsupported (cf. Jer. ix. 26). Note the readings ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν N, τη καρδία 81 Antiochian gig 82 & Lucif Aug (cf. Ezek. xlii. 7, 9), and other forms of scribal modification.

- 46 πατέρων ὑμῶν ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Δαυεὶδ· ὃς εὗρε χεῖρι ἐνώπιον  
 47 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγήσατο σκηνῶμα εὐρεῖν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἱακώβ. Σολο-  
 48 μῶν δὲ οἰκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ οἶκον. ὁ δὲ ὑψίστος οὐ κατοκεῖ ἐν  
 χειροποιήτοις· ὡς ὁ προφῆτης λέγει·  
 49 Ὁ οὐρανός μου ἔστιν θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
 μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, λέγει κύριος, ἡ ποῖος τόπος  
 50 τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου ἔστιν; οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν πάντα  
 ταῦτα;  
 51 σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίαις καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν, ὑμεῖς  
 αἱ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπύπτετε, καθὼς οἱ πατέρες καὶ  
 52 ὑμῶν. τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν ἐκεῖνοι; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν  
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς προκαταγγέλλοντας περὶ ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου οὐ  
 53 νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, οἷτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν  
 νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλάξατε.  
 54 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ διεπρίοντο ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν καὶ

49 οἰκοδομησεται

51 αντιπύπτεται

52 εἰσεσθαι

patrum nostrorum usque ad dies David 46 qui invenit gratiam coram [dō] et  
 petit tabernaculum invenire in domo Jacobi 47 [Solomon] autem aedificavit ei  
 domum 48 sed ipse altissimus inhabitavit in palatiis sicut profeta dicit  
 49 caelum est meus thronus terra vero scabulum pedum meorum qualem domum  
 aedificatis mihi dicit dñs aut quis locus requiem mea est 50 nonne manus mea fecit  
 haec omnia 51 duras cervices et incurcimas cordibus et auribus vos semper sp̃o  
 sancto obstatistis sicut patres vestri et vos 52 quem prophetarum non persecuti  
 sunt illi et occiderunt eos qui praenuntiaverunt de adventu justi cuius nunc vos  
 proditores et homicidae effecti estis 53 qui accepistis legem in dispositiones  
 angelorum et non custoditis 54 audientes autem eum discruciantur cordibus suis

patrum nostrorum[um, usque] in diem David, 46 qui invenit gratiam coram [dō], h  
 et petit habitationem invenire in dō Jacob. 47 [Solomon] autem aedificavit illi  
 domum. 48 sed altissim[us non] habitat in aedificis manu factis hominu[m], sicut]  
 dicit profeta: 49 caelus mihi tronus est et [terra sub]pedaneum pedum meorum.  
 qualem domum aedificavitis mihi, vel qualis domus quietis m[ae] est?]  
 50 nunquid non manus mea fecit omnia ista? 51 duricordes, et incurcimas  
 corde et auribus, vos semper sp̃ui contradixistis, sicut p[atres] vestri.  
 52 quem non ex prophetis illi persecut[i] sunt? et occideru[n]t qui nuntiaverunt  
 de adventum justi, cuius vos] nunc proditores et latrones fuistis 53 [qui  
 accepistis legem in praeceptis angelorum, nec obsequio servastis. 54 et cum

49 Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me, or what is the place of my rest?

Isaiah,  
 Rem. of A.P.  
 Preach. 45

51 σκληροτράχηλοι ✕ ο < duris cervicibus

Harleian

ἔβρυχον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὑπάρχων δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος 55  
 ἁγίου ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶδεν δόξαν θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦν  
 ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, | καὶ εἶπεν· Ἴδου θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς 56  
 διηνοιγμένους καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ. κράζαντες δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ συνέσχον τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν, καὶ 57  
 ὥρμησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως 58  
 ἐλιθοβόλουν. καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν παρὰ  
 τοὺς πόδας νεανίου καλουμένου Σαύλου. καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν 59  
 Στέφανον ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ  
 πνεύμά μου· | θεὸς δὲ τὰ γόνατα ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· Κύριε, 60  
 μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν  
 ἐκοιμήθη. Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ. VI  
 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωγμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ τὴν

56 διηνυγμενους

Editors 58 εαυτων] αυτων WH Soden JHR

60 την αμαρτιαν ταυτην Soden

Old Uncial 55 πλήρης B<sup>4</sup>C 81 (+D) +πρωτως και Ν δεξιων του θεου  
 B<sup>4</sup>A 81(+D) δεξιων αυτου C 56 εκ δεξιων εστωτα B<sup>4</sup>N 81 (+D) εστωτα  
 εκ δεξιων N<sup>4</sup>A C 57 φωνη μεγαλη B<sup>4</sup>NAC(+D) φωνην μεγαλη 81  
 58 εκβαλοντες B<sup>4</sup>N C 81 (+D) +αυτων A εαυτων B αυτων N<sup>4</sup>A C 81 (+D)  
 59 ιησου B<sup>4</sup>A 81 (+D) +χρωστε C 60 φωνη μεγαλη BAC<sup>4</sup>N 81 φωνην  
 μεγαλη C (cf. D) om N ταυτην την αμαρτιαν BAC(+D) την αμαρτιαν  
 ταυτην N 81

Antiochian 55 δεξιων του θεου] δεξιων αυτου S 56 διηνυγμενους] ανεωγμενους  
 HPS<sup>5</sup>(+D) 58 εαυτων] αυτων S(+D) om HPS 60 την αμαρτιαν  
 ταυτην HPS<sup>5</sup>

55 The reading of h [ἵρσε αὐτὴ]m  
 συμ ἐσσεῖ ἐν ὀπίσθῳ χειρὸς (ο δε υπαρχων  
 ο πνευματι αγιω) has a less usual ex-  
 pression and, in ο δε, a better con-  
 nexion than the Greek text. The

former consideration perhaps speaks  
 for, the latter against, its originality.  
 If the reading represented by h is  
 original 'Western,' D is here con-  
 formed to the B-text.

55 ἔβρουχόν τε τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὑπάρχων δὲ πλήρης πνεύ-  
ματος ἁγίου ἀτενείσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶδε δόξαν θεοῦ καί  
56 Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστῶτα, | καὶ εἶπεν· Ἴδού  
θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἠνεωγμένους καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
57 ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ. κράξαιτες δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ συν-  
58 ἔσχαν τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤρμησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' αὐτόν, | καὶ  
ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐλιθοβόλουν αὐτόν. καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες  
ἀπέθοντο τὰ εἰμάτια αὐτῶν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας νεανίου τινὸς  
59 καλουμένου Σαύλου. καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπικαλού-  
60 μενον καὶ λέγοντα· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· | θεὸς τὰ  
γόνατα ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων· Κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς  
viii ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη. Σαῦλος δὲ  
ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναρέσει αὐτοῦ.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διαγμός μέγας καὶ θλαΐψις

60 δεξε στησεις 1 ανεραισι θλειψις

et stridebant dēdib[us] super eum 55 cumq[ue] esset plenus spū sancto attēns in d[eu]m  
caelum vidit gloriam d[ei] et ih̄m dñm ad dexteram d[ei] stantem 56 et dixit ecce video  
caelos apertos et filium hominis ad dexteram d[ei] stantem 57 et cum exclamasset  
voce magna compresserunt aures eorum et inpetam unanimit[er] fecerunt in eū 58 et  
ejectum extra civitatem lapidabant eum atq[ue] ipsi testes deposuerunt vestimenta  
sua ad pedes adulescentis cujusdam nomine saul 59 et lapidabant stephanum  
invocantem et dicentem dñe ih̄u accipe spm meum 60 cumq[ue] posuisset genus et  
clamavit voce magna dicens dñe ne statuas illis peccatum hoc et cum hoc dixisset  
dormivit

1 saulus vero erat consentiens interfecti ejus facta est itaq[ue] in illa die persecutio

haec illi audissent, fre[m]ebant intra corda sua, et stridebant dentes in eū. h  
55 [ipse aut[em] cum esset in spū scō, et intueretur caelū, [vidit hō]m[in]em d[eu]m, et  
ih̄m dñm ad dexteram d[ei] stan[tem], 56 et d[ixit]: ecce video caelos apertos, et  
filium homi[n]is ad d[exteram] d[ei] stantem. 57 tunc populus exclama[vit] voce[m]  
magna et continuerunt aures suas, et in[r]ueru[n]t pariter omnes in eum. 58 et  
expulerunt eū [extra ci]vitatem, et lapidabunt eum: et illi testes posu[erunt]  
vestimenta sua ante pedes juvenis, cujus [nome]n vocatur Saulus. 59 et  
lapidabunt Stefanum [invo]cantem et dicentem: dñe ih̄u recipe spūm meū.  
60 [et geni]bus positus exclamavit voce magna: dñe ne [statuas] illis hoc  
peccatum. et dum hoc dicit, obdor[m]ivit].

1 [S]a[ul]us autem erat comprobator neci Stefani. [et in illis diebus facta est

[55 hunc videt Stephanus, cum lapidaretur, adhuc stantem ad dexteram dei.] Tertullian,  
Prax. 20

60 domine, ne statuas illi hoc peccatum.

Cyprian,  
Bon. pat. 16

55 [Stephanus haec docens, adhuc cum super terram esset,] vidit gloriam dei  
et Jesum ad dexteram, 56 et dixit: ecce video caelos apertos et filium hominis  
ad dexteram adstantem dei.

Irenaeus,  
lib. 12, 13 (16)

60 domine, ne statuas eis peccatum hoc.

lib. 12, 13 (16)

58 ἐλιθοβόλουν αὐτὸν lapidabant ✕ eum ✓

60 κυριε +mg Jesu

Harelean

ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων. συνεκόμισαν δὲ τὸν Στέφανον ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν 2 κοπετόν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 3 κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διηλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον. 4 Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐκήρυσσεν 5 αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν. προσεῖχον δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ 6 τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἀκούειν αὐτοὺς καὶ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει· πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα 7 βοῶντα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξήρχοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ παραλελυμένοι καὶ χλωλοὶ ἐθεραπεύθησαν· ἐγένετο δὲ πολλὴ χαρὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. 8 ἄνθρωπος δὲ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων προσηρῆχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων 9 καὶ ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, ᾧ προσεῖχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου λέγοντες· 10 Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη. προσεῖχον 11

Editors 1 [δε 30] WH 5 om την Soden JHR 9 εξιστανων] εξιστων Soden

Old Uncial 1 παντες δε BC 81 (+D) παντες τε A και παντες N<sup>o</sup> om δε N 3 ανδρας  
BAC<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) τους ανδρας N 4 διηλθον BAC<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) ηλθον N  
5 δε B<sup>N</sup> AC 81<sup>om</sup> (+D) τε 81 την B<sup>N</sup> A om C 81 (+D) σαμαρειας  
BAC<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) καισαριας N 6 φιλιππου B<sup>N</sup> C 81 (+D) παυλου A  
αυτους BAC<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) αυτου N<sup>nd</sup> α B<sup>N</sup> C 81 (+D) om A

Antiochian 1 παντες δε] παντες τε S 2 εποιησαντο HPS<sup>s</sup> μεγα H επ  
αυτων HS 5 om την HPS<sup>s</sup> (+D) 6 δε] τε HPS<sup>s</sup> 7 πολλοι 10]  
πολλων HPS<sup>s</sup> μεγαλη φωνη S εξηρχετο HPS<sup>s</sup> 8 εγενετο δε]  
και εγενετο HPS<sup>s</sup> πολλη χαρη] χαρη μεγαλη HPS<sup>s</sup> (+D) 9 εξιστανων]  
εξιστων HS<sup>s</sup> 10 om παντες HPS om καλουμενη HLPSS<sup>s</sup>

5 eis την πόλιν της σαμαρειας BA 69 181 460 1175 1898, eis την πόλιν της καισαριας N, om την CD Antiochian sah boh, *Samaria in ciuitate perp.* The presence of the article is strongly attested, but not so decisively as to make the difficult phrase with the article acceptable. The meaning cannot be 'the capital of Samaria'; while the name Samaria for the city itself is improbable for New Testament times, even if the genitive in such a use were not chiefly poetic and in the N.T. un-

exampled (except in 2 Peter ii. 6), of e.g. *Acta* xi. 5 ἐν πόλει Ἰερουσαλῆμ. The phrase *Lk. ix. 52* (ΝΓΑ μιν) eis πόλιν σαμαρειαν shows a certain similarity. See C. C. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 18 note 2. The reading of N is probably due to some knowledge of the tradition connecting Simon Magus and Philip with Caesarea.

7 In Codex Bezae Scrivener was inclined to read π[α]ρ[α] Blass (*St. Kr.*, 1898, p. 540) thinks the scribe more probably wrote π[α]ρ[α].



- ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν  
κατὰ τὰς χώρας Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων,  
2 οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. συνκομίσαντες τὸν Στέφανον ἄνδρες  
3 εὐλαβεῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος  
ἐλυμαίνεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος,  
σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν.  
4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διήλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον.  
5 Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρίας ἐκήρυσσεν  
6 αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν. ὥς δὲ ἤκουον πᾶν, οἱ ὄχλοι προσεῖχον  
τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου [. . .] οὐτ[ ] ἐν τῷ ἀκοίειν  
7 αὐτοὺς καὶ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει· π[ ] πολλοῖς γὰρ  
τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα βοῶντα ὡσπερ μεγάλη ἐξ-  
8 ἤρχοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ παραλελυμένοι χωλοὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο· χαρά τε  
9 μεγάλη ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων  
προυνάρχων ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων ἐξε[ ] τὸ ἔθνος τῆς  
10 Σαμαρίας, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, | ὃ προσεῖχον πάντες  
ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου λέγοντες· Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ  
11 θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη. προσεῖχον δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῶ  
3 ἐλυμανετο                      παρεδίδους                      5 κατελθών

magna et tribulatio super ecclesiam quae est in hierosolymis omnes autē d  
eunt per regiones iudaeae et samariae praeter apostolos qui remanserunt hierosolymis  
2 comportaverunt quae stephanum viri timorati et fecerunt placetum magnum  
3 Saulus autem devastabat ecclesias per singulas quae ubique ingrediens  
trahensque viros et mulieres tradebat in carcerem 4 ad illos quidem qui dispersi  
erant adnuntiabant evangelizantes verbum 5 philippus vero cum venisset in civitate  
samariae praedicabat eis xpm 6 intuebantur autem omnes tunc de his qui dicebantur  
a philippo unanimo in eo quod audierint ipsi et videbant signa quae faciebat 7 a  
multis enim qui habebant spiritum inmundum clamantes voce magna exiebant multi  
enim paralysin passi claudii curabantur 8 gaudium magnum factum est in civitate illa  
9 viri autem quidam nomine simon iam pridem erat in ipsa civitate magus factus et  
mentem auferens gentibus samariae dicens esse quendam magnum 10 cum intuebantur  
omnes a puillo usque ad magnum dicentes hic est virtus dei quae vocatur magna  
11 intuebantur autem ei propterea quod plurimo tempore magicis rebus menter:

tribulatio et persecutio [magna] ecclesiae quae est Hierosolymis. omnes autē h  
[dispersi] sunt circa civitates Iudaeae et Samariae, [praeter] apostolos, qui  
remanserant Hierosolymis. 2 [portaverunt] autem Stephanum homines pii, et  
fecerunt

9 vir autem quidam nomine Simon, qui ante erat in civitate, magicam irenaeus,  
exercoens, et seducoens gentem Samaritanorum, dicens se esse aliquem magnum, l. 23, 1 (ib, 1)  
10 quem auscultabant a puillo usque ad magnum, dicentes: hic est virtus dei  
quae vocatur magna. 11 intuebantur autem eum propter quod multo tempore  
magicis suis dementasset eos.

9 magicam] magiam Turner

7 ἐξήρχοντο] egrediebantur \* b vs <

Hierosol

δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξεστακέναι αὐτούς.  
 ὅτε δὲ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας 12  
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες  
 τε καὶ γυναῖκες. ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσεν, καὶ βαπτι- 13  
 σθεὶς ἦν προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ· θεωρῶν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ  
 δυνάμεις μεγάλας γενομένας ἐξίστατο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἐν 14  
 Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι ὅτι δέδεκται ἡ Σαμαρεῖα τὸν λόγον  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, οἵτινες 15  
 καταβάντες προσεύξαντο περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως λάβωσιν πνεῦμα  
 ἅγιον· οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτεπτωκός, μόνον δὲ 16  
 βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. τότε 17  
 ἐπετίθουσιν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐλάββον πνεῦμα ἅγιον.  
 ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σίμων ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων 18  
 δίδεται τὸ πνεῦμα προσήμεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα, | λέγων· Δότε 19  
 καὶ μοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνῃ  
 πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Πέτρος δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Τὸ ἀργύριόν σου 20  
 σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ὅτι τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμισας διὰ  
 χρημάτων κτᾶσθαι. οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ 21  
 τούτῳ, ἡ γὰρ καρδία σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεῖα ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ. μετα- 22  
 νόησον οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας σου ταύτης, καὶ δεήθητι τοῦ κυρίου

Editors 13 τα] τε WH Soden JHR

18 πνευμα] +το αγιον Soden

Old Uncial 12 τῷ φιλιππῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ BAC<sup>81</sup> (+D) τοῦ φιλιππου εὐαγγελιζομενου N  
 θεου BAC<sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) κυριου N τε B<sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om A 13 τα B  
 τε NAC 81 (+D) γενομενας BNA 81 (+D) om C εξιστατο  
 BAC<sup>81</sup> 81 εξιστῶντο NC (+D) 14 θεου BAC<sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) χριστου N  
 18 πνευμα BN +το αγιον AC 81 (+D) 20 αυταν BAC<sup>81</sup> 81 (+D)  
 αυτους N 21 εναντι BNA (+D) εναντιον C 81

Antiochian 12 περὶ τα περὶ HLPSS<sup>5</sup> add του before ιησου 5 13 τα] τε  
 HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (+D) δυναμεις και σημεια HLPSS om μεγαλας HLPSS  
 γενομενα HLPSS 14 τον πετρον HLPSS<sup>5</sup> 16 ουδεπω] ουτω HLPSS<sup>5</sup>  
 κυριου] χριστου HLPSS 18 ιδων] θεωσαμενος HLPSS<sup>5</sup> πνευμα] +το αγιον  
 HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (+D) 20 om ειη S om του H 21 εναντι] εναντιον  
 HLPSS<sup>5</sup> 22 om ουν S κυριου] θεου HLPSS<sup>5</sup>

21. That the 'Western' text read  
 τη πιστει ταυτη for τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ is  
 indicated by the agreement in that

reading of perp gig peah Aug Const.  
 Ap. vi. 7, 2.

- 12 χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγίαις ἐξεστακέναι αὐτοῖς. ὅτε δὲ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ  
Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες.  
13 ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσεν, καὶ βαπτισθεὶς τὴν καὶ προσ-  
καρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας  
14 γεινομένας ἐξείστατο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπό-  
στολοι ὅτι δέδεκται ἡ Σαμαρία τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς  
15 αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, οἵτινες καταβάντες προσηύξαντο  
16 περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως λάβωσιν πνεῦμα ἅγιον· οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ  
οὐδένᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός, μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον  
17 εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τότε ἐπετίθουν τὰς  
18 χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐλάβανον πνεῦμα ἅγιον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ  
Σίμων ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων δίδεται  
19 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα, παρακαλῶν  
καὶ λέγων· Δότε καὶ μοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ὡς ἂν ἐπιθῶ  
20 καὶ γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνῃ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Πέτρος δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς  
αὐτόν· Ἀργύριον σὺν σοὶ εἶη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ὅτι τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ  
21 θεοῦ ἐνόμισας διὰ χρημάτων κτᾶσθαι. οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερίς  
οὐδὲ κληρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἡ καρδιά σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεία  
22 ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ. μετανόησον οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας σου ταύτης,

13 ἐξείστατο

18 προσήνεγκαν

21 μερεῖς

abstulisset eis 12 cum vero crederent philippo evangelizantem regnum dī et de d  
nomine ihu xpi baptizabantur viri ac mulieres 13 simon quoque et ipse crederet et  
baptizatus est et adhaerebat philippo videns signa et virtutes magnas fieri oīstuyrebat  
14 cum vero audissent qui in iherusalem erant apostoli quia excepit samaria verum  
dī miserunt ad eos petrum et iohannem 15 qui cum descendissent oraverunt super  
eos ut accipiant spm̄ sanctum 16 nondum enim erat super quemquam eorū inlatus  
tantum autem baptizati erant in nomine dñi ihu xpi 17 tunc imponebant manus  
super eos et accipiebant spm̄ sanctum 18 cum vidisset simon quia per impositionem  
manuum apostolorum datur sp̄s sanctus obtulit eis pecunias 19 rogando et dicendo  
date et mihi potestatem hanc ut cuiuscumque imposuero et ego manus accipiat spm̄  
sanctum 20 petrus autem dixit ad eum

20 pecunia tua tecum sit in interitum, quoniam gratiam dei pretio conse- Tertullian,  
quendam putasti. Eug. 12

21 non est tibi pars neque sors in ista ratione.

Idol. 9

20 pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione, quia existimasti gratiam dei per Cyprian,  
pecuniam possideri. Test. m. 100

20 pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione, quoniam donum dei existimasti Irenaeus,  
pecunia possideri: 21 non est tibi pars neque sors in sermone hoc; cor enim l. 22. 1 (16, 1)  
tuum non est rectum coram deo.

18 σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας] virtutes et signa ✕ magna ✓

Harelean

εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς καρδίας σου· εἰς γὰρ χολὴν 23  
πικρίας καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας ὁρῶ σε ὄντα. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ 24  
Σίμων εἶπεν· Δεθήθιτε ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὅπως  
μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' ἐμέ ὡν εἰρήκατε. οἱ μὲν οὖν διαμαρτυρούμενοι 25  
καὶ λαλήσαντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου ὑπέστρεφον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,  
πολλὰς τε κώμας τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν εὐηγγελίζοντο.

Ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον λέγων· Ἀνά- 26  
στηθι καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν κατα-  
βαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος.  
καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ ἐκνουχὸς δυνάστης 27  
Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης Αἰθιοπῶν, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γάζης  
αὐτῆς, ὃς ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, | ἦν δὲ ὑπο- 28  
στρέφων καὶ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεγείνω-  
σκειν τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν. εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Φίλιππῳ· 29  
Πρόσελθε καὶ κολλήθητι τῷ ἄρματι τούτῳ. προσδραμὼν δὲ ὁ 30  
Φίλιππος ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεωώσκοντος Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην,  
καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀρά γε γεωώσκεις ἃ ἀναγεωώσκεις; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· 31  
Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἔαν μὴ τις ὁδαγήσει με; παρεκάλεσέν τε  
τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναβάνα καθίσαι σὺν αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς 32  
Is. lxx. 7 f. γραφῆς ἦν ἀνεγείνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη· Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἦχθη,  
καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ

26 την οδον] + την οδον

Editors	27 [os 2 <sup>o</sup> ] WH	28 δε] τε Soden	32 κειραντος WHmg	
Old Uncial	24 επ BNA 81 om C ρομενοι B υπεστρεψαν C om 81 om 81 (+D)	25 διαμαρτυραμενοι BAC 81 (+D) κυριου BNC 81 (+D) θεου A 26 πορευου BNA 81 πορευθητι C(+D) την 2 <sup>o</sup> BAC 81 (+D) +καλουμενην B 27 os 2 <sup>o</sup> BOC 81 om NAC(+D) του BNA 81 (+D) om C	25 διαμαρτυρομενοι BAC 81 (+D) υπεστρεψον BNA 81 (+D) επι BNA C(+D) εστιν BNA C(+D) 28 δε BC τε NA 81 και ανεγεινωσκαν BOC 81 τον προφητην ησαιαν BNA 81 (+D) 30 δε BNA C τε 81 31 απ BNC 81 om A 32 κειραντος B 81	διαμαρτυ- ρομενοι BNA 81 (+D) υπεστρεψαν BNA 81 (+D) επι BNA C(+D) εστιν BNA C(+D) 28 δε BC τε NA 81 και ανεγεινωσκαν BOC 81 τον προφητην ησαιαν BNA 81 (+D) 30 δε BNA C τε 81 31 απ BNC 81 om A 32 κειραντος B 81 κειραντος NAC
Antiochian	24 om o H HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 26 επι] eis H HLPSS(+D) ουτως] ουτος HL	ω] ως L ιερουσαλημ HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 27 της βασιλισης HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 30 τον προφητην ησαιαν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	25 διαμαρτυρομενοι LP ενηγγελισαντο HLPSS <sup>c</sup> eis] επ L 28 δε] τε 32 κειραντος HL	υπεστρεψαν ενηγγελισαντο HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 28 δε] τε 32 κειραντος HL

24 For evidence that Chrysostom used the 'Western' text of this verse see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 94.

- καὶ δεήθητι τοῦ κυρίου εἰ ἄρα ἀφηθήσεται σου ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς  
 23 καρδίας σου· ἐν γὰρ πικρίας χολῇ καὶ συνδέσμῳ ἀδικίας θεωρῶ  
 24 σε ὄντα. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Σίμων εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Παρακαλῶ,  
 δεήθητε ὑμεῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅπως μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ μοι  
 25 τούτων τῶν κακῶν ὧν εἰρήκατέ μοι, ὅς πολλὰ κλαίων οὐ διελίμ-  
 26 πανεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν διαμαρτυράμενοι καὶ λαλήσαντες τὸν λόγον  
 τοῦ κυρίου ὑπέστρεφον εἰς Εἰεροσόλυμα, πολλὰς δὲ κώμας τῶν  
 Σαμαρειτῶν ἐδηγγελίζοντο.
- 26 Ἀγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον λέγων· Ἀναστὰς  
 πορεύθητι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ  
 27 Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπο-  
 ρεύθη, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης βασι-  
 λείσης τινὸς Αἰθίοπων, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γᾶς (αὐτοῦ),  
 28 ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣν τε ὑποστρέφων καθ-  
 ἤμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρματος ἀναγινώσκων τὸν προφῆτην Ἰσαΐαν.  
 29 εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Φιλίππῳ·
- 29 τοῦτῃ] αὐτοῦ 614 (cf. τούτου 1518)

23 εν] ην

24 ων] ον

διελυμπανεν

[24 nam et Simon Samaritanus in Actis Apostolorum redemptor spiritus sancti, Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos* 34 posteaquam damnatus ab apostolo cum pecunia sua interitum frustra flevit.]

23 in felle enim amaritudinis, et obligatione injustitiae video te esse.

Irenaeus,  
i. 28, 1 (16, 1)

22 tamquam ovīs ad victimam ductus est, quemadmodum agnus ante in 12, 8 (10) tendentem se sine voce, sic non aperuit os.

22 quemadmodum ovīs ad victimam ductus est, et quemadmodum agnus in iv 28 (37), 2 conspectu tendentis sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum.

24 παρακαλῶ] ✕ obsecro ✓  
 κλαίων ου διελιμπανεν] mg flets multum et non cessans

θεον] mg dominum

ος πολλὰ Harclean

27 os 2<sup>o</sup> B Antiochian sah, om BAC D perp vg (gig r t insert hsc). The relative was omitted because the full sentence-building virtue of ἰδων was not felt.

29 From viii. 29 to x. 14 the Greek of Codex Bezae is lacking. From various Greek sources, chiefly minuscules of the I-type, there are included in the following pages readings (not belonging to the text of B<sup>h</sup>AO 81) which seem, with varying degrees of

probability, to be fragments of the 'Western' rewriting. They have been identified by the aid of d, which is extant for x. 4-14, together with other Latin witnesses and the Harclean apparatus. Such readings have not been inserted unless they are actually attested in Greek, and no attempt has been made to determine 'Western' order of words, or to indicate the 'Western' variant in the case of the conjunctions καί, δέ, and τε.

ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ 33  
 ἦρθη· τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς  
 γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ Φίλιππῳ εἶπεν· 34  
 Δέομαί σου, περὶ τίνος ὁ προφῆτης λέγει; περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ περὶ  
 ἑτέρου τινός; ἀνοίξας δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄρ- 35  
 ξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τι ὕδωρ, καὶ φησιν ὁ 36  
 εὐνοῦχος· Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ· τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; καὶ ἐκέλευσε 38  
 στήναι τὸ ἄρμα, καὶ κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ τε  
 Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτόν. ὅτε δὲ ἀν- 39  
 ἔβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, πνεῦμα κυρίου ἦρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ  
 οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτόν οὐκέτι ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐπορεύετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 ὁδὸν χαίρων. Φίλιππος δὲ εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωτον, καὶ διερχόμενος 40  
 εὐηγγελίζετο τὰς πόλεις πάσας ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Και-  
 σαρείαν.

Ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος, ἔτι ἐνπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς IX  
 τοῦ κυρίου, προσελθὼν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ | ᾗτήσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὰς 2  
 εἰς Δαμασκὸν πρὸς τὰς συναγωγάς, ὅπως ἑάν τις εὕρῃ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ ὄντας, ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδεμένους ἀγάγῃ εἰς Ἱερου-  
 σαλὴμ. ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐγγίξιν τῇ Δαμασκῷ, 3  
 ἐξέφνης τε αὐτὸν περιήστραψεν φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, | καὶ πεσὼν 4

1 ἐτι] οτι

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Editors	38 ταπεινώσει] +αὐτου Soden	την] + δε Soden	34 λεγει]
	+τουτο WH Soden JHR	39 την οδον αυτου WH Soden JHR	

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Old Uncal	38 ταπεινώσει BNA +αὐτου O 81	την BNAO +δε 81
	84 λεγει B +τουτο BNAO 81	35 ταυτης BACN <sup>o</sup> 81 +και N
	39 ανεβησαν BNAO 81 ανεβη C <sup>a</sup>	πνευμα BNC 81 +αγιον επεσεν επι
	τον ευνοχον αγγελος δε A	αυτου την οδον B την οδον αυτου NAO 81
	40 ευηγγελιζετο τας πολεις πασας BNC 81	ται πολεις πασας ευηγγελιζετο A
	1 ἐτι B(B <sup>3</sup> Td <sup>f</sup> )ACN <sup>o</sup> 81 οτι B om N	2 παρ αυτου επιστολας BAO 81
	επιστολας παρ αυτου N	της οδου οντας BC οντας της οδου NA 81
	δε BNAO om 81	τω BNAO το 81
		περιηστραψεν φως BNC 81

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Antiochian	38 ταπεινώσει] +αὐτου HLPSS	την] +δε HLPSS	34 λεγει]
	+τουτο HLPSS	εαυτου] αυτου H	35 om ο before φιλιππος H
	37 add ειπε δε ο φιλιππος· ει πιστευεις εξ ολης της καρδιας, εξεστιν. αποκριθεις δε ειπε· πιστευω τον υιον του θεου ειναι τον ιησουν χριστον S		39 την οδον αυτου HLPSS
	3 τω] το HL	εξεφνης τα] και εξαφνης HLPSS	
	περιηστραψεν αυτον HLPSS	εκ] απο HPS	

- 36 εὐνοῦχος] + τῷ Φιλίππῳ 489  
 37 εἶπεν δὲ (+ αὐτῷ 1522) ὁ Φίλιππος (om. ὁ Φίλιππος minn).  
 Εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας (+ σου minn), ἔξεστω. ἀπο-  
 κριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν· Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν (om. τὸν  
 minn) Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν 2298 minn  
 39 πνεῦμα κυρίου ἤρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον] πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπέπεσεν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον· ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἤρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον  
 A minn

36 ecce aqua, quid est quod me impedit tinguī? 37 tunc dixit Philippus: Cyprian, si credis ex toto corde tuo, licet. Test. iii. 48

33 nativitatem autem ejus quis enarrabit? quoniam tolletur a terra vita Irenaeus, in. 12, 8 (10)  
 ejus. in humilitate judicium ejus ablatum est. iv. 23 (37), 3  
 37 credo filium dei esse Jesum. in. 12, 8 (10)  
 πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν [catena]  
 [solum adventum ignorabat] filii dei, [quem cum breviter cognovisset] iv. 23 (37), 2  
 39 agebat iter gaudens.

37 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ φίλιππος· εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἔξεστω. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Hardlean  
 εἶπεν· πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν] ×: dixit autem ei: Si  
 credis ex toto corde tuo, licet. respondens autem dixit: Credo in filium dei esse  
 Jesum Christum 39 ἅγιον] mg sanctus ἐπεπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον·  
 ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου] × occidit in eunuchum, angelus autem domini ✓ τὸν  
 φίλιππον] +mg ab eo

37 Vs. 37 is a 'Western' addition, not found in BNAC Antiochian vg. W. W. sah cop peah, but read, with minor variants, in many minuscules. A part is quoted by Iren Cypr; and the whole (with minor variants) is found in perp gig e E vg codd hol x arm. The most noteworthy variant is πιστεύω εἰς τὸν χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (without the following words) E e. The text of E is, as usual, a retranslation from e; susceperis e (in place of ἐξεστω) is probably rightly corrected by eocet to σώσεις ημες, to which σωθῆσαι E corresponds. The error of e was due to an earlier scribe's confusion of p and p.

39 The 'Western' addition to vs.

39 in A (written by first hand over erasure) is found also in a series of minuscules, and in perp vg codd hol x arm, and is quoted, or definitely referred to, by Ephrem, Cyril of Jerusalem, Didymus, Jerome, and Augustine. The geographical range of attestation is noteworthy. The purpose of the addition was to make explicit that the baptism was followed by the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Ab eo hol mg is found also in perp Aug.

2 The difficulty of τῆς οδοῦ was felt in ancient times, and an attempt made to relieve it by adding ταυτης; so 104 181 1888 perp gig e vg peah hol. iezē.

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἤκουσεν φωνὴν λέγουσαν αὐτῷ· Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί  
 με διώκεις; | εἶπεν δέ· Τίς εἶ, κύριε; ὁ δέ· Ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς 5  
 ὃν σὺ διώκεις· ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι καὶ εἵσθι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ λαλη- 6  
 θήσεται σοι ὅτι σε δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ 7  
 εἰσπήκεισαν ἐνεοί, ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες.  
 ἡγέρθη δὲ Σαῦλος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀνεωγμένων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 8  
 αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἔβλεπεν· χειραγωγοῦντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγον εἰς  
 Δαμασκόν. καὶ ἦν ἡμέρας τρεῖς μὴ βλέπων, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν 9  
 οὐδὲ ἔπιεν.

Ἦν δέ τις μαθητὴς ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὀνόματι Ἀνανίας, καὶ 10  
 εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὁράματι ὁ κύριος· Ἀνανία. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἰδοὺ  
 ἐγώ, κύριε. ὁ δὲ κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀνάστα, πορεύθητι ἐπὶ 11  
 τὴν ῥύμην τὴν καλουμένην Εὐθείαν καὶ ζήτησον ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰούδα  
 Σαῦλον ὀνόματι Ταρσέα, ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσεύχεται, | καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα 12  
 ἐν ὁράματι Ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ τὰς

Editors 6 εἰσθι] εἰσελθε WH Soden JHR 11 ἀναστας WHmg Soden JHR  
 12 [εν οραματι] WH εν οραματι ἀνδρα Soden om εν οραματι JHR [τας] WH  
 om τας Soden

Old Uncial 5 εἰ BNA 81 +συ C ο δε BAC +ειπεν N 81 ιησους BN 81  
 +ο ναζωραιος AC 6 εἰσθι B εἰσελθε NAC 81 7 εἰσπήκεισαν  
 BNAO εἰσῆσαν 81 μιν BNAO δε 81 δε 2° BNAO om 81  
 θεωροῦντες BACN 81 ὁρῶντες N 8 οὐδεν BNA ουδεν A<sup>2</sup>C 81 9 ουδε  
 BNA 81 και ουκ C 10 εν οραματι ο κυριος BNAO ο κυριος εν οραματι 81  
 11 ἀναστα B ἀναστας NAC 81 12 εν οραματι BC om NA 81 τας  
 BN<sup>o</sup> om NAC 81

Antiochian 5 ο δε] +κυριος εἶπεν HLP5 6 instead of αλλα insert σκληρον σοι προς  
 κεντρα λακτιζειν τρεμων τε και θαμβων ειπε· κυριε, τι με θελεις ποιησαι, και ο  
 κυριος προς αυτον 5 εἰσθι] εἰσελθε HLP5C 7C] τι HLP5C  
 8 ο σαυλος HLP5C δε 2°] τε HLP5 ουδεν HLP5C 10 ο  
 κυριος εν οραματι HLP5C 11 ἀναστας HLP5C 12 εν οραματι  
 ανδρα ονοματι αναναν HLP5C om τας HLP5C

4. After τι με διώκεις 481 e E vg codā  
 peah hol ✕ add σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα  
 λακτιζειν. This appears to be a frag-  
 ment of the larger 'Western' addition  
 of vss. 5, 6, transferred to this position  
 in order to agree with xxvi. 14.

To the sentence under asterisk in  
 hol text, hol mg adds the following  
 note: 'Durum est tibi calcitrare ad  
 stimulos' non est hoc loco in Graeco,  
 sed ubi enarrat de se Paulus. On the  
 series of marginal notes to which this  
 belongs see above, pp. clxi-cliv.

5, 6 The 'Western' addition found

in h (vanum . . . eum) appears in  
 vg. many codā in the following form:  
 durum est tibi contra stimulum cal-  
 citrare. et tremens ac stupens (+ in  
 eo quod fuerat [factum erat] vg. codā)  
 dixit: domine quid me vis facere?  
 et dominus ad eum (cf. xxii. 10,  
 xxvi. 14). With this substantially  
 agree perp hol ✕ (cf. mg, vs. 4). Gg  
 has durum . . . calcitrare, but no  
 more, and Hilary quotes (in a slightly  
 different text) the part et tremens . . .  
 facere. Aug and Ambrose refer to  
 the sentence: domine quid me vis



- IX 4 τί με διώκεις] + σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίξω 481  
 5 ὁ δέ] + κύριος εἶπεν HLPS(Ψ) minn  
 add πρὸς αὐτόν before Ἐγώ Ψ 323  
 Ἰησοῦς] + ὁ Ναζωραῖος AC minn  
 6 καὶ 2<sup>o</sup>] + ἐκεῖ 614 minn  
 II Ταρσέα] τῷ γένει Ταρσέα 36

4 [in pa]vone, et audivit vocem dicentem sibi: Saule, [Saul], quid me per- h  
 sequeris? 5 qui respondit, dicens: [quis es], dñs? et dixit dñs: ego sum Ihs  
 Nazarenus que[m tu per]sequeris: vanum autem est tibi contra stim[ulum  
 cal]citrare. qui tremens, timore plenus in isto sib[is] facto, dixit: dñe, quid  
 me vis facere? 6 et dñs ad eum: ex[urge, et] introi in civitatem, et ibi tibi  
 dicetur quid te o[portes]t facere. 7 homines autem illi, qui ei comitaban[tur,  
 sta]bant stupefacti, et audiebant quidem vocem [sed ne]minem videbant, cum  
 loqueretur. sed ait ad [eos: leva]te me de terra. 8 et cum lebaissent illum,  
 nihil [videbat] apertis oculis · et tenentes manus ejus deduxerunt] Damascus.  
 9 et sic mansit per tridum nihil vid[ens, et] neque cibum neque potum accepit  
 10 erat a[utem] quidam discens Damasci, nomine Annanias: [et ei in]  
 visionem dñs ait: Annania. qui respon[dens ait: i]ta, dñe. 11 et dñs ad  
 eum: surge et vade in vicum [qui voca]tur, et quare in domum Judae nomine  
 Saul[um, na]tione Tarseum: ecce enim adorat ipse.

6 exsurge, [dicens,] et introi Damascus, illic tibi demonstrabitur quid Tertullian,  
 debeas agere. Bayk. 18

4 Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? 5 ego sum Jesus Christus, quem tu Irenaeus,  
 persequeris. iii. 16, 1

4 σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίξω] \* durum est tibi calcitrare ad stimulos ✓ Harelean  
 5 ο ναζωραῖος] \* Nazarenus ✓ 5, 6 ον συ διώκεις] quem tu persequeris  
 \* ille autem tremens et pavens super eo quod factum fuerat ei dixit:  
 Domine quid vis me facere et dominus [+mg dixit] ad eum: Surge ✓  
 11 σαυλον] Saulm \* quendam ✓

*facere?* The addition is found in no Greek ms., and is lacking in many odd of vg, including Amiatinus, as well as in pesh sah boh. The most important peculiarity of h, *vanum* for *durum*, may represent a reading *κενόν* or *εἰς κενόν* in the original 'Western'; if so, in all other Latin copies the text has been conformed to xxvi. 14.

The Greek text found in 5 is due to the hand of Erasmus, who translated it from the Latin of vg and introduced it in his first edition, 1516. He frankly indicates the facts, *Annotationes*, p. 385.

7, 8 After vs. 7 θεωρουτες the additions of h are supported as follows: *cum loqueretur* per p w tepl gig (*cum quo*); *sed ait ad* [eos leva]te me de terra] per p w vg.codd

(all with minor variations). In the words *et cum lebaissent illum* h stands alone. The whole text of h here doubtless represents the 'Western,' elsewhere found only in fragments.

12 Vs. 12 is omitted by h, but with no extant support; it is in all probability an integral part of the original text, since προσενχεται is meaningless without it. See, however, P. Corssen, *Der Oxyptianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 21-23.

ον οραματι after αἰδρα BC; before αἰδρα Antiochian pesh hol; omitted by NA 81 perp gig vg sah boh. The reading which omits is probably right.

12, 17 Vs. 12 τας χεῖρας BE; χεῖρας NAO 81, manus gig e vg; χεῖρα Antiochian perp r t pesh hol. Sah is

χειρας ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ· | ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Ἀνανίας· Κύριε, ἤκουσα 13  
 ἀπὸ πολλῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, ὅσα κακὰ τοῖς ἁγίοις σου  
 ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ· καὶ ᾤδε ἔχει ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν 14  
 ἀρχιερέων δῆσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου.  
 εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· Πορεύου, ὅτι σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς 15  
 ἐστίν μοι οὗτος τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον τῶν  
 ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραὴλ, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ 16  
 ὅσα δεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου παθεῖν. ἀπῆλθεν δὲ 17  
 Ἀνανίας καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐπιθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς  
 χειρας εἶπεν· Σαουλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ κύριος ἀπέσταλκέν με, Ἰησοῦς  
 ὁ ὀφθαλμοὶ σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἢ ἤρχου, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς 18  
 πνεύματος ἁγίου. καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέπεσαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλ- 18  
 μῶν ὡς λεπίδες, ἀνέβλεψέν τε, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐβαπτίσθη, | καὶ λαβὼν 19  
 τροφὴν ἐνισχύθη.

Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ μαθητῶν ἡμέρας τινας, | καὶ 20  
 εὐθέως ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐκήρυσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὅτι οὗτός  
 ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες καὶ 21  
 ἔλεγον· Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπι-  
 καλουμένους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, καὶ ᾤδε εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθει ἵνα  
 δεδεμένους αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς; Σαῦλος δὲ μᾶλλον 22  
 ἐνεδυναμοῦτο καὶ συνέχυνεν Ἰουδαίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν  
 Δαμασκῷ, συμβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. ὡς δὲ ἐπλη- 23

## 21 ἐξίσταντος

Editors	13 ακηκοα Soden	15 [των] WH	om των Soden	18 απο των
	οφθαλμων αυτου Soden (but cf. mg)		ως] ωσει Soden	21 εν] eis
	Soden JHR	22 τους ιουδαιους Soden		

Old Uncial	18 σου B <sup>h</sup> AC	om 81	εποιησεν εν ιερουσαλημ B <sup>h</sup> CO 81	εν ιερουσαλημ
	εποιησεν A	15 των BC	om B <sup>h</sup> AC <sup>o</sup> 81	17 δε B <sup>h</sup> CO 81 τε A
	αυτον τας χειρας B <sup>h</sup> A 81	τας χειρας επ αυτον O	η ηρχου B <sup>h</sup> AC 81	om B <sup>h</sup>
	18 αυτου απο των οφθαλμων BA	απο των οφθαλμων αυτου B <sup>h</sup> CO 81	ως B <sup>h</sup> A 81	
	ωσει O <sup>h</sup>	τε BA 81	δε B <sup>h</sup>	δε παραχρημα O <sup>h</sup>
	19 ενισχυθη BC	ενισχυσεν		
	B <sup>h</sup> AC <sup>o</sup> 81	21 εν BC 81	εις B <sup>h</sup> A	εληλυθει B <sup>h</sup> AC
				εληλυθεν 81
	22 ενεδυναμουντο B <sup>h</sup> A 81	+τω λογω O	ιουδαιους B <sup>h</sup>	τους ιουδαιους AC <sup>h</sup> 81

Antiochian	12 χειρας] χειρα HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	18 ο ανανιας S <sup>c</sup>	ακηκοα HLPSS <sup>c</sup>
	εποιησεν τοις αγιοις σου HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	15 μοι εστιν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	om των
	before εθνων HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	om τε 1 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	16 αυτω] αυτον L
	17 om ιησους HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	18 απο των οφθαλμων αυτου HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	ως] ωσει
	HLPSS <sup>c</sup> τε] +παραχρημα L <sup>c</sup>	19 ενισχυσεν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	20 δε] +ο
	σαυλος HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	των] +ουτων HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	ιησους] χριστον HLPSS <sup>c</sup>
	21 om οι ακουοντες S	εληλυθεν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	αγαγη] αναγαγη P
	22 τους ιουδαιους HLPSS <sup>c</sup>		

- 17 ἀπῆλθεν δὲ Ἀνανίας] τότε ἐγερθεὶς Ἀνανίας ἀπῆλθε 614  
minn  
18 ἀνέβλεψέν τε] + παραχρήμα L 614 minn  
20 ἐκήρυσσεν] + μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας Iren  
θεοῦ + τοῦ ζῶντος 181  
21 πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους 1898 minn  
22 ἐνεδυναμοῦτο] + τῷ λόγῳ C 467

13 res[pondit] autem Annanias: dñs, audivi ego de isto hom[in]e a multis, h[ic] quantas persecutiones fecerit stu[s] tuis Hierosolymam: 14 et ecce accepit a sacerdotib[us] potestatem in nos, uti alliget universos qu[i] invocant nom[in]en tuum. 15 oni dixit dñs: vade, quia vas elec[tionis] est mihi homo iste, ut ferat nomen meum corā [gentib]us et regib[us] et filiis Israel: 16 ego enim demons[trabo e]i quanta oporteat eum pati causa nominis mei. 17 [et sur]rexit Annanias, et abiit ad domum: et inposuit [ei man]um in nomine ihu xpi, dicens: Saule frater, [dñs me] misit, ihs qui tibi visus est in via per quam venisti, ut] videas, et replearis sp̄s s̄to. 18 et estatim cecide[unt d]e oculis ejus tamquam squamae, et continuo [vidit: et] surrexit et tantus est. 19 et accepit civum, et confortatu[s] est.

dies autem plurimos et in civitate Damas[co] cum] descentibus transsegit. 20 et introibit in sinago[ga]s Jude[orum], et praedicavit cum omni fiducia dñm [ih̄m, qu]ia hic est xp̄s, filius dī. 21 stupebant autem omnes [qui a]udiebant, et intra se dicebant: ita non hic est [qui per]sequitur omnes Hierosolymis qui invocant [nomen is]tut, et nunc quoq[ue] propterea venit uti victos [eos addu]cat sacerdotibus? 22 Saulus autem magis conro[borab]atur in verbo, et perturbat Judeos qui mora[bantur] Damasci, inducens quia hic est xp̄s in quē [bene se]nsit dā.

15 vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum in Irenaeus, gentibus et regibus et filiis Israel; 16 ego enim demonstrabo ei ex ipso, quanta <sup>ih. 16, 1</sup> oporteat eum pati propter nomen meum.

20 in synagogis [ait] in Damasco praedicabat cum omni fiducia Jesum, <sup>iu. 12, 9 (11)</sup> quoniam hic est Christus filius dei.

20 ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς [φησὶν] ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἐκήρυσσε μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας τὸν [catena] Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ Χριστός.

idiomatically indeterminate. Vs. 17, for τας χεῖρας of all Greek documents, with (perp) gig vg hel sah (cod W, cent. xii.-xiii.), *manum* is read by h r t pesh sah (codd. BV, cent. iv.). No confident decision is possible, but in both cases τας χεῖρας may perhaps be adopted in agreement with the uniform usage of Acts.

21 For ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ BC Antiochian,

eis ἱερουσαλὴμ NA minn is to be preferred. As in ii. 5, iv. 5, xvi 36, ἐν is probably due to emendation of what seemed unliterary use. In all four cases B, once supported by A and once by 0165, has preserved the earlier text against B. For the use of *en* in this sense in Lk. and Acts see Tischendorf's note on Acts ii. 5.

ροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, συνεβουλευσάντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν·  
 | ἐγνώσθη δὲ τῷ Σαύλῳ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ αὐτῶν. παρετηροῦντο δὲ 24  
 καὶ τὰς πύλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν·  
 λαβόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθήκαν 25  
 αὐτὸν χαλάσαντες ἐν σφυρίδι. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ 26  
 ἐπείραζε κολλᾶσθαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καὶ πάντες ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν,  
 μὴ πιστεύοντες ὅτι ἐστὶν μαθητῆς. Βαρνάβας δὲ ἐπιλαβόμενος 27  
 αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ διηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς  
 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶδεν τὸν κύριον καὶ ὅτι ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῶς ἐν  
 Δαμασκῷ ἐπαρρησιάσατο ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ. καὶ ἦν μετ' 28  
 αὐτῶν εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, παρ-  
 ρησιαζόμενος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου, ἐλάλει τε καὶ συνεζήτει 29  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς· οἱ δὲ ἐπεχείρουν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. ἐπι- 30  
 γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κατήγαγον αὐτόν εἰς Καισαρείαν καὶ ἐξ-  
 ἀπέστειλαν αὐτόν εἰς Ταρσόν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας 31  
 καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομουμένη, καὶ πορευομένη  
 τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος  
 ἐπληθύνετο.

Ἐγένετο δὲ Πέτρον διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων κατελθεῖν καὶ 32  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Λύδδα. εὗρεν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἄν- 33  
 θρωπὸν τινα ὀνόματι Αἰνέαν ἐξ ἑτῶν ὀκτὼ κατακείμενον ἐπὶ  
 30 ἐξαπεστείλεν

Editors 27 του ιησου Soden 32 λυδδα[?] Soden

Old Uncial 24 ημερας τε και νυκτος οπως αυτον ανελωσιν BNC 81 (Nc ανελωσιν αυτον) οπως  
 πιασωσιν αυτον ημερας και νυκτος A 27 τους BNAO αυτους 81 και 3o  
 BNAC 81 om Nc ιησου BO του ιησου N 81 κυριου A 28 εισπορευο-  
 μενος και εκπορευομενος BNAO εκπορευομενος και εισπορευομενος 81 του  
 κυριου BNA 81 +ιησου Nc ιησου O 29 ελληνιστας BNC 81 ελληνας A  
 30 καισαρειαν BNC 81 ιεροσολυμα A αυτον 2o BNC 81 om A 31 του  
 1o BNC om A 81 32 λυδδα BNA λυδδαν O 81 εν λυδδα N

Antiochian 28 αι ημεραι H om οι S 24 σαυλω] παυλω H  
 παρετηρουν HLPSS de και] δε L τε HPSs 25 οι μαθηται  
 αυτου] αυτον οι μαθηται HLPs οι μαθηται S καθηκαν δια του τειχους HLPSS  
 26 δε] +ο σαυλος HLPSS eis] εν HLPs επειραζε] επειρατο HLPSS  
 om μη πιστευοντες S 27 του ιησου HLPSS 28 om και  
 εκπορευομενος HLPs eis] εν Hs add και before παρρησιαζομενος  
 HLPSS του κυριου] +ιησου HLSs 29 αυτον ανελεω HLPSS  
 30 om αυτον 1o L 31 αι μεν ουκ εκκλησiai . . . ειχον . . . οικοδομουμεναι  
 . . . πορευομεναι . . . επληθυνοντο HLPSS 32 λυδδαν HLPSS  
 33 αιωναν ονοματι HLPSS

- 27 ὀνόματι] + κυρίου 1522<sup>corr</sup> minn  
 28 κυρίου] + Ἰησοῦ 8<sup>c</sup>HLPS  
 30 Καισαρείαν] + νυκτός 614 minn  
 31 αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι . . . εἶχον . . . οἰκοδομοῦμεναι . . .  
 πορευόμεναι . . . ἐπληθύνοντο HLPS

23 et cum jam multi dies impleverentur, con[silium] ceperunt Iudaei uti eum h  
 interficerent. 24 notae [autem] Saulae factae sunt cogitationes eorum, quod

30 νυκτος] ✕ nocte ✓

Harclean

25 οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ B<sup>8</sup>AC 81 (perp)  
 vg; αὐτον οἱ μαθηται Antiochian gig e  
 pesh hel sah boh. The readings οἱ  
 μαθηται αὐτον and οἱ μαθηται are each  
 supported by a few minuscules. The  
 weight of the authorities and the  
 transcriptional probability against the  
 reading αὐτον lead necessarily to the  
 rejection of the Antiochian text. But  
 the soundness of our text must remain  
 doubtful unless it can be made to  
 appear natural to describe any Chris-  
 tians at Damascus as 'Paul's disciples.'

29 After ελαλει τε the addition  
*gentibus* vg. *codā* (not perp gig) ethiopic  
 is perhaps not part of the 'Western'  
 text. The suggestion that it is due to  
 a survival of the variant *ελληνας* from  
 the following sentence is possible, but  
 it is not certain that any Greek ms.  
 except A ever contained that variant.

*ελληνιστας* B<sup>8</sup>U 81 pesh Chrys  
 (who explains as τοὺς ἐλληνιστὶ φθεγ-  
 γομένους in distinction from οἱ βαθεῖς  
 Ἑβραῖοι); *ελληνας* A. The word occurs  
 elsewhere in the New Testament only  
 in Acts vi. 1, xi. 20. In vi. 1 no

Greek variant is reported; in xi. 20  
 the support is: *ελληνιστας* B<sup>8</sup>1 (N)  
 Antiochian; *ελληνας* AD. The ver-  
 sions in most cases offer no evidence.  
 In Latin *græci* is the only render-  
 ing for *ελληνισται* in all three cases;  
 similarly sah and boh in all cases  
 employ the usual native word for  
 'Greeks,' which sah also uses for  
*ελληνες* in four cases out of nine in  
 Acts, and boh in all nine instances.  
 Pesh translates by the usual word for  
 'Greeks' in vi. 1, xi. 20, but here in  
 ix. 29 indicates *ελληνιστας* by the free  
 rendering 'those who knew Greek'  
 (cf. Chrys). *ελληνιστας*, as both an  
 unusual word and here better attested,  
 is to be read here. See note on xi. 20.

30 καισαρειαν] + νυκτος 257 431 437  
 614 913 1518 perp gig e (*per noctem*,  
 retranslated in E *δια νυκτος*) vg. 3 *codā*  
 pesh hel ✕ sah.

31 That the 'Western' text read  
*αι μεν ουν εκκλησαι*, with the following  
 verbs in the plural, is indicated by  
 the reading of perp gig Aug. *unū*.  
*eccl.* vg. *codā*.

κραββάτου, ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος· 34  
Αἰνέα, εἰσθαί σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἀνάστηθι καὶ στρώσον σεαυτῷ·  
καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη. καὶ εἶδαν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες 35  
Λυδδα καὶ τὸν Σαρῶνα, οἵτινες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον.

Ἐν Ἰόππῃ δέ τις ἦν μαθήτρια ὀνόματι Ταβειθά, ἣ διερμη- 36  
νευομένη λέγεται Δορκάς· αὕτη ἦν πλήρης ἔργων ἀγαθῶν καὶ  
ἐλεημοσυνῶν ὧν ἐποίει. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις 37  
ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν· λούσαντες δὲ ἔθηκαν ἐν ὑπερῷῳ.  
ἐγγὺς δὲ οὔσης Λυδδας τῇ Ἰόππῃ οἱ μαθηταὶ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι 38  
Πέτρος ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέστειλαν δύο ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτὸν παρα-  
καλοῦντες· Μὴ ὀκνήσης διελθεῖν ἕως ἡμῶν· | ἀναστὰς δὲ Πέτρος 39  
συνῆλθεν αὐτοῖς· ὃν παραγενόμενον ἀνήγαγον εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν,  
καὶ παρέστησαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ χήραι κλαίουσαι καὶ ἐπιδικνύ-  
μεναι χιτῶνας καὶ ἱμάτια ὅσα ἐποίει μετ' αὐτῶν οὕσα ἡ Δορκάς.  
ἐκβαλὼν δὲ ἕξω πάντας ὁ Πέτρος καὶ θείς τὰ γόνατα προστύξατο, 40  
καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς τὸ σῶμα εἶπεν· Ταβειθά, ἀνάστηθι. ἣ  
δὲ ἤνοιξεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν Πέτρον ἀν-  
εκάθισεν. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῇ χεῖρα ἀνέστησεν αὐτήν, φωνήσας δὲ 41  
τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τὰς χήρας παρέστησεν αὐτὴν ζῶσαν. γνωστὸν 42  
δὲ ἐγένετο καθ' ὅλης Ἰόππης, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
κύριον. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς μένειν ἐν Ἰόππῃ παρὰ τινι 43  
Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ.

Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης x

Editura	34 ο χριστος Soden	35 λυδδα[?] Soden	36 αγαθων εργων Soden
	37 add αυτην before εθηκαν Soden	εθηκαν] +αυτην WHmg JHR	42 της
	ιοππης Soden	48 δε] +[αυτων] Soden	
Old Uncial	34 σε BNC 81	+ο κυριος A	χριστος ΠNC ο χριστος B <sup>2</sup> ( <sup>1</sup> )X B <sup>3</sup> Tāf A 81
	35 λυδδα BNA	λυδδαν C 81	τον 1 <sup>ο</sup> BACN <sup>o</sup> 81 om N
	BNA C	σαρωνα 81	36 εργων αγαθων BC
	1 <sup>ο</sup> BNA C	om 81	εθηκαν B
	υπερω B <sup>2</sup> 81	τω υπερω AC	38 λυδδας BNC 81
	39 πετρος BNA 81	ο πετρος C	40 εξω παντας BNA 81
	41 δε 1 <sup>ο</sup> BNC 81	τε A	42 της ιοππης BC
	+αυτων AN <sup>o</sup> 81	ικανας BNA 81	τινας C
			μειναι BNA 81
			+αυτων C
Antiochian	33 κραβαττω HLPs <sup>c</sup>	34 om ιησους H	ο χριστος HLPs <sup>c</sup>
	σεαυτον L	35 λυδδαν HLPs <sup>c</sup>	σαρωνα] ασσαρωνα HIS
	σαρωνα C	36 αγαθων εργων HLPs <sup>c</sup>	37 add αυτην before εθηκαν
	HLPs <sup>c</sup>	38 ο[?] +δε H	om δυο ανδρας HLPs
	ημων] αυτων HLPs <sup>c</sup>	40 om και before θεις LPS <sup>c</sup>	42 της ιοππης
	PS <sup>c</sup> τη ιοππη L	πολλοι επιστευσαν LPS <sup>c</sup>	48 μειναι] +αυτων LPS <sup>c</sup>
	om εν ιοππη L	1 τις] +την P <sup>c</sup>	εκατονταρχης] om L
			εκατονταρχος P

- 34 σε] + ὁ κύριος A minn  
 39 παρέστησαν αὐτῷ] περιέστησαν αὐτὸν 1518  
 42 γνωστὸν δὲ] + τοῦτο 467

- 40 Tabitha, exurge in nomine Jesu Christi.  
 1 Cornelius centurio . . .

Cyprian,  
*Op. et serm.* 6

- 1 [erat enim, inquit, Cornelius hic]

Irenaeus,  
*ih.* 12, 7 (8)

- 37 ἀποθανεῖν] mortua est ✕: quum esset autem Petrus Lyddae ✓  
 40 ἀναστῆθι] surge ✕: in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi ✓

Harclean

34 For καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ πετρος perp reads: *intendens autem in eum petrus dixit ei*, with which sah agrees. Doubtless the true 'Western'.

35 σαβωνα BNAE (NA -pp-); σαβωναν 81 minn. To these correspond *sarona* gig, *saronam* perp e, *sarunas* vg. Antiochian read *ασαβωνα* (*ασαβωνα* P by incomplete correction from *σαβωνα* in ancestor). Perhaps (Zahn) the initial α was prefixed in imitation of the Hebrew article, although the Aramaic

article was already indicated by the final α. See reference to the two spellings in the anonymous onomasticon published in Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacra et profana*, p. 126.

40 ἀναστῆθι] + *in nomine domini nostri iesu christi* hoi ✕: sah Cypr perp gig m vg. *codā* Ambros, in slightly varying forms (cf. iv. 10).

The 'Western' addition of 'immediately' to *ἠρῶξεν* is attested by perp gig m e (B) sah eth.

ἐκ σπείρας τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, εὐσεβῆς καὶ φοβούμενος 2  
τὸν θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς τῷ  
λαῷ καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντός, εἶδεν ἐν ὁράματι φανερώς 3  
ὥσει περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην τῆς ἡμέρας ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθόντα  
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντα αὐτῷ· Κορινθίγιε. ὁ δὲ ἀπενίστας αὐτῷ 4  
καὶ ἔμβοφος γενόμενος εἶπεν· Τί ἐστίν, κύριε; εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ·  
Αἱ προσευχαί σου καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἀνέβησαν εἰς μνημό-  
συνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ νῦν πέμψον ἄνδρας εἰς Ἰόππην 5  
καὶ μετὰπεμφθῆναι Σίμωνά τινα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος· οὗτος 6  
ξενίζεται παρὰ τινι Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ, ᾧ ἐστὶν οἰκία παρὰ θάλασσαν.  
ὥς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν αὐτῷ, φωνήσας δύο τῶν οἰκετῶν 7  
καὶ στρατιώτην εὐσεβῆ τῶν προσκαρτερούντων αὐτῷ | καὶ ἐξ- 8  
ηγησάμενος ἅπαντα αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην.  
τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ὁδοιπορούντων ἐκείνων καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐγγιζόντων 9  
ἀνέβη Πέτρος ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα προσεύξασθαι περὶ ὥραν ἑκτην.  
ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος καὶ ἤθελε γεύσασθαι· παρασκευαζόντων δὲ 10  
αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄν- 11  
εωργμένον καὶ καταβαῖνον σκευὸς τι ὥς ὁθόνην μεγάλην τέσσαρσιν  
ἄρχαῖς καθειμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα 12  
καὶ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ ἐγένετο 13  
φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θύσον καὶ φάγε. ὁ δὲ 14

Editors 9 ἐκεινῶν] αὐτῶν Soden

11 ἀρχαῖς] + δεδεμενον και Soden

Old Uncial 2 θεον B<sup>h</sup>AC αὐριον 81 8 ὥσει BAC<sup>h</sup> ως B<sup>h</sup> 4 αἱ 2<sup>o</sup> B<sup>h</sup>A  
om C 81 eis μνημοσυνον BAC<sup>h</sup> 81 om B<sup>h</sup> ἐμπροσθεν B<sup>h</sup>A 81 ενωπιον C  
5 τινα BAC 81 om B<sup>h</sup> 6 τινι σιμωνι B<sup>h</sup>A 81 σιμωνι τινι C ω B<sup>h</sup>AC  
ως 81 οικια B<sup>h</sup>A 81 η οικια C 8 ἅπαντα αυτοις B<sup>h</sup>A 81 αυτοις  
ἅπαντα C 9 ἐκεινῶν BC αὐτῶν B<sup>h</sup>A 81 ἐκτὴν D<sup>h</sup>AC 81  
ενατην B<sup>h</sup>ο ἐκτὴν τῆς ἡμέρας A 10 ἐκ αὐτον ἐκστασις B<sup>h</sup>A ἐκστασις  
ἐκ αὐτον C om ἐκ αὐτον 81 11 μεγάλην B<sup>h</sup>A 81 om C<sup>h</sup>  
ἀρχαῖς B<sup>h</sup>AC<sup>2</sup> + δεδεμενον και C<sup>h</sup>α 81 τῆς γῆς B<sup>h</sup>AC τὴν γῆν 81  
12 πετεινα B<sup>h</sup>AC<sup>2</sup> 81 τα πετεινα C

Antiochian 2 ποιῶν] + τε LPS<sup>5</sup> 3 om περι LPS<sup>5</sup> 8-4 om κορινθίγι ο δε  
ἀπενίστας αὐτῷ L 4 om αἱ 2<sup>o</sup> S ἐμπροσθεν] ενωπιον LPS<sup>5</sup>  
5 eis ιωπην ἄνδρας LPS<sup>5</sup> om τινα LPS<sup>5</sup> os επικαλεται πετρος]  
τον επικαλουμενον πετρον LPS 6 θαλασσαν] + αυτοις λαλησει σοι τι σε δει  
ποιεω S 7 om ο βασις λαλων LP αὐτῷ 1<sup>o</sup> τῷ κορινθίγι LPS<sup>5</sup>  
οικετῶν] + αὐτον LPS<sup>5</sup> 8 αυτοις ἅπαντα LPS<sup>5</sup> 9 ἐκεινῶν] αὐτῶν L  
10 ἠθελε] ἠλθεν S αὐτῶν] ἐκεινῶν LPS<sup>5</sup> εγενετο 2<sup>o</sup> επεπεσεν LPS<sup>5</sup>  
11 καταβαινον] + εκ αὐτον LPS<sup>5</sup> ἀρχαῖς] + δεδεμενον και LPS<sup>5</sup>  
12 τα τετραποδα και ερπετα τῆς γῆς] τα τετραποδα τῆς γῆς και τα θηρια και τα  
ερπετα LPS<sup>5</sup> τα πετεινα LPS<sup>5</sup>



- X 4 αὐτῷ 1<sup>o</sup>] εἰς αὐτὸν 88 1311  
 Τί ἐστίν] Τίς ἐστὶ 1828  
 5 om τινα  $\aleph$ LPS  
 6 οὗτος . . . βυρσεῖ] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστι ξενιζόμενος πρὸς Σίμωνά  
 τινα βυρσεά 614 minn  
 θάλασσαν] + ὅς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σέ ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ  
 καὶ πᾶς οἰκὸς σου 466 467 (88)  
 9 ἔκτην] + τῆς ἡμέρας A  
 11 καὶ καταβαῖνον . . . γῆς] καὶ τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς δεδεμένον  
 σκευὸς τι ὡς ὁδὸν λαμπρὰν καὶ καθιέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Const.  
 Apost. vi. 12, 6 (cf. 33 minn)

4 et trepidus factus dixit quid est  $\overline{\text{dne}}$  dixit autem ei orationis tuae et elemosynae d  
 ascenderunt in recordatione coram  $\overline{\text{deo}}$  5 et nunc mitte viros in joppen et accersi  
 simonem qui cognominatur petrus 6 hic est ospitans apud simonem pellicionem  
 cujus est domus juxta mare 7 ut autem dicat angelus qui loquebatur ei vocatus  
 duobus famulorum ejus et militem fidelem ex his qui praesto erant 8 enarravit  
 illis visum et misit illos in joppen 9 postera autem die iter illis facientibus et  
 adpropianibus civitati ascendit petrus in cenaculum et horabit circa hora sexta  
 10 factus est autem esuriens et volebat gustare praeparantibus vero ipsis cecidit  
 super eum mentis stupor 11 et vidit caelum apertum ex quattuor principibus  
 ligatum vas quodam et linteum splendidum quod differebatur de caelo in terram  
 12 et erant omnia quadripedia et serpentina et volatilia caeli 13 et facta est vox ad  
 eum petre surge immola et manduca 14 ad illi dixit non  $\overline{\text{dne}}$  quoniam nunquam

2 . . . fuit faciens multas elemosynas in plebem et semper orans deum. *Cyprian, Dom. or. 32*  
 3 . . . huic circa horam nonam oranti adstitit angelus . . . dicens : Corneli,  
 4 . . . orationes tuae et elemosynae tuae ascenderunt ad memoriam coram deo.

2 religiosus, et timens deum cum tota domo sua, et faciens elemosynas *Irenaeus, III. 12, 7 (8)*  
 multas in populo, et orans deum semper. 3 vidit ergo circa horam nonam  
 diei, angelum dei introentem ad se et dicentem : 4 elemosynae tuae  
 ascenderunt in recommemorationem in conspectu dei ; 5 [propter quod] mitte  
 [ad Simonem,] qui vocatur Petrus. [9-15 Petrus autem cum vidisset revelationem  
 in qua respondit ad eum caelestis vox :]

5 τινα] *mg* quendam

11 λαμπρὰν] *mg* splendidum

*Harclean*

11 For καὶ καταβαῖνον . . . ἐπὶ τῆς  
 γῆς the citation in Const. Apost. vi.  
 12, 6 corresponds almost exactly to  
 the Latin of d and doubtless gives sub-  
 stantially the 'Western' reading. A  
 form somewhat like this but nearer the  
 usual text is offered by minn. Cod. 33  
 differs from Const. Apost. only in read-  
 ing μεγαλὴν καταβαῖνον καὶ καθιέμενον  
 instead of λαμπρὰν καὶ καθιέμενον,  
 while perp *gig* Ambr. *spir.* ii. 10 have  
 a Latin text resembling that of d.  
 Note also *hol. mg*. The word δεδεμένον

in Antiochian *pesh* *hol. text* seems to  
 be a 'Western' survival, Clem. Alex.  
 reads ἐκδεδεμένον. The mixed form in  
*hol. text* is noteworthy : *et vas quoddam*  
*devinctum quatuor extremitis velut in-*  
*terum magnum descendens et inclicans*  
*in terram*. Apparently the 'Western'  
 text described the vessel as 'bound by  
 the four corners,' instead of 'lowered  
 by the four corners,' and in consequence  
 of this change dropped καταβαῖνον.  
 The texts with all three participles are  
 conflated. See above, p. xciii, note 1.

Πέτρος εἶπεν· Μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν  
 κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον. καὶ φωνὴ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν· 15  
 "Α ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοῖνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς, 16  
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνελημφθῆ τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ὥς δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ 17  
 διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος τί ἂν εἴη τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδεν, ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ  
 ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου διερωτήσαντες τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ  
 Σίμωνος ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα, καὶ φωνήσαντες ἐπύθοντο 18  
 εἰ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος ἐνθάδε ξενίζεται. τοῦ δὲ 19  
 Πέτρου διενθυμούμενου περὶ τοῦ ὁράματος εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα·  
 Ἴδου ἄνδρες δύο ζητοῦντές σε· | ἀλλὰ ἀναστὰς κατάρθῃ καὶ 20  
 πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρεωόμενος, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀπέσταλκα  
 αὐτούς· | καταβάς δὲ Πέτρος πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶπεν· Ἴδου 21  
 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε· τίς αἰτία δι' ἣν πάρεστε; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· 22  
 Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν  
 θεὸν μαρτυρούμενός τε ὑπὸ ὄλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων,  
 ἐχρηματίσθη ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἀγίου μεταπέμψασθαί σε εἰς τὸν  
 οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ. εἰσκαλεσάμενος 23  
 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐξένυσεν.

Editors	17 αὐτῶ] εαυτῶ WH Soden JHR WHmg Soden [τρεις] WHmg	19 πνεῦμα] +αὐτῶ WHmg Soden ζητοῦσι Soden	ἰδου] καὶ ἰδου JHR WHmg Soden 21 ἡ αἰτία WH Soden JHR	18 ἐκπυθοντο δυο] τρεις Soden
Old Uncial	14 καὶ BNA η C 81 (+D) ἰδου BNA 81 καὶ ἰδου C(+D) BC ἐκπυθοντο NA 81 (+D) δυο B τρεις NAO 81 20 ἐγω BNA C(+D) om 81 αἰτία B η αἰτία NAO 81 (+D)		17 αὐτῶ B εαυτῶ NAO 81 (+D) υπο BNA 81 απο AC(+D) 19 πνεῦμα B +αὐτῶ NAO 81 (cf. D) ζητοῦντες BN 81 ζητοῦσι AC(+D) 21 τοὺς ἀνδρας BNA 81 (+D) αὐτοὺς C	
Antiochian	14 καὶ] η LPSS(+D) εαυτῶ LPSS(+D) om του before σιμωνος LPSS (+D) τρεις 5 21 ο πετρος L(+D) αὐταν (αὐτοὺς S) HBS	16 εὐθυς] παλιν LPSS(+D) ἰδου] καὶ ἰδου LPSS(+D) 18 ἐκπυθοντο LPSS(+D) εἶπεν] +αὐτῶ LPSS(+D) ζητοῦσι HLPSS(+D) ἀνδρας] +τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους απο (+του 5) κορνηλιου προς αὐταν (αὐτοὺς S) HBS η αἰτία HLPSS(+D)	17 αὐτῶ] υπο] απο LPSS(+D) 19 διενθυμου- μενου] δυο] om HLPSS 20 οτι] διοτι LPSS 22 om τε S	

16 With *omne vas hol. mg* cf. *απαντα* minn for *το σκευος*.

17 For *ἰδου BNA 81* the more difficult *καὶ ἰδου C D* perp. e Antiochian is to be preferred.

19 *ἀνδρες δυο B* without support; *ἀνδρες τρεις* (cf. xi. 11) NAO 81 E e g g v g pesh *hol. mg* sah boh; *ἀνδρες D* perp Aug. *gen. ad lict.* xi. 11, Cyr. of Jer.,

etc., Antiochian. The reading *δυο B*, whether original or not, assumes that only the two *οἰκέται* (vs. 7) need be mentioned as responsible messengers, the soldier merely serving as a guard. In spite of the narrow attestation of B alone, this seems more likely to have been the view of the original author than of a scribe. *τρεις* is plainly

- 4, 15 πᾶν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον. φωνήσας δὲ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς  
 16 αὐτόν. Ἄ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοῖνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο  
 17 ἐπὶ τρίς, καὶ ἀνελημφθῆ πάλιν τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ὥς δὲ  
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο, διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος τί ἂν εἴ<η> τὸ ὄραμα ὃ  
 εἶδεν, καὶ εἰδὼν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Κορνηλίου ἐπερω-  
 18 τήσαντες τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα, καὶ  
 φωνήσαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος  
 19 ἐνθάδε ξενίζεται. τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου διενθυμουμένου περὶ τοῦ  
 ὁράματος εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα· Ἴδου ἄνδρες ζητοῦσίν σε·  
 20 ἀλλὰ ἀνάστα, κατὰβηθι καὶ πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρι-  
 21 νόμενος, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀπέσταλκα αὐτούς. τότε καταβὰς ὁ Πέτρος  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶπεν· Ἴδου ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε· τί θέλετε ἢ  
 22 τίς ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν πάρεστε; οἱ δὲ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Κορνηλίος  
 τις ἑκατοντάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν μαρτυ-  
 ρούμενός τε ὑφ' ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐχρηματίσθη  
 ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου μεταπέμψασθαί σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 23 ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ. τότε εἰσαγαγὼν ὁ Πέτρος ἐξένισεν  
 αὐτούς.

15 σοι

21 θελεται

manducavi omne commune et immundum 15 et vox rursus iterato ad eum quae d  
 de mundavit tu noli communicare 16 hoc enim factum est per te et adsumptum  
 est ipsum vas in caelum 17 et dum intra se factus est haesitabat petrus quae esset  
 visio quam viderat et ecce viri qui missi erant a cornelio inquirentes domum simonis  
 adhaeserunt ad januam 18 et cum clamassent interrogabant si simon qui co-  
 gnominatur petrus hic ospitatur. 19 petro autem cogitante de visione dixit ei sps  
 ecce viri quaerunt te 20 sed surge et descende et vade cum eis nihil dubitans quia  
 ego misi eos 21 tunc descendens petrus ad ipsos viros dixit ecce ego sum quam  
 queritis quid vultis quae causa propter quam venistis 22 ad illi dixerunt ad eum  
 cornelius centurio vir justus et timens dm testimonio quoque a tota gente judaeorum  
 responsum accepit ab angelo sancto accersire te in domum suam et audire verba abs  
 te 23 tunc ergo ingressus petrus hospitio excepit eos ac postera die cum surrexisset

15 quae deus emundavit, tu ne commune dixeris.

Iren. iii 12,7 (8);

ἀ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε, σὺ μὴ κοῖνου.

[castens]

16 καὶ ἀνελημφθῆ πάλιν τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] mg et statim receptum est Harolean  
 omne vas in coelum 17 κορνηλίῳ] +mg [quum] appropinquassent et  
 19 διενθυμουμένου] [quum] cogitaret ✕ et haesitaret ✓ αὐτοῖς] +mg tres  
 22 θεοῖς] +mg et

a deliberate transcriptional improve-  
 ment (cf. xi 11), and the same motive  
 would account for the 'Western'  
 and Antiochian omission of duo. Cf.

ix. 38, where Antiochian lacks the  
 superfluous but unobjectionable duo  
 ἀνδρας of B<sup>NA</sup> C 81 E and all the  
 versions.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τινες τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης συνήλθαν αὐτῷ. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον 24 εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Καισαρείαν· ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος ἦν προσδοκῶν αὐτοὺς συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, συναντήσας 25 αὐτῷ ὁ Κορνήλιος πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας προσεκύνησεν. ὁ δὲ 26 Πέτρος ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Ἀνάστηθι· καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπός εἰμι. καὶ συνομειλῶν αὐτῷ εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ εὗρίσκει συνεληλυθότας 27 πολλούς, | ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτούς· Ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν 28 ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφυλῶ· καὶ μοι ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον· | διὸ καὶ ἀναντιρῆτως ἦλθον μεταπεμφθεῖς. πυνθάνομαι οὖν 29 τίνι λόγῳ μετεπέμψασθέ με. καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος ἔφη· Ἀπὸ 30 τετάρτης ἡμέρας μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἤμην τὴν ἐνάτην προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἕστη ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν

Editors	24 εἰσῆλθον Soden	αὐτοὺς 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] αὐτοῦ WH Soden JHR	
Old Uncial	23 ἀναστὰς B <sup>NA</sup> 81 (+D) +ο πετρος C εἰσῆλθον B <sup>NA</sup> C B <sup>NA</sup> 81 αὐτος ἐγὼ C B <sup>NA</sup>	αὐτοὺς 2 <sup>ο</sup> B αὐτοῦ B <sup>NA</sup> C(+D) om 81 28 ο θεος εδειξεν BC 81 (cf. D) 30 ἡμην B <sup>NA</sup> C 81 +ἡστησεων και A <sup>2</sup> (cf. D)	24 εἰσῆλθεν B 81 (+D) 26 ἐγὼ αὐτος εδειξεν ο θεος
Antiochian	23 ἀναστ[α]ς] ο πετρος HLP <sup>S</sup> HLP <sup>S</sup> 25 om του H <sup>S</sup> HP <sup>S</sup> (cf. D) οικω μου L	εἰσῆλθον HL εἰσῆλθον P <sup>S</sup> 26 αὐτον ἡγειρεν HLP <sup>S</sup> +ἡστησεων L ενατην] +ωραν H <sup>1</sup> S <sup>S</sup>	24 τη δε] και τη αὐτοὺς 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] αὐτοῦ HLP <sup>S</sup> (+D) 30 ἡμην] +ἡστησεων και om την ενατην προσευχομενος εν τω

24-27 The 'Western' text has skillfully rewritten these verses (notably vs. 25) in order to present a completely continuous narrative. D d is supported by g g hol mg and in part by perp and other Latin codices. See Corssen, *Gotting. gel. Anzeiger*, 1898, pp 437 ff.

26 ἀναστηθι] τι ποιεῖς (cf. vii. 26, xiv. 15) D d hol mg and, with confusion of both phrases, perp w prov vg.codd. Some of the last mentioned Latin texts, and prov, add *deum adora* (cf. Rev. xix. 10) either before ἀναστηθι or at the end of the verse.

27 D d omits συνομειλῶν without any corresponding substitute, but it is found in perp g g, and need not be regarded as a 'Western non-interpolation.'

30 The use of ἀπό and μέχρι here to indicate the point of time when

the angel appeared to Cornelius must be explained on linguistic grounds, whether vulgar Greek or Samitic (cf. C. C. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 34 f.), not by arbitrary reconstruction of the text (Blass conjectures τεταρτην ημεραν ταυτην). The added ἡστησεων and the following copula (τε or και) D Antiochian g g pesh hol sah is a 'Western' expansion of familiar type. της τριτης D d (*misinterpretation*) for τεταρτης of all other witnesses is merely a different way of counting days (i.e. by not including the current day). αρτι for ταυτης is a matter of taste. E e while taking ἀπό and μέχρι in their normal sense, tried to attain a meaning for the whole on the basis of the Antiochian text by adding ἀπο εκτης ωρας (cf. vs. 9), altering την ενατην to εως ενατης, and improving the order

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τινες τῶν  
 24 ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης συνῆλθαν αὐτῷ. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς  
 Καισαρίαν· ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος ἦν προσδεχόμενος αὐτούς, καὶ συνκαλε-  
 σάμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους περι-  
 25 ἔμεινεν. προσεγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰς τὴν Καισαρίαν  
 προδραμῶν εἰς τῶν δούλων διεσάφησεν παραγεγονέναι αὐτόν. ὁ  
 δὲ Κορνήλιος ἐκπηδήσας καὶ συναντήσας αὐτῷ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς  
 26 πόδας προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἤγειρεν αὐτόν λέγων·  
 27 τί ποιεῖς; κἀγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὡς καὶ σύ. καὶ εἰσελθὼν τε  
 28 καὶ εἶρεν συνελθλυθότας πολλούς, | ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτούς· Ὑμεῖς  
 βέλτιον ἐφίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιστόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι  
 ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄλλοφύλῳ· κἀμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπέδειξεν μηδεὶς να  
 29 κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον· διὸ καὶ ἀναντιρῶτως ἦλθον  
 μεταπεμφθεῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν. πυνθάνομαι οὖν τίني λόγῳ μετεπέμ-  
 30 ψασθέ με. καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος ἔφη· Ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας μέχρι  
 τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας ἤμην νηστεύων τὴν ἐνάτην τε προσευχόμενος ἐν  
 τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἔστη ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν ἐσθῇτι λαμπρᾷ

23 ιοππην

28 ἐφίστασθαι

29 μετεπεμψασθαι

exhibit eum eis et quidam fratrum qui ab joppen simul venerunt cum eo 24 postero d  
 quoque die ingressus est caesaream cornelius vero erat expectans eos et convocatis  
 cognatis suis et necessariis amicis sustinuit 25 cum adpropinquaret autem petrus in  
 caesaream praecurrens unus ex servis nuntiavit venisse eum cornelius autem exiens  
 et obviens factus est ei procidens ad pedes ejus adoravit eum 26 vero petrus levabit  
 eum dicens quid facis et ego homo sum quomodo et tu 27 et introibit et invenit  
 convenisse multos 28 atque ad eos vos melius scitis ut nefas sit viro judaeo  
 adherere aut accedere ad allophyllum et mihi deus ostendit neminem communem aut  
 immundum dicere hominem 29 propter quod et sine cunctatione veni transmissus  
 a vobis interrogo ergo qua ratione accersisti me 30 et cornelius ait a nusteriana  
 die usque in hunc diem eram jejunans et nona oravam in domo mea et ecce vir

28 dominus mihi dixit neminem hominum communem dicendum et Cyprian,  
 immundum. Ep. 64, 6

28 ipsi scitis quoniam non est fas viro Judaeo adjungi aut convenire cum Irenaeus,  
 allophylo; mihi autem deus ostendit neminem communem aut immundum In. 12, 15 (18);  
 dicere hominem: 29 quapropter sine contradictione veni.

24 εἰσῆλθεν] mg introierunt 24, 25 περιεμεινεν προσεκυνησεν αυτον προς Harleian  
 τους ποδας] mg sustinuit. quum appropinquasset autem Petrus Caesaream,  
 praecourrit quidam ex servis et nuntiavit quod veniret. ipse autem Cornelius  
 exiit et occurrit et cecidit ad pedes ejus—et procidit ✓ 26 τι ποιεῖς]  
 mg quid facis 30 αγγελ] mg angelus

of words, thus: απο τεταρτης ημερας προσευχομενος απο εκτης ωρας εως ενατης  
 μεχρι ταυτης της ωρας ημην νηστευων και εν τω οικω μου, και ιδου, κτλ.

ἐσθῆτι λαμπρῇ | καὶ φησι· Κορνῆλιε, εἰσηκούσθη σου ἡ προσευχή 31  
καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύνη σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· πέμψον 32  
οὖν εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετακάλεσαι Σίμωνα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος·  
οὗτος ξενίζεται ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος βυρσέως παρὰ θάλασσαν.  
ἐξαυτῆς οὖν ἐπεμψα πρὸς σέ, σύ τε καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενό- 33  
μενος. νῦν οὖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ πάρεσμεν ἀκοῦσαι  
πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. ἀνοίξας δὲ Πέτρος 34  
τὸ στόμα εἶπεν· Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν  
προσωπολήμπτῃς ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν 35  
καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστίν. τὸν λόγον 36  
ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰς κήρυγν διὰ  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος. οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον 37  
ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας  
μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάννης, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, 38  
ὡς ἔχρεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει, ὃς διηλθεν  
30 αἰσθητὶ 37 κηρυγμα

Editors	32 θαλασσαν] +ος παραγενομενος λαλησει σοι Soden	38 ουν] ιδου JHR
	του θεου] σου JHR om παρεσμεν JHR 36 λογον] +ον WHmg	
	Soden 37 add υμεις before οιδετε WH Soden JHR	αρεσαμενον
	Soden κηρυγμα] βαπτισμα WH Soden JHR	
Old Uncial	32 εν οικια σιμωνος βυρσεως BNA 81 (+D) παρα τινι σιμωνι βυρσει C	
	θαλασσαν BNA 81 +ος παραγενομενος λαλησει σοι C(+D) 33 τε BNC 81	
	γε A παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι BNC 81 τα προστεταγμενα σοι παντα A	
	υπο BN 81 απο AON(+D) του 2ο BNAO(+D) om 81 34 στομα	
	BN 81 (+D) +αυτου AON 35 εστιν BNC 81 (+D) εσται A 36 τον	
	BNAO <sup>vid</sup> 81 +γαρ ONA(+D) λογον BNA 81 +ον NC(+D)	
	ειρηνην B 37 οιδετε B υμεις οιδετε NAC 81 (+D) γενομενον	
	BNA 81 (+D) γενονος C αρεσαμενος BNC +γαρ A(+D) αρεσαμενον 81	
	κηρυγμα (B) βαπτισμα BNAO 81 (+D) 38 os BACN 81 ως N	
Antiochian	32 θαλασσαν] +ος παραγενομενος λαλησει σοι HLPSS(+D)	33 κυριου]
	θεου HLPSS(+D) 36 λογον] +ον HLPSS(+D) ειρηνην] δικαιοσυνην S	
	37 add υμεις before οιδετε HLPSS(+D) αρεσαμενον LPSS κηρυγμα]	
	βαπτισμα HLPSS(+D) 38 add εν before πνευματι L	

38 ιδου, with omission of παρεσμεν, D pesh sah may be preferable to the reading ουν of the B-text; note the Semitism.

σου D d vg pesh sah may be preferable to the more religious phrase του θεου.

36 τον λογον απεστειλεν BNA 81 vg; τοις υιους σιμωνος πετρου εἰς κηρυγμα, τον λογον ον απεστειλεν N E e Antiochian; τον γαρ λογον αυτου απεστειλεν 614 pcp t va vg.codd; τον γαρ λογον ον απεστειλεν

Und D pesh hel. γαρ and ον seem to be different attempts at amelioration, although in the case of ον transcriptional change might perhaps have worked in either direction. Note that ον was probably struck out in N before the codex was issued from the scriptorium. 'His' with λογον, found frequently in versions (Latin, Sahidic), need not imply a different Greek text (but cf. 614).

37 αρεσαμενος BNAODHE; αρεσαμενον

- 31 | καὶ φησιν· Κορηήλιε, εἰσηκούσθη σου ἡ προσευχὴ καὶ αἱ ἐλεη-  
 32 μοσύναι σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· πέμψον οὖν εἰς  
 Ἰόππην καὶ μετακάλεσαι Σίμωνα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος·  
 οὗτος ξενίζεται ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος βυρσέως παρὰ θάλασσαν, ὃς  
 33 παραγενόμενος λαλήσει σοι. ἐξαυτῆς οὖν ἐπεμψα πρὸς σέ  
 παρακαλῶν ἔλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, σὺ δὲ καλῶς ἐποίησας ἐν τάχει  
 παραγενόμενος. νῦν κἰδοὺ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐνώπιόν σου, ἀκούσαι  
 34 βουλόμενοι παρὰ σοῦ τὰ προστεταγμένα σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀνοί-  
 ξας δὲ τὸ στόμα Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβανόμενος  
 35 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνι ὁ  
 φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ  
 36 ἐστίν. τὸν γὰρ λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εὐαγ-  
 γελιζόμενος εἰρήνην διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων  
 37 κύριος) | ὑμεῖς οἴδατε, τὸ γινόμενον καθ' ὅλης Ἰουδαίας, ἀρχά-  
 μενος γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν  
 38 Ἰωάννης, | Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὃν ἔχρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἁγίῳ πνεύ-  
 ματι καὶ δυνάμει· οὗτος διήλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ εἰώμενος πάντας

## 38 εὐωμενας

stetit in conspecto meo in veste splendida 31 et ait corneli exaudita est oratio tua et d  
 aelemosynae tuae in mente habitae sunt in conspectu dī 32 mitte ergo in joppen et  
 accersa simonem qui cognominatur petrus hic hospitat in domum simonis pelionis  
 juxta mare qui cum venerit loquatur tibi 33 e vestigio ergo nūq̄ ad te rogando  
 venire te ad nos tu autem bene fecisti in brevi advenire nunc ergo nos omnes in  
 conspectu tuo audire volumus a te quae praecepta sunt tibi a dō 34 aperiens autem  
 os petrus dixit in veritate expedior quia non est personarum acceptor dñs 35 sed in  
 omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iustitiam acceptus est ei 36 verbum suum  
 misit filius israhel evangelizare pacem per ih̄m xp̄m hic est omnium dñs 37 vos  
 scitis quid factum est per totam judaeā cum coepisset enim a galilaea post baptismum  
 quod praedicavit johannes 38 ih̄m a nazareth quem unxit dñs sancto sp̄o et virtute  
 hic pergressus est benefaciens et sanans omnes qui obtenebantur a diabolo quia dñs

34 in veritate comperi quoniam non est personarum acceptor deus, 35 sed in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iustitiam acceptabilis ei est.

Iranaeus,  
 III. 12, 7 (8)  
 cf. IV. 27, 1

37 vos scitis quod factum est verbum per omnem Judaeam, inopiens enim a Galilaea post baptismum quod praedicavit Johannes, 38 Jesum a Nazareth quemadmodum unxit eum deus spiritu sancto et virtute: ipse circumvivit benefaciens et curans omnes qui oppressi erant a diabolo, quoniam deus erat

31 φησιν] dicit \* mihi <  
 ut venires ad nos <

33 παρακαλῶν ελθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς] \* rogans Harleian  
 36 γὰρ] \* enim <

Antiochian (attempt to improve grammar). Cf. Lk. xxiii. 5, xxiv. 47 (note vv. 11.), Acts i. 22, for noteworthy instances of this Aramaism,

and see Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 25-28.

D d omit ρημα ('matter'), thereby avoiding the Semitism.

εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες πάντων 39  
 ὧν ἐποίησεν ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ· ὃν  
 καὶ ἀνείλαν κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου. τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν τῇ 40  
 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι, οὐ παντὶ τῷ 41  
 λαῷ ἀλλὰ μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 ἡμῖν, οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆ-  
 ναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· καὶ παρήγγελεν ἡμῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ 42  
 διαμαρτύρασθαι ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς  
 ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν, 43  
 ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν  
 πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν. ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα 44  
 ταῦτα ἐπέπεσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας  
 τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ οἱ συνῆλθαι 45  
 τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ  
 ἁγίου ἐκκέχυται· ἤκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαλούντων γλώσσαις καὶ 46  
 μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν. τότε ἀπεκρίθη Πέτρος· | Μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ 47  
 δύναται κολῦσαί τις τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι τούτους οἵτινες τὸ

Editors 39 ἱερουσαλημ] εν ιερουσαλημ Soden  
 πνευματος του αγιου] αγιου πνευματος Soden

45 οι 2<sup>ο</sup>] σοι WHmg Soden JHR  
 47 κολῦσαι δυναται Soden mg

Old Uncial 39 ημεῖς BNC 81 υμεῖς A(+D)  
 NA<sup>26</sup> 81 40 ηγειρεν BAA<sup>26</sup> 81 +εν NC  
 BNA 81 (+D) ημιν υπο του θεου C  
 42 ουτος BC(+D) αυτος NA 81  
 45 οι 2<sup>ο</sup> B σοι NA 81 (+D)  
 αγιου πνευματος NA 81

ιερουσαλημ B(+D) εν ιερουσαλημ  
 41 υπο του θεου ημιν  
 συνεφαγομεν BNA 81 (+D) +αυτω C  
 44 επεπεσε BN 81 επεσε A(+D)  
 πνευματος του αγιου B (cf. D)

Antiochian 39 ημεῖς] +εσμεν HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 οἱ καὶ αὐτὸς εν 5 42 ουτος] αυτος H(L')PSS<sup>c</sup>  
 45 οι 2<sup>ο</sup>] σοι HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)  
 46 ο πετρος HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)

ιερουσαλημ] εν ιερουσαλημ HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 43 τούτῳ] τούτων HL  
 πνευματος του αγιου] αγιου πνευματος HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 47 κολῦσαι δυναται τις HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

40 (εν) τη τριτη ημερα] μετα την  
 τριτην ημεραν D d t D d show a  
 similar variation of text in Matt. xvi.  
 21, xvii. 29, as do also the Latin  
 codices a k (but not D d) in Mk. viii.  
 81; see J. E. Harria, *Codex Bezae*,  
 1891, pp. 81 f.

41 The addition of 'forty days'  
 (D d hal. ✕) is found also in E e perp

gig t vg.codd sah Vigilinus Const.  
 Apost. vi. 80.

46 To the erased words of D corre-  
 spond in d: *πρασαντικαῖς ἰσχυρῶς et*  
*μαγιστικαῖς* (i.e. *ετεραις* (?) *γλωσσῶν*  
*και μεγαλυνοντων*). Most Latin texts  
 lack *πρασαντικαῖς* altogether; vg.cod.  
*αράματα* reads *varias* (cf. *pesch*),  
 Rebapt *suīs*, sah 'other.'



τοὺς καταδυναστευθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὧν καὶ ἀνείλαν κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου. τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι, οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἀλλὰ μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμεῖν, οἵτινες συνεφέγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ καὶ συνκ'αν>εστράφημεν μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡμέρας μ'. καὶ ἐνετείλατο ἡμεῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν, ἄφ' ἑσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πνέοντα εἰς αὐτόν. ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἔπescen τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ ὅσοι συνῆλθον τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐκκέχυται· ἡκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαλούντων [ . . . . . καὶ μεγαλυνόντων] τὸν θεόν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· | Μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ κωλ<υ>σ'αί τις δύναται τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι αὐτοὺς οἵτινες τὸ

39 ἡμεῖς] υμεις

erat cum illo 39 et nos testes ejus quae fecit in regione judaeorum et hierusalem d quem etiam interfecerunt suspensum in ligno 40 hunc dñs suscitavit post tertium diem et dedit ei manifestum fieri 41 non omni populo sed testibus praedestinati a dō nobis qui simul manducavimus et simul bibimus cum eo et conversi sumus postquam surrexit a mortuis dies xl 42 et praecipit nobis praedicare populo et protestari quia ipse est qui praestitus est a dō judex vivorum et mortuorum 43 huic omnes prophetae testimonium peribent remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnem qui credit in eum 44 adhuc loquente petro verba haec cecidit ip̄s sanctus super omnes qui audiebant verbum 45 et obstupefacti sunt qui erant ex circumcisio fideles qui simul venerunt cum petro quia et super gentes donum sp̄s sancti effusum est 46 audiebant enim eos loquentes praevaricatiis linguis et magnificantes dñm dixit autem petrus 47 numquid aliquis aquam

cum eo. 39 et nos testes omnium eorum quae fecit et in regione Judaeorum et in Hierusalem; quem interfecerunt suspendentes in ligno. 40 hunc deus exaltavit tertis die, et dedit eum manifestum fieri, 41 non omni populo, sed testibus nobis praedestinati a deo, qui cum eo et manducavimus et bibimus post resurrectionem a mortuis; 42 et praecipit nobis adnuntiare populo et testificari quoniam ipse est praedestinus a deo iudex vivorum et mortuorum. 43 huic omnes prophetae testimonium reddunt remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnem credentem in eum.

47 numquid aliquis aquam vetare potest ad baptizandum hos qui

ih. 12, 15 (18)

μήτις τὸ ὕδωρ κωλῆσαι δύναται τούτους, ὡς

39 ov] quem ✕ rejeceerunt Judaei ✓

41 καὶ συναεστράφημεν ἡμεῖς Harclean

μ] et versati sumus ✕ cum eo dies quadraginta ✓

46 καὶ μεγαλυνόντων]

test et magnificantes (?), mg et glorificantes

πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς; προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς 48  
ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι. τότε ἠρώτησαν  
αὐτὸν ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας τινάς.

Ἦκουσαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὄντες κατὰ τὴν xi  
Ἰουδαίαν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅτε δὲ 2  
ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ  
περιτομῆς | λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας 3  
καὶ συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς. ἀρξάμενος δὲ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς 4  
καθεξῆς λέγων· Ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν πόλει Ἰόππῃ προσευχόμενος καὶ 5  
εἶδον ἐν ἑκστάσει ὄραμα, καταβαῖνον σκευὸς τι ὡς ὀθόνην μεγάλην  
τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιεμένην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν ἄχρῃ ἐμοῦ·  
εἰς ἣν ἀτενίσας κατενόουν καὶ εἶδον τὰ τετράποδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ 6  
θηρία καὶ τὰ ἔρπετά καὶ τὰ πετεωὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ 7

Editors 1 ἤκουσαν δε οἱ ἀποστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ] ακουσαν δε εγενετο τοις ἀποστολοις  
καὶ τοις ἀδελφοῖς JHR 2 ἱεροσολυμα Soden 3 εισηλθες WHmg  
Soden (but cf. mg) JHR συνεφαγες WHmg Soden (but cf. mg) JHR

ld Unclal 48 δε B<sup>81</sup> 81 τε A αυτοὺς B 81 (+D) αυτοὺς B<sup>81</sup> A ονοματι B<sup>81</sup> A  
+του κυριου 81 (+D) 3 εισηλθεν B 81 εισηλθες B<sup>81</sup> A (+D) συνεφαγεν  
B 81 συνεφαγες B<sup>81</sup> A (+D) 5 προσευχομενος B<sup>81</sup> A<sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om B<sup>81</sup>  
καταβαινον σκευος τι B<sup>81</sup> A (+D) σκευος τι καταβαινων 81

thoehian 47 ως] καθως HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 48 δε] τε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> εν τω ονοματι  
ιησου χριστου βαπτισθημαι] βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D)  
2 στε δε] και στε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ιεροσολυμα HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) 3 προς  
ανδρας ακροβυστιαν εχοντας εισηλθες (-εν L) και συνεφαγες (-εν L) HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D)  
4 ο πετρος HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om καθεξης L 6 om της γης HPS  
ερπετα] +της γης H 7 om και 1<sup>ο</sup> HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

1-2 The rewritten 'Western' text of vs 1, 2 is transmitted on the whole more completely in D d than in any of the Latin or Syriac witnesses, which, however, are numerous and contain large parts of it. Vs. 1, for οἱ D should perhaps be read τοῖς; for ἐδέξαντο possibly ἐδέξαντο. After τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ the addition, not found in D d, of καὶ ἐδοξάζον (ἐδοξάζαν<sup>τ</sup>) τὸν θεόν (cf. xi. 18, xxi. 20) is adequately attested for the 'Western' text by perpc<sup>1</sup> gig vg. codd<sup>1</sup> hol-<sup>x</sup>. Vs. 2, at some point after ἐρωτησάμενος an omitted verb (ἐξηλθεν<sup>τ</sup>) seems to be attested by perpc<sup>1</sup> vg. codd<sup>1</sup> hol-<sup>x</sup>. For κατηρτισεν αὐτοὺς the conjecture of Zahn, κατηρτισεν αὐτοῦ, commends itself, but beginning with οὐ καὶ the testimony of the versions (except d) fails. A few other minor variants require no

mention. The Latin authorities for the 'Western' expansion in vs. 2 have a form abbreviated to a less degree than hol-<sup>x</sup> but in somewhat the same way.

1 The reading of D (substantially confirmed by pesh): ακουσαν δε εγενετο τοις ἀποστολοις καὶ τοις ἀδελφοῖς is more Semitic than the B-text. Cf. LXX Gen. xiv. 2, Is. xxiii. 5, xlviii. 3, 20; ακουσαν does not occur in N.T. D may here have the original text.

2 προσφωνήσας D may be an error for προσφώνησαι, cf. hol-<sup>x</sup> λογί<sup>1</sup>; but the Latin witnesses agree with D.

κατηρτισεν αὐτοὺς D is hardly tolerable; possibly αὐτοὺς is a mistake for αὐτοῦ (Zahn), but more probably it is due to the Latin *eis* of d.

3 εισηλθετ, συνεφαγες B<sup>81</sup> A<sup>81</sup> Anti-oehian perpc<sup>1</sup> gig vg hol. mg sah boh;

48 πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς; τότε προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τότε παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμεῖναι ἡμέρας τινάς.

XI Ἀκουστὸν δὲ ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οἱ  
2 ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτούς, πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος, διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδάσκων αὐτούς· ὃς καὶ κατήχητησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπήγγιλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοὶ διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν  
3 | λέγοντες ὅτι Εἰσηλθὲς πρὸς ἀνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ  
4 συνέφαγες σὺν αὐτοῖς. ἀρξάμενος δὲ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς  
5 τὰ κατεξῆς λέγων· Ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν Ἰόππῃ πόλει προσευχόμενος καὶ εἶδον ἐκστασίει ὄραμα, καταβαῖνον σκευὸς τι ὡς θόβητην  
6 μεγάλην τέτρασιν ἀρχαῖς καθιεμένην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν ἕως ἐμοῦ· εἰς ἣν ἀτενίσας κατενόουν καὶ εἶδον τετράποδα τῆς  
7 γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ

2 ἠθελῆσαι

6 ἀτενίσας

prohibere potest ut baptizentur isti qui spm̄ sanctum acceperunt sicut et nos d  
48 tunc praecepit eos baptizari in nomine dñi ihu xpi tunc rogaverunt eum ad eos demorari dies aliquos

1 audito vero apostoli et fratres qui erant in iudeam quia et gentes exceperunt verbum dñi 2 quidem ergo petrus per multo tempore voluit proficisci in hierosolyma et convocavit fratres et confirmavit eos multum verbum faciens per civitates docens eos quia et obviavit eis et enuntiavit eis gratiam dñi quia erant de circumcissione fratres iudicantes ad eum 3 dicentes quia introisti ad viros praeputia habentes et simul manducasti cum eis 4 incipiens autem petrus exponebat eis per ordinem dicens 5 ego eram in ioppen civitate orans et vidi in mentis stupore visum descendere vas quoddam velut linteum magnum quattuor principibus dimittebatur de caelo et venit usque ad me 6 in quod intuitus considerabat et vidi quadrupes terrae et vestias et repentina et volatilia caeli 7 et audiavi vocem dicentem mihi

47 sp̄ritum sanctum acceperunt quemadmodum et nos!

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς,

Irenaeus  
[catena]

2 ο μὲν οὖν πέτρος . . . διδάσκων αὐτοὺς] ✕ et benedicebant deo. ipse Hierosolymam et loqui fratribus; et quum confirmasset, proleclus est — et ✓ docuit eos ✓ 3 εἰσηλθες, καὶ συνέφαγες] my ingressus sis et edem 5 μεγάλην] my splendidum

εἰσηλθεν, συνέφαγεν B 81 L minū push hcl. text. The B-text is due to the failure to recognize οτι as direct interrogative ('why?'), hence is

inferior. Cf perp gig vg and hcl. text ('propter').

5 With hcl. my cf. perp splendidum magnū.

φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι· Ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θύσον καὶ φάγε. εἶπον 8  
 δέ· Μηδამῶς, κύριε, ὅτι κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν  
 εἰς τὸ στόμα μου. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ἐκ δευτέρου φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· 9  
 Ἄ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοῖνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρεῖς, καὶ 10  
 ἀνεσπάσθη πάλιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ ἰδὼν ἑξ' αὐτῆς 11  
 τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ ἦμεν, ἀπεσταλμένοι  
 ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πρὸς με. εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς 12  
 μηδὲν διακρίναντα. ἦλθον δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἑξ' ἀδελφοὶ οὗτοι,  
 καὶ εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπήγγειλεν δὲ ἡμῖν 13  
 πῶς εἶδεν τὸν ἄγγελον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ σταθέντα καὶ εἰπόντα·  
 Πέμψον εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετάπεμψαι Σίμωνα τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον  
 Πέτρον, ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σέ ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ 14  
 οἶκός σου. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαί με λαλεῖν ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ 15  
 ἁγίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. ἐμνήσθη δὲ τοῦ 16  
 ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν· Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. εἰ οὖν τὴν ἰσὴν 17  
 δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην δυνατὸς καλῶσαι τὸν θεόν;  
 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡσύχασαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες· 18  
 Ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν.

Editors 9 φωνη εκ δευτερου WHmg Soden 11 ημην WHmg Soden JHR  
 12 μοι το πνευμα Soden 13 ειποντα] +[αυτω] Soden πεμψον]  
 αποστειλον WH Soden JHR

Old Uncial 9 εκ δευτερου φωνη B φωνη εκ δευτερου BNA 81 11 ημεν BNA(+D)  
 ημην 81 12 διακριναντα BAH<sup>o</sup> 81 διακρινοντα B εξ BNA(+D)  
 +οι 81 13 πεμψον B αποστειλον BNA 81 (+D) 14 ο BNA(+D)  
 om 81 16 εμνησθη B<sup>o</sup> 81 (+D) εμνησθημεν A ελεγεν BNA 81  
 (+D) +οτι B<sup>o</sup> 17 εδωκεν BA 81 (+D) δεδωκεν B τις BNA(+D)  
 om 81 18 εδοξασαν B<sup>o</sup> 81 εδοξαζον A

Antiochian 8 οτι] +παν HLPSS 9 δε] +μοι HLPSS (cf. D) φωνη εκ δευτερου  
 HLPSS 10 om δε H παλιν ανεσπασθη HLPSS 11 ημην  
 HLPSS 12 μοι το πνευμα HLPSS διακρινομενον HLPSS  
 13 δε] γε HLPSS ειποντα] +αυτω HLPSS(+D) πεμψον] αποστειλον  
 HLPSS(+D) ιοππην] +ανδρας HLPSS 16 om του 2<sup>o</sup> HLPSS  
 17 εγω] +δε HLPSS 18 εδοξαζον HLPSS αρα] αραγε HLPSS  
 εδωκεν εις ζωην HLPSS

11 ημην 81 Antiochian, all versions;  
 ημεν BNA D vg 2 coad. This purely  
 accidental change of ημην to ημεν seems  
 to have been an early occurrence; the  
 versions point to the true reading.

12 Om μηδεν διακριναντα D d pers  
 hel. For διακρινομενον B E Antiochian

e (*dubitanti*) vg (*haesitante*) of. x. 20.  
 That the text of B is a conformation  
 to x. 20 is made less likely by the  
 active voice and telling force of the  
 participle.

17 D d vg, om coa Rebat Aug. trm  
 xv. 19, 35 omit ο θεος. This may be

ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγουσάν μοι· Ἀνάστα, Πέτρε, θύσον καὶ φάγε.  
 8 εἶπα δέ· Μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι κοινὸν ἡ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε  
 9 εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου. ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 10 πρὸς με· Ἄ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοίνου. τοῦτο δὲ  
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς, καὶ ἀνεσπάσθη πάλιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.  
 11 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἑξαυτῆς ὅ ἄνδρες ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ ἦμεν,  
 12 ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Καισαραίας πρὸς με. εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι  
 συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἦλθον σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἕξ ἀδελφοὶ οὗτοι, καὶ  
 13 εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπήγγελεν δὲ ἡμῖν πῶς  
 εἶδεν ἄγγελον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ σταθέντα καὶ εἰπόντα αὐτῷ·  
 Ἀπόστειλον εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετάπεμψαι Σίμωνα τὸν ἐπικαλού-  
 14 μενον Πέτρον, ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σέ ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ  
 15 καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκός σου. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαί με λαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισεν  
 16 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. ἐμνή-  
 σθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν· Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπ-  
 17 τισεν ὕδατι ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. εἰ  
 οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν πιστεῦσασιν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ τίς ἡμῖν δυνατὸς κωλύσαι τὸν  
 θεὸν τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον πιστεῦσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ;  
 18 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡσύχασαν καὶ ἐδόξαζαν τὸν θεὸν λέγον-  
 τες· Ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν.

16 βαπτισθῆσθαι

surgens petre immola et manduca 8 dixit autem absit dñs quia commune et d  
 imundum numquam introibit in os meum 9 respondit vero vox de caelo ad me  
 quae dñs mundavit tu noli communicare 10 hoc autem factum est per ter et sublata  
 sunt iterum omnia in caelo 11 et ecce statim tres viri supervenerunt ad domum  
 in qua erant missi a caesarea ad me 12 et dixit sps mihi simul venire cum eis  
 veneruntque mecum etiam sex fratres isti et introibimus in domum ipsius viri  
 13 adnuntiavit autem nobis quomodo vidit angelum in domo sua stesisse et dixisse  
 ei mitte in joppen et accersa simonem qui cognominatur petrus 14 qui loquebatur  
 verba ad te in quibus salvus fies et omnis domus tua 15 et dum coepisset loqui eis  
 cecidit sps sanctus super eos sicut super nos in principium 16 recordatus sum  
 verbum dñi sicut dicebat johannes quidem baptizavit aqua vos autem baptizandum spō  
 sancto 17 si autem aequalem donum dedit eis sicut nobis credentibus in dñm ih̄m  
 xp̄m ego quis eram qui possim prohibere dñm ut non daret eis sp̄m sanctum credenti-  
 bus in eum 18 cum autem audissent haec siluerunt et clarificaverunt dñm dicentes

17 του μη δοῦναι αυτοις πνευμα ἁγιον πιστευσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ] ✕ ut non daret eis *Hardean*  
 spiritum sanctum, quum credidissent in dominum Jesum Christum ✓

right, but is more probably due to the  
 'Western' reviser's view that the Holy  
 Spirit was the gift of Christ.

Like *hol. x. vg. cod.* reads *in domi-*  
*num Jesum Christum*; cf. *vg. codd.* in  
*nomine Jesu Christi*, and *Bohemian*.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς θλείψεως τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ 19  
 Στεφάνῳ διήλθον ἕως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας,  
 μηδενὶ λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίους. ἦσαν δὲ 20  
 τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, οἵτινες ἐλθόντες  
 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς, εὐαγγελιζό-  
 μενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ἦν χεὶρ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν, πολὺς 21  
 τε ἀριθμὸς ὁ πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον. ἠκούσθη δὲ 22  
 ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ περὶ  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν Βαρνάβαν ἕως Ἀντιοχείας· ὃς παρα- 23  
 γεόμενος καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐχάρη καὶ παρεκάλει  
 πάντας τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας προσμένειν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι 24  
 ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως. καὶ  
 προσετέθη ὄχλος ἱκανός. ἐξῆλθεν δὲ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀναστῆσαι 25  
 Σαῦλον, | καὶ εὗρον ἦγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ 26

Editors 21 [ο] Soden 22 βαρναβαν] +[διελθειν] Soden 23 [την 2<sup>ο</sup>] Soden  
 [σ] WH om εν Soden JHR 24 ικανος] +τω κυριω WH Soden JHR  
 25 αναστησαι] αναζητησαι WH Soden JHR

Old Uncial 19 στεφανω B<sup>8</sup> 81 στεφανου A (cf D) ιουδαιοι BA 81 ιουδαιοι B<sup>8</sup>  
 20 και 2<sup>ο</sup> B<sup>8</sup> 81 om B<sup>8</sup> (+D) ελληνιστας B 81 ευαγγελιστας B<sup>8</sup> ελληντας  
 A<sup>8</sup> (+D) 22 ουσης B<sup>8</sup> 81 om A (+D) 23 την 2<sup>ο</sup> B<sup>8</sup> 81 om 81 (+D)  
 εν B om A 81 (+D) 24 ην ανηρ BA 81 (+D) ανηρ ην B<sup>8</sup> ικανος B  
 +τω κυριω B<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) 25 ταρσον B<sup>8</sup> 81 +ο βαρναβας 81 αναστησαι  
 B αναζητησαι B<sup>8</sup> 81 (cf. D) 26 και ενιαυτον B<sup>8</sup> 81 ενιαυτον 81 (cf. D)

Antiochian 20 ελθοντες] εισελθοντες HPS<sup>5</sup> om και 2<sup>ο</sup> HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) 21 om  
 ο HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) 22 om ουσης HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) ιεροσολυμαις HLP<sup>8</sup>  
 βαρναβαν] +διελθειν HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) 23 om την 2<sup>ο</sup> HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D)  
 om εν HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) 24 ικανος] +τω κυριω HLP<sup>8</sup> (+D) 25 ταρσον] +ο  
 βαρναβας HLP<sup>8</sup> αναστησαι] αναζητησαι HLP<sup>8</sup> (cf. D)  
 26 ευρων] +αυτων HLP<sup>8</sup> ηγαγεν] +αυτον HLP<sup>8</sup> αυτους HLP<sup>8</sup>  
 om και before ενιαυτον HLP<sup>8</sup> (cf. D)

20 ελληνιστας B 81 Antiochian, ευαγγελιστας (οἱ for ελληνιστας) B<sup>8</sup>, ελληντας AD<sup>8</sup> 1518. 'Greeks' is the rendering of all versions, but is not decisive as to the word in the Greek copies used. Eusebius and Chrysostom refer to Ἕλληνες in this connexion, but the reading of the text they used is not thereby certainly indicated (cf vi. 1); it may have been either ελληνιστας ('Greek-speaking persons') or ελληντας. The unusual ελληνιστας is probably right; note on the part of cod. A the same tendency to alter in Acts ix. 29, where A reads ελληντας for ελληνιστας. The context in the verse

under discussion requires a contrast between Jews and non-Jews, and no reason appears why the latter should not be designated by the term 'Greek-speaking persons'. The specific meaning 'Greek-speaking Jews' belongs to the word only where that is clearly indicated by the context, as is certainly not the case here. See B. B. Warfield, *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Boston, 1888, pp. 113-127.

21 ο before πιστευσας B<sup>8</sup> 81 minn is awkward and probably to be retained. D Antiochian omitt.

23 The addition of εν B<sup>8</sup> 181 is not to be accepted; the evidence of

19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς θλείψεως τῆς γενομένης ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Στεφάνου διῆλθον ἕως Φοινείκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιο-  
20 χείας, μηδενὶ τὸν λόγον λαλοῦντες εἰ μὴ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις. ἦσαν  
δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, οἵτινες ἐλθόντες  
εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι  
21 τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. ἦν δὲ χεὶρ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν,  
22 πολὺς τε ἄριθμὸς πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον. ἡκού-  
σθη δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ  
περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν Βαρνάβαν διελθεῖν ἕως τῆς Ἀντιο-  
23 χείας· ὃς καὶ παραγενόμενος καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐχάρη  
καὶ παρεκάλει πάντας τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας προσμένειν τῷ  
24 κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ  
25 πίστεως. καὶ προσετέθη ὄχλος ἱκανὸς τῷ κυρίῳ. | ἀκούσας δὲ  
26 ὅτι Σαυλὸς ἐστὶν εἰς Θαρσὸν ἐξῆλθεν ἀναζητῶν αὐτόν, †καὶ ὡς†  
συντυχὼν παρεκάλεισεν ἔλθεῖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. οἵτινες παρα-

foisiam et gentibus dñs paenitentiam in vitam dedit 19 illi quidem dispersi a con- d  
flictatione quae facta est sub stephano transierunt usque phoenicem et cyprium et  
antiochiam nemini verbum loquentes nisi solis judaeis 20 erant autem quidam ex  
ipsis viri cyprii et cyprienses qui cum venissent antiochiam loquebantur cum graecis  
evangelizare dñm ihm xpm 21 et erat manus dñi cum eis multisque numeris cum  
credidissent reversi sunt ad dñm 22 auditus est vero hic sermo in auribus ecclesiae  
quae erat in hierusalem de eis et miserunt barnabam ut iret usque antiochiam 23 qui  
cum venisset et vidisset gratiam dñi gavisus est et adorabantur omnes ipso proposito  
cordis permanere a dñm 24 quia erat vir bonus et plenus sp̃o sancto et fidei et  
adposita est turba copiosa ad dñm 25 audiens autem quod saulus est tharsos exiit  
requirere eum 26 et cum invenissent depraecabantur venire antiochiam contigit vero

25-26 ακουσας δε . . . συνεχυθησαν] mg quum audivisset autem Saulum esse Harclean  
Tarsi, exiit ad quaerendum eum qui, quum colloentus esset cum eo, persuasit  
eum venire Antiochiam. quum venissent autem, annum integrum congregati  
sunt

vg (in domo), (d) perp (ad domum),  
and of sah ('in') boh ('in') does not  
necessarily point to the presence of  
the preposition in the underlying  
Greek. With εν the phrase, if not  
due to translation, would probably  
have to be taken in the characteristic  
Pauline sense, nowhere else found in  
Acts (iv. 2, xiii. 39 are different).  
Of. xiii. 43 προσμενειν τη χαριτι.

26 The 'Western' text of vs. 26 in D  
is corrupt, but can be restored with  
the help of perp vg (in part) and  
hol. mg. For και we may substitute  
ω και (with support of perp vg quom  
cum invenissent) or, more probably, or

και (to which hol. mg seems to point,  
of. vs. 23). Both perp and hol. mg  
show by the following sentence that  
(unlike gvg vg) they are rendering the  
'Western' text οχλον ικανον may  
have been clumsily introduced from  
the B-text, and thus have supplanted  
a previous appropriate τη εκκλησια (so  
perp vg. cod. B<sup>ms</sup>); but it is perhaps  
more likely (Zahn) that in D (also d,  
in part) the words τη εκκλησια και  
εδιδασκον (of perp vg cod B<sup>ms</sup>) have  
dropped out between συνεχυθησαν and  
οχλον ικανον. Note the different forms  
of the text in D and d. For σχη-  
ματισεν D we should read -ω.

ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν, χρηματίσαι τε πρῶτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς.

Ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατήλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων 27 προφῆται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· ἀναστὰς δὲ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι 28 Ἀγαβος ἐσήμαινεν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λειμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἦτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου. τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν καθὼς εὐπορεῖτό τις ᾤρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς 29 διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς· ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς 30 Βαρνάβη καὶ Σαύλου.

Κατ' ἐκέκινον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς XII χεῖρας κακῶσαί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἀνείλεν δὲ Ἰά- 2 κωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι ἀρεστὸν ἐστὶν 3 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον, ἦσαν δὲ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁζύμων, | ὃν καὶ πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν, παραδοὺς τέσσαρ- 4

Editors 26 συναχθῆναι] συνεχθῆναι JHR χριστιανους WH Soden  
27 αυταις] ταυταις WH Soden JHR 28 εσημαινεν WHmg Soden JHR  
3 [αι] ημεραι Soden

Old Uncial 26 πρῶτως B<sup>N</sup> πρῶτον A 81 (+D) εν αντιοχεια B<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) eis  
αντιοχειαν A χριστιανους B (cf. D) χρηστιανους N 81 χριστιανους A  
27 αυταις B ταυταις N<sup>A</sup> 81 (+D) 28 εσημαινεν B εσημαινεν N<sup>A</sup> A 81  
29 ωρισαν B<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D) ωρισεν A 30 και 1<sup>ο</sup> B<sup>N</sup> A 81 (+D) +ο N  
1 ηρωδης ο βασιλευς BA(+D) ο βασιλευς ηρωδης N 81 3 εστιν BA<sup>N</sup> 81  
(+D) om N ημεραι B<sup>N</sup> αι ημεραι A 81 (+D) 4 παραδους B<sup>N</sup> 81 (+D)  
παραδιδους A

Antiochian 26 om εν before τη εκκλησια HLPSS πρωτον HLL<sup>1</sup>45(+D)  
χριστιανους HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 27 αυταις] ταυταις HLPSS(+D) 28 εσημαινεν  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> μεγαλ HLPSS(+D) ητις] οστις και HLPSS<sup>c</sup> κλαυδιου]  
+καισαρος HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 30 ο] οι L 3 ιδων δε] και ιδων HLPSS(+D)  
αι ημεραι S(+D)

26 The singular word *συνεχθῆσαν* D is represented by *conversati sunt* (d), *conversati sunt se* perp vg. cod. B<sup>12</sup>, and perhaps by *conversati sunt* vg. May it be the original verb for which *συναχθῆναι* has been substituted in all other texts? If a merely accidental error, so strange a variant would seem hardly likely to perpetuate itself. The omission by the Antiochian text of *εν* before *τη εκκλησια*, difficult to explain if the verb was *συναχθῆναι*, may point to an original *συνχθῆναι*.

27, 28 The 'Western' text is notable for the addition, widely attested in Latin (including perp Aug. *serm. dom.*

*in monie* u. 37, De prophetis, etc.), containing the first person *ημων*. Otherwise the addition does not differ in character from the 'Western' expansions in general, and it has in fact no greater claim than they to acceptance. Elsewhere 'we' means 'Paul and his companions'; in this instance, 'the church at Antioch.' Apparently the reviser was aware of the tradition connecting the author of the book with Antioch. See Harnack, *Lebensgeschichte*, Berlin Academy, 1899, pp. 315-327.

28 *εφη σημαιων* for *αναστας εσημαινεν* is found in D d alone, and Zahn argues



γενόμενοι ἐναντιὸν ὅλον συνεχύθησαν ἰδὼν ἱκανόν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐξηγήσαντο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ οἱ μαθηταὶ Χριστιανοί.

27 Ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατήλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων  
28 προφῆται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις· συνεστρα-  
μένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἀγαθος σημαίνων  
29 οἰκονόμην· ἧτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ καθὼς  
εὐποροῦντο ὥρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς  
30 κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς· ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀπο-  
στεύλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβαν καὶ  
Σαῦλον.

xii Κατ' ἐκείνων δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν τὰς χεῖρας Ἡρώδης ὁ  
βασιλεὺς κακῶσαι τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ.  
2, 3 καὶ ἀνέειλεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα. καὶ ἰδὼν  
ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἡ ἐπιχειρήσις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
πιστοὺς προσέθετο συναλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον, ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν  
4 ἀζύμων· τοῦτον πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν, παραδόντος τέσσαρσιν

26 ἐξηγητήσαντες  
3 ἐπιχειρήσεις

28 σημαίνων

30 ἀποστεύσαντες

eis annum totum committere ecclesiam et tunc primum nuncupati sunt in antiochia d  
discipulos christianos 27 in istis autem diebus advenerunt ab hierosolymis prophetae  
in antiochiam erant autem magna exultatio 28 revertentibus autem nobis ait unus  
ex ipsis nomine agabus significabat per spm famem magnam futuram esse in toto orbe  
terrae quae fuit sub claudio 29 discipuli autem sicut prout copiam singuli autem  
ipsorum in ministerium mittere huius qui inhabitant in judaea fratribus 30 quod  
etiam fecerunt cum misissent ad presbyteros per manum barnabae et sauli

1 per illum vero temporis inmisit manus suas herodes rex maletractare quosdam  
qui erant ab ecclesia in judaea 2 et interfecit iacobum fratrem johannis gladio  
3 et cum vidisset quod placeret hoc judaeis comprehensio ejus super credentes  
adjeit adprehendere et petrum erant autem dies asymorum 4 hunc adprehensum  
posuit in carcerem traditum quattuor quaternionibus militū custodire eum volens

1 ἐν τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ] ✕ quae erat in Judaea ✓  
τοὺς πιστοὺς] mg aggressus ejus in fideles

3 ἡ ἐπιχειρήσις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Harclean

with much force and acuteness that the 'Western' text originally read ἀναστή σημαίνων (cf. vg *surgens significabat*). His reasoning is as follows: (1) For σημαίνων d has *significabat*. Since this is incompatible with the preceding *ast* of d, the latter word has probably been introduced to conform to the Greek side, and has taken the place of *surgens*, proper to that Latin (vulgate type) on which d was here based. Consequently, for *εφη* *ast*

D and d constitute but one witness. (2) *εφη σημαίνων* is inherently difficult, since the *oratio obliqua* clearly depends on σημαίνων. (John xviii. 82, xxi. 19 are different.) (3) In perp vg. *cod. B* De proph. we find *qui significabat*, a reading not easily explained unless a finite verb had once preceded in place of *surgens*.

μεγαλ . . . ητις D is due to an incomplete correction (cf. *μεγαλην* . . . ητις B<sup>8</sup> & 81; *μεγαλ* . . . οστις Antiochian).

σιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν, βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτόν τῷ λαῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρέϊτο ἐν 5 τῇ φυλακῇ· προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενωῶς γεινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ αὐτοῦ. ὅτε δὲ ἤμελλεν προσαγαγεῖν αὐτόν ὁ Ἡρώδης, 6 τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἦν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος μεταξὺ δύο στρατιωτῶν δεδεμένος ἀλύσειν δυσίν, φύλακές τε πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐτήρουν τὴν φυλακὴν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπέστη, καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν ἐν 7 τῷ οἰκήματι· πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου ἤγειρεν αὐτόν λέγων· Ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει· καὶ ἐξέπεσαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτόν· Ζῶσαι καὶ ὑπόδυσαι 8 τὰ σανδάλιά σου· ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Περιβαλοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου καὶ ἀκολούθει μοι· καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἠκολούθει, 9 καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν τὸ γεινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐδόκει δὲ ὄραμα βλέπεω. διελθόντες δὲ πρῶτην φυλακὴν καὶ 10 δευτέραν ἦλθαν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρὰν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἣτις αὐτομάτῃ ἠνοίγη αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐξελθόντες προῆλθον ῥύμην μίαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστη ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ 11

## 10 ηνυγη

Editors	5 εκτενης Soden	εκκλησίας] +προς τον θεον WH Soden JHR
	6 προσαγαγεῖν] προαγαγεῖν WHmg Soden JHR	8 δε 10] τε Soden
	υποδυσαι] υποδησαι WH Soden JHR	
Old Uncal	4 αναγαγεῖν B <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) αγαγεῖν A	5 εκτενης B <sup>8</sup> A <sup>vid</sup> εκτενης A <sup>2</sup> 81
	γεινομενη B <sup>8</sup> A γενομενη 81	εκκλησίας B +προς τον θεον N <sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D)
	περι B <sup>8</sup> A <sup>2</sup> 81 (+D) υπ (?) A	6 προσαγαγεῖν B προαγαγεῖν A 81 (cf. D)
	προσαγειν N (cf. D)	της θυρας B <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) τη θυρα A 8 δε 10
	B (+D) τε N <sup>8</sup> A 81	υποδυσαι B υποδησαι B <sup>8</sup> N <sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) ουτως
	B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) ουτος 81	9 ηκολουθει B <sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) +αυτω N <sup>8</sup> γεινομενον
	B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) γενομενον 81	δια B <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) υπο A δε B A <sup>8</sup> N <sup>8</sup> 81 om N <sup>8</sup>
	10 δε B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) om 81	eis B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) επι 81 απεστη B <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D)
	απηλθεν A	
Antiochian	5 εκτενης HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	γεινομενη P εκκλησίας] +προς τον θεον
	HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D)	6 προσαγαγειν αυτον] αυτον
	προαγειν HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D)	8 δε 10] τε LPSS <sup>c</sup> προς αυτον ο αγγελος L
	{σαι] περι{σαι HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	υποδυσαι] υποδησαι HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D) 9 om
	και εξελθων ηκολουθει P	ηκολουθει] +αυτω HLPSS <sup>c</sup> γενομενον L
	δια] υπο H	10 om δε S om την φερουσαν εις την πολιν L
	ηροχηθη HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	προηλθον] προσηλθον L (+D)

4 Holmg gives *ascendere facere* (αναγαγεῖν) as a substitute for *tradere* of the text. Perhaps this rendering of the text (with which pesh agrees) rested on αγαγεῖν A minn. 5 φυλακῇ] + a *colatit regis parp*

vg. cod hol x. The relation of this body to the sixteen soldiers of vs 4 is not plain.

The omission of γεινομενη in D is probably accidental. All Latin codices except d read *liberari*.

τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσε<sup>ε</sup>ιν, βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα  
 5 ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτρεῖτο ἐν τῇ  
 φυλακῇ· πολλή δὲ προσευχὴ ἦν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 6 ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἵπερὶ αὐτοῦ. ὅτε δὲ ἔμελλεν προάγειν  
 αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης, τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἦν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος  
 μεταξὺ δύο στρατιωτῶν δεδεμένος ἀλύσει· δυσὶν, φύλακες δὲ  
 7 πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐτήρουν τὴν φυλακὴν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου  
 ἐπέστη τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ φῶς ἐπέλαμψεν τῷ οἰκήματι· νύξας δὲ  
 τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει·  
 8 καὶ ἐξέπεσαν αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος  
 πρὸς αὐτόν· Ζῶσαι καὶ ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλιά σου· ἐποίησεν δὲ  
 οὕτως. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Περιβαλοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ  
 9 μοι· καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἡκολούθει, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν τὸ  
 10 γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐδόκει γὰρ ὄραμα βλέπειν. διελ-  
 θόντες δὲ πρῶτην καὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν  
 σιδηρᾶν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἣτις αὐτομάτῃ ἠνοίγη αὐτοῖς,  
 καὶ ἐξελθόντες κατέβησαν τοὺς 7 βαθμοὺς καὶ προσῆλθον ρύμην  
 11 μίαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστη ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν

6 κοιμουμενος

10 ηνυγη

post pascha producere eum populo 5 vero petrus custodiebatur in carcere multa d  
 vero oratio erat instantissime pro eo ab ecclesia ad dum super ipso 6 ad vero cum  
 incipiebat prodocere eum herodes nocte illa erat petrus dormiens inter duos milites  
 ligatus catenis duabus vigiles autem ante ostium adservabant carcerem 7 et ecce  
 angelus dñi adstans petro et lux refulgens in illo loco pungens autem latus petri  
 suscitavit eum dicens surge celerius et ceciderunt ejus catenae de manibus 8 dixit  
 autem angelus ad eum praecinge te et calciato calciamenta tua fecit autem sic et dicit  
 ei operi te vestimentum tuum et sequere me 9 et cum exisset sequebatur et non  
 sciebat quia verum est quod fiebat per angelum putabat enim visum videre 10 cum  
 praeterissent primam et secundam custodiam venerunt ad portam ferream quae ducit  
 in civitatem quae sua sponte aperta est eis et cum exissent descenderunt septem  
 gradus et processerunt gradum unum et continuo discessit angelus ab eo 11 et

4 ἀναγαγεῖν] *mg* ascendere iacere

5 φυλακῇ] + ✕ a cohorte regis ✓ Harclean

7 τῷ πετρῷ] ✕ Petro ✓

ἐπέλαμψεν] + *mg* ab eo9 δια] *mg* ab11 καὶ ὁ πέτρος] *mg* tunc Petrus

περὶ αὐτοῦ 2<sup>o</sup> D is conflation. Perp  
 has it only in the earlier position

7 For *hel. mg* *ab eo* cf. *ex αὐτοῦ*,  
 which *mn* substitute for *ex τῷ*  
*οικηματι*, and *ab eo* *perp* *gig* Lucif,  
 in varying positions but in each case  
 in addition to the rendering of *ex τῷ*  
*οικηματι*.

10 'The seven steps' of D d *perp*  
 (*descenderunt gradus*, without *septem*)  
 seems to imply local knowledge not  
 to be drawn from the B-text. Cf.  
 xxi. 35, 40 Ezek. xi. 22, 26, 31  
 furnishes no satisfactory explanation.

11 For *hel. mg* cf. *τοτε ὁ πέτρος*  
 1611 *perp*.

Πέτρος ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος εἶπεν· Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς ὅτι ἐξα-  
 έστευλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς  
 Ἑρώδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.  
 συνιδὼν τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς Ἰωάννου 12  
 τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι καὶ  
 προσευχόμενοι. κρούσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος 13  
 προσῆλθε παιδίσκη ὑπακοῦσαι ὀνόματι Ῥόδη, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν 14  
 φωνὴν τοῦ Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξεν τὸν πυλῶνα, εἰς-  
 δραμούσα δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐστάναι τὸν Πέτρον πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος.  
 | οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπαν· Μάϊνη. ἡ δὲ δισχυρίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν. 15  
 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Ὁ ἄγγελός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ. | ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενεν 16  
 κρούων· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ εἶδαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέστησαν. κατασεύσας 17  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ σειγᾶν διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν  
 ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς, εἶπέν τε· Ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰακώβῳ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ταῦτα. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον.  
 γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἦν τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, 18  
 τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο. Ἑρώδης δὲ ἐπιζητήσας αὐτὸν καὶ 19  
 μὴ εὐρὼν ἀνακρίνας τοὺς φύλακας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαχθῆναι, καὶ  
 κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Καισαρείαν διέτρειβεν.

\*Ἦν δὲ θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις καὶ Σειδωνίοις· ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ 20

Editors	11 αὐτῶ] εαὐτῶ WH Soden JHR	om o 2 <sup>o</sup> WHmg Soden	12 [της 1 <sup>o</sup> ]
	Soden	13 προσῆλθε] προσῆλθε WHmg	15 εἶπαν 2 <sup>o</sup> ] ελεγον WH
	Soden JHR	εἶπαν WHmg	αὐτου εστιν Soden

Old Unclal	11 αὐτῶ B	εαὐτῶ NA 81 (+D)	o 2 <sup>o</sup> B	om NA 81 (+D)	του
	λαου B <sup>h</sup> 81 (+D)	om A	12 τε B <sup>h</sup>	δε A 81	13 κρουσαντος B <sup>h</sup> NA
	κρουσαντες 81 (+D)	προσῆλθε BA 81 (+D)	προσῆλθε B <sup>h</sup>		υπακουσαι
	B <sup>h</sup> *A 81 (+D)	υπακουουσα N	15 εἶπαν 2 <sup>o</sup> B	ελεγον NA 81 (+D)	
	o B <sup>h</sup> NA 81 (+D)	om N	εστιν αὐτου B <sup>h</sup> NA	αὐτου εστιν N <sup>o</sup> 81 (+D)	
	17 κατασεύσας δε αὐτοις B <sup>h</sup> 81 (+D)	κατασεύσαντος δε αὐτου A	αὐτοις 2 <sup>o</sup> B (+D)		
	om NA 81	o κυριος αὐτον ἐξήγαγεν B <sup>h</sup> (+D)	αὐτον o κυριος ἐξήγαγεν A		
	o κυριος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτον 81	19 δε B <sup>h</sup> 81 (+D)	τε A	διετρειβεν B <sup>h</sup>	
	81 (+D)	διετριψεν A			

Antiochian	11 εν αὐτῶ γενόμενος] γενομενος εν εαυτῶ HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (of. D)	om o 2 <sup>o</sup>
	HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D)	+ εκ before πασης S
	om της before marias HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	13 αὐτου] του πετρου HSS <sup>c</sup>
	2 <sup>o</sup> ] ελεγον HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D)	αὐτου εστιν HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (+D)
	(S def) (+D)	17 τε] δε HLPSS <sup>c</sup>
	19 την καισαρειαν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	20 ην δε] + o ηρωδης HLPSS <sup>c</sup>

12 For hol x. *fratres* cf. ἀδελφοί 814 minn.

13 In the rasura of Codex Bezae Blass (*St. Kr.* 1898, pp. 540 f.) thought

he could detect ε[ξ]ω (so also Wetstein), and that πυλῶνος was too long for the space. d has *foris*, with no other word to represent πυλῶνος.

- ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος εἶπεν· Νῦν οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἔξαπέστειλεν κύριος  
 τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἑρῳδου καὶ πάσης  
 12 τῆς προσδοκείας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ συνειδὼν ἦλθεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου  
 <Μ>άρκου, οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι καὶ προσευχόμενοι.  
 13 κρούσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θύραν τοῦ [. . . . .] προσῆλθεν  
 14 παιδίσκεν ὀνόματι Ῥόδῃ ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν φωνὴν  
 τοῦ Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξε τὸν πυλῶνα, καὶ εἰς-  
 15 δραμοῦσα δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ἑστάναι Πέτρον πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος. οἱ  
 δὲ ἔ[λε]γον αὐτῇ· Μαίνη. ἡ δὲ δισχυρίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν. οἱ  
 16 δὲ ἔλεγον πρὸς αὐτήν· Τυχὸν ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπ-  
 ἔμενεν κρούων· ἐξανοίξαντες δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέστησαν.  
 17 κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ ἵνα σεινά[σ]ω[σιν] εἰσῆλθεν καὶ  
 διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς·  
 εἶπεν δέ· Ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ταῦτα. καὶ  
 18 ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον. γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἦν  
 19 τάραχος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο. Ἑρῳδῆς  
 δὲ ἐπιζητήσας αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εὗρων ἀνακρίνας τοὺς φύλακας  
 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπ[ο]κ[τ]ανθῆναι, καὶ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς  
 Καισαράαν διέτριβεν.  
 20 Ἦν γὰρ θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις καὶ Σιδωνίοις· οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν

12 μαρκου] αρκου, but possibly 1st hand added μ 13 κρου-  
 σαντες 14 ηνυξε 15 διεσχυριζετο

petrus in se conversus dixit nunc scio quia vere misit dñs angelum suum et eripuit d  
 me de manibus herodis et omni expectationi populi judaeorum 12 et cum con-  
 siderasset venit ad domum mariae matris johannis qui cognominatur marcus ubi  
 erant copiosi coaeervati et orantes 13 cumque ipse pulsasset januam foris accessit  
 puella nomine rhode respondere 14 et cum cognovisset vocem petri a gaudio non  
 aperuit januam et adcurrans autem adnuntiavit stare petrum ante januam 15 ad  
 illi ad eam dixerunt msnis ad illa vero perseverabat ita esse qui autem dixerunt ad  
 eam forsitan angelus ejus est 16 ipse vero perseverabat pulsans et cum aperuisset  
 viderunt eunt et obstupuerunt 17 cumque significasset eis de manu ut alierant  
 introiens eterrabit eis quemadmodum dñs eum lveravit de carcere dixit autem  
 renuntiate jacobo et fratribus haec et egressus abuit in alium 18 facto autem die  
 erat turbatio in militibus quid petrus factus esset 19 herodes vero cum inrequisisset  
 eum et non invenisse interrogatione habita vigiles jussit obduci et cum descendisset a  
 judaea in caesareaam demorabatur 20 erat enim animus impugnans tyrios et sidonios

12 ησαν] erant ✕: fratres ✓ 14 ηνοιξε] + ✕: ει ✓ 17 εισηλθεν και Haroclean  
 διηγησατο αυτοις] ✕: ingressus est et narravit iis ✓ 20 οι δε] ηγ hi autem

14 For hol ✕: es cf. αυτω 1518 e perp ggg Lucif, and may be an addition to  
 (E) peah. the original text.

18 ουκ αλγος is omitted by D d 142

παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πείσαντες Βλάστον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἡτοῦντο εἰρήνην διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς. τακτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Ἡρώδης ἐνδυσάμενος 21 ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπεφώνει· Θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου. 22 παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἄνθ' ὧν οὐκ 23 ἔδωκεν τὴν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέφυγεν.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου ἡῤῥαεν καὶ ἐπληθύνετο. Βαρνάβας 24, 25 δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν, συνπαραλαβόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον.

Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται XIII

Editors	21 [ο] ηρωδης WH ο ηρωδης Soden JHL	25 εἰς] εἰς Soden	22 φωνη
	24 κυρίου] θεου WHmg Soden JHR	25 εἰς] εἰς Soden	24 κυρίου] θεου
	πληρώσαντες την] † εἰς ιερουσαλημ πληρώσαντες την † WHmg		εἰς ιερουσαλημ
	Soden		επικαλουμενον
<hr/>			
Old Uncial	20 ητοιοντο BN 81 (+D) ητησαντο A	21 ηρωδης B ο ηρωδης NA 81	
	(+D) βασιλικην BN 81 +και A(+D)	22 ανθρωπου BAN <sup>o</sup> 81 (+D)	
	ανθρωπων N	24 κυριου B θεου NA 81 (+D)	ηῤῥαεν BN 81 (+I)
	ηῤῥαεντο A	25 εἰς BN (corrected, apparently by N <sup>o</sup> , from εἰς] 81 εἰς A	
	(cf. D) συνπαραλαβοντες BNA(+D) + και 81 <sub>1</sub>		επικληθεντα B(+D)
	επικαλουμενον NA 81		
<hr/>			
Antiochian	21 ο ηρωδης HLPSS(+D)	22 φωνη	
	θεου HLS om φωνη P	23 om την HLPSS(+D)	24 κυριου] θεου
	HLPSS(+D)	25 εἰς] εἰς 5 (cf. D)	24 κυριου] θεου
	1 δε] +τινες HLPSS	συνπαραλαβοντες] +και III.PSS	

21-22 Besides various expansions in the preceding verses, the 'Western' text had between vs 21 and vs. 22 an addition, found in an incomplete form in D d hol-<sup>x</sup> (*resonclatius est eis autem*); while perp<sup>3</sup> and vg *add* add to the usual text *et iherosolamo eo tunc et sidoniois*; while perp<sup>3</sup> reads *autem resonclatius est. φωναι* for φωνη is attested by perp gig Lucif vg pesh. The Greek, as restored by Zahn, runs smoothly: *αντιφωνησαντος δε αυτου του θημου, καταλλαγεντι τυριοις και σιδωνιοις, επιφωνουσιν αυτω θεου φωναι και ουκ ανθρωπου*, but more probably *resonclatius est* perp is merely a corruption of *resonclatius esset*.

23 On D d of Ephrem, below, p 416.

25 *σαυλος* + *ος επεκληθη παυλος* 614 perp hol-<sup>x</sup>. Minn read *παυλος* for *σαυλος*; so do 614 and two others in xi. 26, and perp, etc., in xiii 1, 2.

*eis ierousalēm* B (in B *eis* is correction by first hand over *apo* [εἰς]) N 81 Antiochian hol.mg; *eis antiocheian* minn; *εἰς ierousalēm* A minn boh; *apo ierousalēm* D 614 181 minn gig vg; *εἰς* (apo B 1898; pesh indeterminate) *ierousalēm* *eis antiocheian* 1898 minn perp e E pesh sah. The exegetical difficulty of the best attested reading (*eis ierousalēm*) is not insuperable, for *eis ierousalēm* may have been intended to mean 'at Jerusalem'; at any rate this reading was adopted in carefully written mss. for many centuries. The conjecture of WH, *την eis ierousalēm* *πληρώσαντες διακονιαν*, would solve the problem by a mere change of order, but does not account for the origin of the difficult reading of N 81 etc.

The agreement in the singular number between D *απεστρεψεν απο* (d *reversus sumi ad*) and hol.mg *reversus*

- ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων παρήσαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ  
 πείσαντες Βλάστον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ ἡτοῦντο εἰρήνην  
 21 διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς. τακτῇ δὲ  
 ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν καὶ καθίσας  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς· καταλλαγέντος δὲ  
 22 αὐτοῦ τοῖς Τυρίοις | ἦ δὲ δῆμος ἐπεφώνει· Θεοῦ φωναὶ καὶ οὐκ  
 23 ἀνθρώπου. παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπάταξεν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνθ'  
 ὧν οὐκ ἔδωκεν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος,  
 γενόμενος <σ>κωληκόβρωτος ἔτι ζῶν καὶ οὕτως ἐξέφυγεν.  
 24, 25 Ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἤρξανε καὶ ἐπληθύνετο. Βαρνάβας  
 δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν  
 διακονίαν, συνπαραλαβόντες τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον.  
 XIII Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται

21 αἰσθητα

ἐδημειγορει

24 εὗξανε

unanimiter autem ab invice civitates venerunt ad regem et cum suavisset blasto qui d  
 a cubiculo erat postulabant pacem propter ne alienarentur regiones eorum de regno  
 21 constituto autem die herodes nudus habito regio et sedi pro tribunali con-  
 tentionabatur ad eos cum ingratiasset cum tyrios 22 populus vero adolamabant dī  
 voces et non hominis 23 et confestim eum percussit angelus dñi pro eo quod non  
 dedit claritatem dō et cum descendisset ad tribunal sed et a berrimibus comestis  
 adhuc vivens et sic expiravit 24 verbum autem dī augebatur et multiplicabatur  
 25 barnabas vero et saulus reversi sunt ab hierusalem impleto ministerio adsupto  
 johannen qui cognominatur marcus

1 erant autem in antiochia apud quem erat ecclesiam prophetae et doctores in

20 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων] \* ex ambabus civitatibus ✓ 21 κατ- Harclean  
 ἀλλαγέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τυρίοις] \* reconciliatus est ius autem ✓ 25 σαῦλος]  
 + \* qui vocabatur Paulus ✓ ἀπεστρέψεν ἀπὸ] mg reversus est in

est in is to be noted, but no explanation is forthcoming.

1-8 The tract *Prophetias ex omnibus libris collectas*, from Cod. sangallensis 133 (cent. ix), perhaps written in Africa between 805 and 825, summarizes these verses in the following peculiar form: *Erant etiam in ecclesia prophetas et doctores Barnabas et Saulus, quibus inposuerunt manus prophetas, Symeon qui appellatus est Niger et Lucius Cypriensis qui manet usque adhuc et Tychicus conlactaniensis, qui acceperant responsum ab spiritu sanctum. Unde dñs. Segregate milia Barnabam et Saulum in opus quo vocati eos, hoc est prophetas. Quibus inposuit manus dimiserunt eos et abierunt.* See Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 20-22, 145-149, 350, and in *Geschichte*

*liche Studien* Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht, 1916, pp. 52-63.

But it is impossible to believe that this is anything more than a free account of this "prophecy" composed on the basis of Acts xiii. 1-8, probably from the African Latin. No important light on the 'Western' text seems to proceed from it. The strange phrase *qui manet usque adhuc et Tychicus* is probably derived by an obscure corruption from some form of *manasem etiam herodis tetrarchas* perp, or *et manasem qui erat herodis tetrarchas* vg *Manasem* accounts for *manet*; *tetrarchas* for *tychicus*.

1 For ἦσαν . . . ἐκκλησίαν perp renders *erant autem secundum unanimitatemque ecclesiam*. From this, and from the addition after διδασκαλοι of

καὶ διδάσκαλοι ὁ τε Βαρνάβας καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ, καὶ Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Μαναὴν τε Ἡρώδου τοῦ <τε> τράρχου σύντροφος καὶ Σαῦλος. λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ 2 νηστεύοντων εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς. τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας 3 αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν.

Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κατ- 4 ἦλθον εἰς Σελευκίαν, ἐκεῖθεν τε ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Κύπρον, | καὶ 5 γενόμενοι ἐν Σαλαμεινὶ κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην. διελθόντες δὲ ὅλην τὴν νῆσον ἄχρι Πάφου εὗρον ἄνδρα τινα 6 μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην Ἰουδαῖον ᾧ ὄνομα Βαρισησοῦς, ὃς ἦν σὺν 7

Editors 6 βαρισησου JHR

Old Uncial	1 τετράρχου B <sup>9</sup>	2 τον ΒΝΑC(+D) + τε 81	σαυλον ΒΝΑC 81 (+D)
	τον σαυλον N	4 ουν ΒΝΑC(+D) om 81	κατηλθον ΒΝC 81 (cf. D)
	απηλθον A	τε ΒΝΑC δε 81	δ ερ 1 <sup>o</sup> ΒΑC <sup>9</sup> 81 (+D) eis N
	δε ΒΝΑC(+D) τε 81	6 ευρον ΒΝΑ 81 (+D) +κει O	βαρισησους BC
	βαρισησου N βαρισησου A 81		

Antiochian	2 τον] +τε 5 (8 def)	τον σαυλον HLP5	4 αυτοι] οντοι HLP5
	αγιου πνευματος] πνευματος του αγιου HLP5 <sup>5</sup> (cf. D)		την σελευκειαν HLP5 <sup>5</sup>
	εκειθεν] κακειθεν S	τε] δε LPS	την κυπρον HLP5 <sup>5</sup> 6 om
	ολην HLP5 <sup>5</sup>	om ανδρα HLP5 <sup>5</sup>	βαριησους HLP5

er om D (d<sup>in</sup> quo) vg, an obliterated and unrecoverable 'Western' paraphrase, or even a corruption of the ordinary Greek text, may possibly be suspected.

3-4 It is a fair conjecture that the text of D is here confate, and that, in vs. 3, *τοτε νηστευσαντες* . . . αυτοις and in vs. 4, *εκπεμφθεντες υπο του πνευματος αγιου* have been introduced from the B-text. The noteworthy variants, some of which suggest this, are: Dd, vs. 3, the omission of *απελυσαν*, and vs. 4, *οι μεν ουν* for *αυτοι* (*αυτοι* Antiochian) *μεν ουν*; perp, vs. 4 (for *αυτοι* . . . *κατηλθον*) *egressi uñtur a sanctis deservierunt*; sah 'by the saints' for *υπο του αγιου πνευματος*; and the form in proph (above), *quidus impositus manibus dimittitur eis ut abierunt*. But of the Greek text which underlay the Latin of perp and proph no satisfactory reconstruction has been proposed. It is possible that the phrases omitted by D d were a very early non-

western addition to the true text, but the absence of a sound African Latin here leaves us helpless.

In vs. 4 *υπο του αγιου πνευματος* may be secondary to *υπο των αγιων* perp sah, but the latter reading, which omits a reference to the Holy Spirit, is strange as a part of the 'Western' text (see above, p. cccxxx). δε, vs. 4, may be an attempt at adjustment made necessary by the conflation.

6 In Codex Bezae *περιελθοντων* (Blass, *St. Xr.*, 1898, p. 541, and Wetstein) for [ . . . ] *ρηελθοντων* (Scrivenar).

βαρισησου N gig perp<sup>vid</sup> vg boh perhaps best accounts for the variants. βαρισησους BC B e (*barisheus*) sah is an attempt to improve the grammar. The accusative *βαρισησου* of the Antiochian text and of A 81 would appear due to the same motive, but, strangely, seems to depend on the reading *ονοματι*, or *ονοματι καλουμανον*, found in D minn perp but not in any of the chief Antiochian



καὶ διδάσκαλοι, ἐν οἷς Βαρνάβας καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος  
 Νίγερ, καὶ Λούκιος Κυρηναῖος, Μαναὴν τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τε-  
 2 τράρχου σύντροφος καὶ Σαῦλος. λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ  
 κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Ἀφορίσατε δὴ  
 μοι τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι  
 3 αὐτούς. †τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι πάντες καὶ ἐπι-  
 θέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς.†  
 4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου κατα-  
 5 βάντες δὲ εἰς Σελευκίαν, ἐκείθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Κύπρον, | γενό-  
 μενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαλαμεινῇ κατήνγευαν τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρε-  
 6 τοῦντα αὐτοῖς. καὶ περιελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλην τὴν νῆσον ἄχρι  
 Πάφου εἶδον ἄνδρα τινα μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι  
 7 καλούμενον Βαρισησοῦ, ὃς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ,

6 νησον βαριησουα] so 1st hand probably, but perhaps -an  
 or -αμ

quo barnabas et symeon qui vocatur niger et lucius cyrenensis manserunt herodis d  
 et tetrarchi conlactaneus et saulus 2 deserviantibus autem eis dno et jejunantibus  
 dixit sps sanctus seceinite mihi barnaban et saulum ad opus vocavi eos 3 tunc cum  
 jejunassent et orassent omnes et imposuissent manus eis 4 ipsi vero dimissi ab  
 sps sancto descenderunt seleuciam inde vero navigaverunt in cyprum 5 et cum  
 fuissent salamina adnuntiabant verbum dñi in synagoga judaeorum habebant vero et  
 johannem ministrantem eis 6 cum pergressi fuissent totam insulam usque ad  
 paphum invenerunt virum quendam magum pseudopropheta judaeum nomine qui  
 vocatur barjesum 7 qui erat cum proconsule sergio paulo viro prudenti hic cum

[6-8 multa utique et adversus apostolos Simon dedit et Elymas magi.]

Tertullian,  
*Adema* 87

4 ἐκεῖθεν] + mg autem

6 υπηρετοῦντα αὐτοῖς] mg ministrantem iis

Haroclean

authorities. The Latin *barieu* and *barihen* (perp. mg: *quidam barihen* *alii barieu*) are apparently derived from the abbreviations *βαριην* and *barihu* (so perp. vg. cod. O; cf. the comment of Bede); nevertheless Jerome (*Nom. Hebr.* iii. 99) prefers *berieu*, which he interprets *maleficum sive in malo* [i.e. *μηχ*], adding *nonnulli bariesu corruptis legunt*. The form *βαριησουαμ*? D d (*bariesuam*) produced *bariesuban* (Lucif), *variusuas* (*Op. imperf. in Matt.* xxiv 8), and was probably an accusative (note the construction in D) from a form *βαριησουα* intended to represent more perfectly *שׂוֹאֵם*. For similar indication of Semitic knowledge in D see above, pp. cxlii-iv. From the substitution

*bar shuma* *peah* (of Burkitt, *Proc. British Acad.* v., 1912, p. 22) and from *bar ieshu'* *hol. text* no light is thrown on the Greek text.

*βαριησουα*] + *quod interpretatur varatus* gig Lucif vg. codd (some reading *qui* for *quod*), + *quod interpretatur elymas* e E (ο *μεβεμπνευεται* *elymas*). This, as Zahn convincingly argues, is a gloss, never found without the presence of the statement in vs. 8, from which it is derived; it is of Latin origin (hence, by modification and translation, in E), not an element of the original 'Western' text. The 'Western' reviser seems to have had a knowledge of languages which would have made him incapable of saying that the name 'Barjesus' meant

τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. οὗτος προσκαλεσάμενος Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον ἐπέζητησεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀντίστατο δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑλύμας ὁ μάγος, οὕτως γὰρ 8 μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ζητῶν διαστρέφαι τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως. Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, πλησθεὶς πνεύ- 9 ματος ἁγίου ἀπενίστας εἰς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Ὡ πλήρης παντὸς δόλου 10 καὶ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας, υἱὲ διαβόλου, ἐχθρὲ πάσης δικαιοσύνης, οὐ παύσῃ διαστρέφων τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας; καὶ 11 νῦν ἰδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ἔσῃ τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον ἄχρι καιροῦ. παραχρῆμα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἀγλὺς καὶ σκότος, καὶ περιάγων ἐζήτει χειραγωγούς. τότε ἰδὼν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τὸ 12 γεγονὸς ἐπίστευσεν ἐκπληττόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου.

Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οἱ περὶ Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς 13 Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας· Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. αὐτοὶ δὲ διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς 14 Πέργης παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες

13 ανεχθέντες

Editors	8 ετοιμας JHR	10 om του WHmg Soden	11 δε] τε WHmg
	επεσεν] +επ αυτον WH Soden JHR		14 της πισιδιας Soden
	ελθοντες] εισελθοντες Soden		
Old Uncial	8 ουτως BNAO(+D)	ουτος 81	10 του Bx om ACO <sup>8</sup> 81(+D)
	11 δε BA τε NC 81	επεσεν B	επεσεν επ αυτον N 81(+D) επεσεν αυτον
	Απδ επεπεσεν επ αυτον C	12 εκωπτευσεν εκπληττομενος BNO 81 (cf. D)	
	εκπληττομενος εκωπτευσεν Α	κυριου BNA 81(+D)	θεου C
	αχθαρτες B <sup>a</sup>	14 παρεγενοντο BNO 81(+D)	εγενωτο Α
	16 της πισιδιας 81(+D)	ελθοντες BNC 81	εισελθοντες AN <sup>a</sup> (+D)
Antiochian	8 μαγος] μεγας L	9 αγιου] +και HPS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	10 om πασης 1 <sup>o</sup>
	P(+D)	om του HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	11 του κυριου 5 <sup>o</sup>
	+και P	επεσεν] επεπεσεν επ αυτον HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (cf. D)	18 τον παυλον
	HLPSS <sup>5</sup>	om δε 2 <sup>o</sup> H	14 της πισιδιας HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)
	εισελθοντες HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)		ελθοντες]

ετοιμος. No text of vs. 8 makes, or could justify, any such absurd statement as that. Apart from B the gloss is found only in Latin, and it is not contained in perp (which from this point to xxviii. 16 ceases to give an Old Latin text) d vg.

8 For ελυμας, found in all other Greek witnesses and in gig perp e vg (gig vg *codd* spell ελυμας) peah hol sah boh, D reads ερ] λυμας, d ελοετιας. To this substantially correspond ελοετιας Lucif, ελυμας Ambrosiaster, Quaes. 102, 2, *holyman* Pacianus, Ep.

ii. 5. Tertulian, indeed, *De anima* 57, *De pudicitia* 21, in all cited mss. reads ελυμας or ελυμας; but the text of Tertulian in such a matter is not above question, and the fact, pointed out by Zahn, that Ambrosiaster l.c., with ελυμας, seems dependent on Tert. *pudicit.* 21 goes far to neutralize the evidence of the mss of Tertulian. It is therefore probable (cf. gloss in vs. 6) that the form with -ε- stood in the original Latin rendering and in its underlying Greek. As to the original Greek name we can only say

ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. οὗτος συναλεσάμενος Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον καὶ  
 8 ἐξήγησεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀνθείστατο δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 Ἐπ[.]ιμας ὁ μάγος, οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,  
 ζητῶν διαστρέφειν τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, ἐπεκεῖδῃ  
 9 ἥδιστα ἦκουεν αὐτῶν. Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, πληθείς πνεύ-  
 10 ματος ἁγίου καὶ ἀπενείσας εἰς αὐτὸν | εἶπεν· Ὡ πλῆρης παντὸς  
 δόλου καὶ ῥαδιουργίας, υἱὸς διαβόλου, ἐκθρέ πάσης δικαιοσύνης,  
 1 οὐ πάντῃ διαστρέφων τὰς ὁδοὺς κυρίου τὰς οὖσας εὐθείας; καὶ  
 νῦν εἰδὼν ἡ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ἔση τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν  
 ἥλιον ἕως καιροῦ. καὶ εὐθέως ἔπescen ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀχλὺς καὶ  
 2 σκότος, καὶ περιάγων ἐζήτει χειραγωγούς. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἀνθύπατος  
 τὸ γεγονός ἐθαύμασεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ ἐκπλησόμενος ἐπὶ  
 τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου.  
 3 Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οἱ περὶ Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς  
 Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας· Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπ-  
 4 ἔστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. αὐτοὶ δὲ διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης  
 παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πεισιδίας, καὶ εἰσελθόντες

10 υἱος] υιοι

11 ἦ] point by first hand

vocasset barnaban et saulum et quæsiere voluit audire verbum dñi 8 reanstabat d  
 autem eis etoemas magus sic enim interpretaebatur nomen ejus quærens vertere  
 proconsulem a fidem quoniam liveniter audiebat eos 9 sanlus vero qui et paulus  
 impletus sp̃o sancto et intuitus in eum 10 dixit o plenas omnis dulus et falsi filii  
 diabole inimice omnis justitiae non cessas evertere vias domini quas sunt rectas  
 11 et nunc ecce manus dñi super te et eris caecus non videns solem usq. ad tempus  
 et confestim caecidit super eum caligo et tenebrae et circumiens quærebat ad manum  
 deductores 12 tunc cum vidisset proconsul quod factum est miratus est et credidit  
 in dō stupens super doctrina dñi 13 supervenientes a papho qui erant circa paulo  
 venerunt in pergen pamphyliæ johannes vero cum discedisset ab eis reversus est  
 hierosolymis 14 isti autem cum transissent a pergen venerunt antiochiam pisidiæ

8 σπειδῇ ἥδιστα ἦκουεν αὐτῶν] ✕ quia libenter audiebat eos ✓

Harclean

that between υ and οι confusion is common, and that likewise either of the two letters, τ or λ, may have been an accidental substitution for the other. Greek personal names derived from ἔτομος and from ἔτυμος are known, while no analogy speaks for the name Elymas. See Burkitt, *J. Theol. Stud.* iv., 1902-3, pp. 127-129.

The substitution in gig Lucif of *interpretatum dicitur* for *μεθερμηνεύεται* may possibly be intended to make explicit the idea that the name was

actually a translation of Βαρισηούς, whereas the Greek perhaps means no more than that it was a usual substitute for it.

14 τὴν πεισιδιαν BNAO; τῆς πεισιδίας D 81 Antiochian, all Latin texts, sah. The reading of B agrees with the correct usage of earlier times; it was probably altered in accordance with the habit of speech of a later age. Antioch was properly designated as near, not in, Pisidia. Cf W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 26 f.

εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐκάθισαν. μετὰ 15  
 δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ  
 ἀρχισυνάγωγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἴ τις 16  
 ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν λόγος παρακλήσεως πρὸς τὸν λαόν, λέγετε. ἀναστὰς 16  
 δὲ Παῦλος καὶ κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλείται  
 καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἀκούσατε. ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ 17  
 Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὕψωσεν ἐν  
 τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μετὰ βραχείονος ὕψους ἐξ-  
 ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς, | καί, ὡς τεσσαρεκονταετὴ χρόνον ἐτροπο- 18  
 φόρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν 19  
 κατεκληρονόμησεν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν | ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ 20  
 πεντήκοντα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ προ-  
 φῆτου. ἀκείθεν ᾔρτησαντο βασιλεῖα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς 21  
 τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κεῖς, ἄνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, ἔτη τεσεσρά-  
 κοντα· καὶ μεταστῆσας αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυεὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς 22

Editors	17 του 2 <sup>ο</sup> τουτου WH Soden JHR	om ἰσραηλ JHR	18 ἐτροπο-
	φορησεν] ἐτροφοφορησεν JHR	19 καθελων] καὶ καθελων WHmg Soden	
	20 και before ως ετεσι instead of after πεντηκοντα JHR	om μετα ταυτα JHR	
	[του] προφητου Soden	22 αυτοις τον δαυιδ Soden (but cf. mg)	
Old Uncial	17 του 2 <sup>ο</sup> B τουτου NA <sup>2</sup> 81 (+D)	αιγυπτου BNA 81	αιγυπτω C(+D)
	18 ἐτροποφορησεν BNC <sup>3</sup> 81 (+D)	ἐτροφοφορησεν AC	19 καθελων B 81 καὶ
	καθελων NA <sup>2</sup> C(+D)	κατεκληρονομησεν BN 81 (+D)	+αυτοις AC
	20 προφητου BNA <sup>2</sup> 81 του προφητου C(+D)	22 τον δαυειδ αυτοις BNA (cf. D)	αυτοις
	τον δαυειδ C 81		
Antiochian	16 om τις HLPSS	om εν H	λογος εν υμιν LPSS (cf. D)
	16 οι] +εν υμιν H	17 του 2 <sup>ο</sup> τουτου HLPSS(+D)	om ἰσραηλ
	HLPSS	αιγυπτω HLPSS(+D)	19 add και before καθελων HLPSS(+D)
	γη] HS	κατεκληρονομησεν] +αυτοις HLPSS	κατεκληροδοτησεν αυτοις S
	20 και μετα ταυτα ως ετεσι τετρακοσίοις και πεντηκοντα HLPSS		του
	προφητου HLPSS(+D)	22 αυτοις τον δαυειδ HLPSS	

17 του B, for τουτου NA<sup>2</sup> 81 D, is not to be adopted, although vg sah boh do not render τουτου. ο λαος του ισραηλ is an expression almost without parallel; for the ordinary usage cf. Lk. ii. 82, Acts iv. 10.

The omission of ἰσραηλ by the Antiochian text (with peah) probably reproduces an ancient reading, and may point to the original reading, since improvement by omission was not the usual method of Antiochian revisers. The various isolated modifications found in minn are not significant.

δια D d gig hol. text for και 1<sup>ο</sup> was probably a very ancient accidental

error perpetuated in the 'Western' text. The sense speaks strongly against it.

18 ἐτροποφορησεν BNC<sup>3</sup> 81 D Antiochian vg, ἐτροφοφορησεν AC\*E minn d gig e sah boh peah hol. In Dent. i. 31, from which the word comes, both readings are found (ετροφ- BA); the author of Acts could have known either text of the LXX, or both. The 'Western' text of Acts perhaps read ετροφ-; in that case D ετροφ- is contaminated, as elsewhere, from the B-text. The decision in Acts is doubtful, but ἐτροφοφορησεν suits the context better, and may be preferred on that ground.

- 15 εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐκάθισαν. μετὰ δὲ  
τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ἀρχι-  
συνάγωγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἴ τις ἔστιν  
λόγος σοφίας ἐν ὑμῖν ἡ παρακλήσεως πρὸς τὸν λαόν, λέγετε.  
16 ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες  
17 Ἰσραηλίται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἀκούσατε. ὁ θεὸς τοῦ  
λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, διὰ τὸν  
λαὸν ὕψωσεν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν τῇ γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ μετὰ βραχείο-  
18 νος ὕψηλου ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔτη μὲν ἑξήκοντα ἔτροποφόρησεν  
19 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν κατ-  
20 εκληρονόμησεν τὴν γῆν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων | καὶ ὡς ἔτεσι ὅν καὶ ὅ  
21 ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφῆτου. καὶ κεῖθεν ᾔτησαντο  
βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κεῖς, ἄνδρα  
22 ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, ἔτη μὲν | καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἡγείρεν Δαυεὶδ

14 τη ημερα] την ημετερα  
20 ως] εως

15 λογος] λογου

λεγεται

et cum introissent in synagoga die sabbatorum sederunt 15 post lectionem vero d  
legis et prophetarum miserunt archisynagoga ad eos dicentes viri fratres si quis est  
sermo et intellectus in vobis exhortationis ad populum dicite 16 cum surrexisset  
paulus et silentium manu postulasset dixit viri instrahelitae et qui timetis dm  
audite 17 ds populi hujus israhel elegit patres nostros propter populum exaltatum  
in peregrinatione in terra aegypti et cum brachio alto eduxit eos ex ipse 18 et  
annis xl ac si nutrit aluit eos in solitudine 19 et sublati q. gentibus septe in terra  
chanaan possidere eos fecit terram allophoeorum 20 et quasi annis cccc et l dedit  
judices usque ad samuel prophetam 21 et exinde petierunt regem et dedit eis ds  
saul filium eis virum ex tribu benjamin annis xl 22 et remoto eo excitavit david

19 των αλλοφυλων] eorum ✕ alienigenarum ✓

Harlean

19 B 81 sah are right in omitting  
και before καθελων. If και is read, the  
preceding phrase means 'about forty  
years.' But it is unlikely that this  
writer should have expressly indicated  
that that brief and familiar traditional  
number of years was only approximate;  
and equally unlikely that, if he had  
done so, an editor should have removed  
the indication by so subtle a process  
as the omission of the subsequent και,  
instead of the simple expedient (so  
D sah boh) of dropping ως. και is  
doubtless an early undesigned ad-  
dition, by dittography.

20 BNAO sah boh hol vg connect the  
words ως ετεσι τετρακοσις και τεστη-  
κοντα with the preceding sentence,  
and make the statement of time refer  
to the period occupied in securing the  
land for the people. D d gig e E

peah Antiochian, putting the note of  
time after και, treat it as giving the  
duration of the period of the judges.  
The latter representation is evidently  
that of the 'Western' text, and suits  
the context best, but may have offended  
some student who thought (cf. 1 Kgs.  
vi. 1) the Exodus the proper starting-  
point for any such chronological  
estimate. The 'Western' position of  
the words is to be preferred.

The 'Western' text lacked μετα  
ταυτα (omitted in D d gig sah peah  
hol) and these words (found in BNAO  
81 and in Antiochian e E vg) were  
perhaps introduced when the text of  
B was formed. Their purpose would  
then be to relieve the baldness occa-  
sioned by the withdrawal of the note  
of time from the sentence relating to  
the judges.

Ps lxxxix.20 βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας· Εὗρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσοῦ  
 1 Sam xii. κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου. τοῦ- 23  
 14 τοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ  
 σωτήρα Ἰησοῦν, προκηρύξαντος Ἰωάνου πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰς- 24  
 ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα μετανοίας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ. ὥς δὲ 25  
 ἐπλήρου Ἰωάννης τὸν δρόμον, ἔλεγεν· Τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι, οὐκ  
 εἰμὶ ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετ' ἐμὲ οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τὸ ὑπό-  
 δημα τῶν ποδῶν λύσαι. ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ, 26  
 οἱ ἐν ὑμῶν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ταύτης ἐξαπεστάλη. οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ 27  
 ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν  
 τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας κρείναντες ἐπλήρωσαν,  
 καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὐρόντες ᾗτήσαντο Πειλᾶτον ἀναιρε- 28  
 θῆναι αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ αὐτοῦ, 29  
 καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς 30  
 ᾗγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· ὃς ὥφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συν- 31

Editors	22 ιεσοῦι [+ἀνδρα] WH	+ανδρα Soden JHR	26 αβρααμ +και WH
Soden JHR	27 αὐτῶν] αὐτῆς JHR	om τούτων JHR	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>
JHR	om κραιναρτες JHR	28 ευραντες] +κραιναρτες JHR	
πησαντο] πησαν τον WHmg	αναιρεθῆναι] να αναιρωσιν JHR	29 περι	
αυτου γεγραμμενα WH Soden JHR	[γεγραμμενα περι αυτου] WHmg	30 om	
εκ νεκρων JHR			

Old Uncial	22 ιεσοῦι B	+ανδρα BAC 81 (+D)	23 απο του σπερματος BAC <sup>o</sup> 81 (+D)
	om B	ἡγαγεν BNA 81	ᾗγειρε C (+D)
	24 λαω BNC 81 (+D)	om A (B* first omitted λαω, then included it)	τω ισραηλ BNA C (+D)
	25 τι εμε BNA 81	τινα με C (+D)	26 αβρααμ B
	81 (+D)	υμιν BNC	ημιν A 81 (+D)
	λογος BNA 81 (+D)	+ουτος O	ταυτης BNA 81 (+D)
	om C 81		om C
	29 γεγραμμενα περι αυτου B	28 πησαντο BAC <sup>o</sup> 81	πησαν τον B
			περι αυτου γεγραμμενα BAC 81 (+D)

Antiochian	22 ιεσοῦι +ανδρα HLPSS (+D)	23 ηγαγεν] ηγειρε S (+D)	σωτηρα
	ιησου] σωτηριαν HLS	24 om παντι HLPSS	om λαω HLPSS
	25 ο ιωαννης LPSS	τι εμε] τινα με HLPSS (+D)	26 αβρααμ +και
	HLPSS (+D)	ημιν] υμιν HLPSS	εξαπεσταλη] απεσταλη HLPSS
	29 παντα] απαντα S	περι αυτου γεγραμμενα HLPSS (+D)	

22 ανδρα is omitted by B Athanasius. *codex Hilary codex*. It corresponds to ανθρωπων in the LXX text (1 Sam. xii. 14), and ανδρα may have caused objection because not found in that familiar Old Testament passage. In any case a harmonizing copyist would not have

been likely to supply ανδρα, but rather the LXX word.

25 τι εμε BNA 81 sah corresponds to the Aramaic usage. τινα OJ Antiochian gvg d e vg pesh hol boh is a linguistic improvement. See Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 87 f.

αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας· Ἐδρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν  
 υἱὸν Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ  
 23 θελήματά μου. ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐπ-  
 24 αγγελείαν ἤγειρεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτῆρα τὸν Ἰησοῦν, προκηρύσσοντας  
 Ἰωάνου πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα μετανόας  
 25 παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ. ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρου Ἰωάνης τὸν δρόμον,  
 ἔλεγεν· Τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ· ἀλλὰ ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται  
 μεθ' ἐμὲ οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν λύσαι.  
 26 ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ καὶ οἱ ἐν ἡμεῖν φοβού-  
 μενοι τὸν θεόν, ἡμεῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρείας ταύτης ἐξαπεστάλη.  
 27 οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτ[ῆ]ς  
 μ[ὴ] συνιέν[τες] τὰς γραφ[α]ς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν  
 28 σάββατον ἀναγεινωσκομένας καὶ κρείναντες ἐπλήρωσαν, καὶ  
 μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὐρόντες ἐν αὐτῷ, κρείναντες αὐτὸν  
 29 παρέδωκαν Πειλάτῳ ἵνα εἰς ἀνάρεσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐτέλουν πάντα τὰ  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα ἱερίῳ, ἤτοῦντο τὸν Πειλάτῳ τοῦτον  
 ἵμην σταυρώσαι καὶ ἐπιτυχόντες ἱπάλιν καὶ καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 30, 31 ξύλου καὶ ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον. ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν. | οὗτος ὥφθη  
 τοῖς συναναβαίνουσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ

25 ἐπληρου

υπονοεῖται

27 μ[ὴ] συνιεν[ται]

eis in regem cui etiam dixit testimonio inveni david filium jessae virum secundum d  
 cor meum qui faciet omnes voluntates meas 23 de autem a semine hujus secundum  
 pollicitationem reeuraxit ipsi israhel salvatorem ihm 24 cum prius praedicasset  
 johannes ante faciem ingressions ejus baptismas poenitentiae omni populo israhel  
 25 et dum impleret cursum johannes dicebat quem suspicamus me esse non sum  
 ego sed ecce veniet post me cujus non sum dignus calciamantum pedum solvere  
 26 viri fratres fili generis abraham et qui in nobis timentes dm nobis verbum  
 salutis hujus missum est 27 qui enim habitabat in hierusalem et principes ejus non  
 intellegentes scripturas prophetaru quas per omnem sabbatum leguntur et cum  
 judicassent impleverunt 28 et nullam causam mortis inventa est in eo judicantes  
 autem eum tradiderunt pilato ut interficeretur 29 et consummaverunt omnia quae  
 de illo scripta sunt petierunt pilatum hunc crucifigi et impetraverunt iterum et  
 deposuerunt de ligno et posuerunt in monumento 30 quem de vero exaltavit  
 31 hic qui visus est his qui cum ascendunt eum eo a galilaeae in hierusalem in

26 ημεῖν] *mg* nobis

28 ἐν αὐτῷ] ✕: in eo ✓

29 πρῶτον . . . Hierosol

μνημεῖον] *mg* postquam crucifixus est, petierunt Pilatum ut de ligno detraherent  
 eum. impetrarunt; et detrahentes eum posuerunt eum in sepulchro

27-29 The text of vsa. 27-29 is dis-  
 cussed in a Detached Note, pp.261-263.

30 The omission of *ἐκ νεκρῶν* D d  
 gig may be the original reading.

αναβᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἷτινές εἰσι  
 μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα 32  
 τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην | ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς 33  
 ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν, ὡς καὶ ἐν  
 Pa. ii. 7 τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ· Υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον  
 γεγέννηκά σε. ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλ- 34  
 Is. lv. 8 λοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὅτι Δώσω ὑμῖν  
 Pa. xvi. 10 τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά. διότι καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει· Οὐ δώσεις 35  
 τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν· Δαυεὶδ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπ- 36  
 ηρητήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκοιμήθη καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς  
 πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδεν διαφθοράν, ὃν δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεῖρεν οὐκ 37  
 εἶδεν διαφθοράν. γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, 38  
 ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται, | καὶ ἀπὸ 39  
 πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωυσέως δικαιωθῆναι ἐν  
 τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται. βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ 40  
 Hab. i. 5 τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις· Ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ 41

Editors 31 εἰσι] [νυν] εἰσι WH νυν εἰσι Soden JHR 33 ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν† WHmg  
 αὐτων ἡμῶν Soden ἡμῶν JHR ψαλμῷ γεγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ  
 γεγραπται JHR 35 διὸ Soden 38 τούτῳ] τούτου WH Soden JHR  
 40 ἐπελθῇ] +[εφ υμᾶς] Soden

Old Uncial 31 εἰσι B εἰσι νυν Ξ νυν εἰσι ΔC 81 (cf. D) 33 ἡμῶν BNA C(+D)  
 αὐτων ἡμῶν 81 ἡσοῦν BNC 81 (cf. D) αὐτων ἐκ νεκρῶν Δ (but rewritten)  
 35 διότι BNA 81 διὸ C 37 ὁ θεὸς BNA C(+D) om 81 38 ἐστὼ υμῶν  
 BO 81 (+D) υμῶν ἐστὼ NA τούτῳ B τούτου NA C 81 (+D) 39 καὶ  
 B 81 (cf. D) om NA C 40 ἐπελθῇ (Ξ ἀπελθῇ) BNN (+D) +εφ υμᾶς ΔC 81

Antiochian 31 om αὐτου H 33 ἡμῶν] αὐτων ἡμῶν HLPSS ψαλμῷ γεγραπται  
 τῷ δευτέρῳ] ψαλμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ γεγραπται LPSS δευτέρῳ ψαλμῷ γεγραπται H  
 35 διότι] διὸ HLPSS 37 om ον δε ὁ θεὸς ἡγεῖρεν οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν S  
 38 τούτῳ] τούτου LPSS (+D) 39 τῷ νομῷ LPSS 40 ἐπελθῇ] +εφ  
 υμᾶς LPSS

31 The unconventional (cf. ii. 32, iii. 15, v. 32, x. 39) and broadly attested νυν is to be retained in spite of its omission in B Antiochian.

33 For the obviously corrupt τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν BNA C D vg, 'to their sons' (without ἡμῶν) is the reading of gig sah boh codā, while Antiochian pesh read τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτων ἡμῶν. Perhaps τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν was the original text (so WH), early corrupted to τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν. The Antiochian may testify to such an earlier text, or may be due

to a conjectural improvement of the B-text.

For hol ✕ *dominū nostrum* cf. τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν 614

For the readings πρώτῳ D, δευτέρῳ BNA C 81 Antiochian, and the grounds for preferring the former, see Detached Note, pp. 263-265.

The completion of the quotation from Pa. ii. 8 in D d hol mg is perhaps to be associated with the preceding enlargement of ἡσοῦν to read τὸν κυρίον ἡσοῦν χριστόν D d (614) Hilary (*dominū nostrum Jesum*) hol mg sah.



ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας, οἷτινες ἄχρι νῦν εἰσιν μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 32 τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας  
 33 ἡμῶν γενομένην ἐπαγγελίαν | ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν  
 τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἀναστήσας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· οὕτως  
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται·

Υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· αἰτησαί παρ'  
 ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν  
 κατὰσχεσίῃ σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.

34 ὅτε δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν  
 εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν

ὅτι Δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά.

35 καὶ ἐτέρως λέγει·

Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν·

36 Δαυεὶδ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπηρετήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκοιμήθη

37 καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἶδεν διαφθοράν, δὲν

38 δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡγείρεν οὐκ εἶδεν δεισφθοράν. γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω

ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὅτι διὰ τούτου ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν

39 καταγγέλλεται καὶ μετάνοια ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν

νόμῳ Μωσέως δικαιωθῆναι, ἐν τούτῳ οὖν πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιου-

40 ται παρὰ θεῷ. βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς

41 προφήταις· Ἰδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανί-

33 ἐμου] αἰμου

38 ἀφσεις

39 δικαιουτε

41 καταφρονητε

diebus pluribus qui usque nunc sunt testes ejus ad populi 32 et nos vos d  
 evangelizamus eam quas patres nostros factam pollicitationem 33 quia hanc d[eu]s  
 adimplevit filiis nostris suscitavit d[eu]m ihs xpm sicut enim in primo psalmo  
 scriptum est filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te postula a me et dabo tibi gentes  
 hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae 34 quando suscitavit eum a  
 portuis jam non rediturum in interitum ita dicit quia dabo vobis sancta david fideles  
 35 ideoque et alia dicit non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem 36 david  
 enim sua progenie cum ministrasset d[eu]o voluntate dormivit et adpositus est ad patres  
 suos et vidit corruptionem 37 quem autem d[eu]s suscitavit non vidit corruptio[n]em  
 38 notum ergo sit vobis viri fratres quia per hunc vobis remissio peccatorum  
 adnuntiatur 39 et paenitentia ab omnibus quibus non potuistis in lege moysi justifi-  
 cari in isto enim omnis qui credit justificatur a d[eu]o 40 videte ergo ne superveniat  
 quod dictum est in prophetis 41 videte contemptores et admiramini et extermina-

33 τὸν κυρίον] ✕ dominum nostrum ✓ αἰτησαι . . . γῆς] mg pete a Herculano  
 me, et dabo tibi gentes in hereditatem tuam et in possessiones tuas limites  
 terrae 38 καὶ μετάνοια] ✕ et poenitentia ✓ 39 οὖν] mg igitur  
 παρὰ θεῷ] mg a deo

34 οὐ 1<sup>o</sup>] οὐ D 614 d (γιαυδο) gig  
 (oum) Hil (oum) is unsuited to the  
 context.

38 δια τούτου] NAC 81 D Antiochian

is preferable because of the sense (cf.  
 vs. 39 εν τούτω) το δια τούτω B  
 minn, in which Y slipped out by  
 haplography.

θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς  
 ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον δ' οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἕάν τις ἐκδιηγῇται  
 ὑμῖν. ἐξιώντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον ἡξίουσαν λαλη- 42  
 θῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς 43  
 ἡκολούθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν σεβομένων προσ-  
 ηλύτων τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ, οἵτινες προσηλαλῶντες αὐτοῖς  
 ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ.

Τῷ τε ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη 44  
 ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς ὄχλους 45  
 ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις  
 βλασφημοῦντες. παρρησιασάμενοί τε ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρνάβας 46  
 εἶπαν· Ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ·  
 ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθείσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρείνετε ἑαυτοὺς τῆς

Editors	42 ἔξιόντων . . ταυτα† WHmg παρεκαλουν εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον WH Soden WHmg ερχομενω] εχομενω WHmg 45 του παυλου Soden	εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον ηξιουν] 44 τε] δε WH Soden JHR θεου] κυριου WHmg Soden JHR 46 επειδη] επει δε WHmg επειδη δε Soden
Old Uncal	41 θαυμασατε BAC 81 (+D) θαυμασετε N BA 81 (+D) εργον εγω εργαζομαι O εργον ο (N <sup>o</sup> om o) εγω εργαζομαι εγω N 42 εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον ηξιουν B παρεκαλουν εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον NAC 81 (cf. D) 43 δε BACN <sup>o</sup> 81 (+D) ταυτοις N αυτοις BNC (+D) αυτου A αυτοις 81 44 τε B δε NAC 81 (+D) ερχομενω BNC 81 (+D) εχομενω ΔΟ <sup>a</sup> θεου BC κυριου B <sup>2</sup> (B <sup>3</sup> Tdf)NA 81 (cf D) 45 δε BNAO om 81 παυλου BNA του παυλου C 81 (+D) λαλουμενοις BNA 81 λεγομενοις C (+D) 46 ην BNA 81 (cf. D) om C επειδη BN (+D) επει δε C 81 επειδη δε ΔN <sup>o</sup> εαυτους B <sup>2</sup>	
Antiochian	41 εγω εργαζομαι LPS <sup>c</sup> om εργον 2 <sup>o</sup> LPS (+D) o] ω 5 42 εξιόντων δε αυτων] εξιόντων δε (+αυτων LS) εκ της συναγωγης των ιουδαιων LPS <sup>c</sup> εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον ηξιουν] παρεκαλουν τα εθνη εἰς το μεταξυ σαββατον LPS <sup>c</sup> om ταυτα PS 43 om τω 2 <sup>o</sup> L (+D) om αυτοις LPS προσμενεν] επιμενεν LPS <sup>c</sup> 44 τω τε] tote L τω δε 5 (+D) 45 του παυλου LPS <sup>c</sup> (+D) λαλουμενοις] λεγομενοις LPS <sup>c</sup> (+D) add αντι- λεγοντες και before βλασφημουντες PS <sup>c</sup> (+D) 46 τε] δε LPS <sup>c</sup> επειδη] +δε LPS <sup>c</sup>	

42 B omits *παρεκαλουν* and inserts *ηξιουν* after *σαββατον*; both implies *ηξιουν*. E e omit *παρεκαλουν*, perhaps for *ηκισιωνται*. Possibly the expansion *αξιωντες βαπτισθηναι* in vs. 43, following *βαρναβα* in 614 *mann* *bol* X, apparently implied by Chrysostom (*Hom. in Act.* xxx. 1), and doubtless a part of the original 'Western' text, may be regarded as supporting the reading of B both as against NAC 81.

Exegetical difficulties (found mainly in the parallelism of vs. 42 and vs. 43), together with some of the variants in vs. 42 (notably *ηξιουν*, *παρεκαλουν*; *μεταξυ*, *εθνη*), have led to a suspicion of primitive corruption of the text (cf. WH, 'Appendix,' pp. 95 f.). But these difficulties (if they are deemed significant at all) can perhaps be better explained from some relation of the author to his source.

44 *ερχομενω* BNC 81 D Antiochian is

σθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ  
 42 πιστεύσητε ἂν τις ἐκδιηγῆσεται ὑμεῖν. καὶ ἐσείγησαν· | ἐξιώντων  
 δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς σάββατον λαληθῆναι αὐτοῖς  
 43 ῥήματα ταῦτα. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἠκολούθησαν πολλοὶ  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ  
 Βαρνάβᾳ, οἵτινες προσλαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἔπ<ε>ιθον τ[.] αὐτοὺς  
 προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐγένετο δὲ καθ' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως  
 διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

44 Τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν ὅλη ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκού-  
 σαι Παύλου. πολὺν τε λόγον ποιησαμένου περὶ τοῦ κυρίου,  
 45 καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου καὶ ἀν-  
 ἔλεγον τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομένοις ἀντιλέγοντες καὶ  
 46 βλασφημοῦντες. παρρησιασάμενός τε ὁ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας  
 εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτούς· Ὑμεῖν πρῶτον ἦν λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον  
 τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ ἀπωθείσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρείνετε

46 απωθίσθαι

κρεινάτε

mini quia opus operor ego in diebus vestris quod non creditis si quis exposnerit d  
 vobis et tacerunt 42 progredientibus vero eis rogabant in sequente sabbato  
 narrari sibi haec verba 43 et dimissa synagoga saecuti sunt multi judaeorum et  
 colentium proselytorum paulum et barnabam qui loquentes cum illis persuadentes eis  
 permanere in gratia dñi factum est autem per omnem civitatem transire verbum dñi  
 44 sequenti autem sabbato paene tota civitas collecta est audire paulū multum  
 verbum faciens de dño 45 et cum vidissent iudei turbam repleti sunt aemulatione  
 et contradicebant sermonibus quae a paulo dicebantur contradicentes et blas-  
 phemantes 46 adhibita vero fiducia paulus et barnabas dixerunt ad eos vobis  
 oportebat primum loqui verbum dñi sed quia repulistis illud et non dignos judicastis

46 vobis oportuit in primis sermonem dei tradi, sed quoniam repulistis eum Tertullian,  
 nec dignos vos aeterna vita existimastis, ecce convertimus nos ad nationes. Aug. 6

46 vobis primum oportuerat iudicari verbum domini, sed quia expulistis Oyprian,  
 illud nec vos dignos vitae aeternae iudicastis, ecce convertimus nos ad gentes. T<sup>est</sup> 1.191

41 καὶ ἐσείγησαν] ✕ et tacuit ✓  
 βαρναβᾶν ✓

εγένετο δε καθ ὅλης της πόλεως διελθειν τον λογον] mg factum  
 est autem per omnem civitatem transire verbum

43 βαρναβα] + ✕ rogantes Harcleian

so deeply rooted in the tradition of the  
 text, and εχόμενῳ ΔΟΞΕ μιν is so  
 easy an emendation, that the harder  
 reading ought to be adopted, if possible.  
 For the same v.l. of Thucyd. vi. 3.

κυρίου NA 81 gīg vg sah is more  
 significant in the context than θεοῦ.  
 τον λογον του θεου BC Antiochian pesh  
 hol boh is a phrase of relatively fre-  
 quent occurrence; the substitution of  
 it may have been suggested here by

vs. 46 (where του θεου well suits the  
 context). κυριον is also supported by  
 the fact that D, in the expanded form  
 of this part of the sentence, reads  
 περι του κυριου. (τον λογον του θεου  
 D, earlier in the verse, stands in a  
 different gloss, even there it is prob-  
 ably due to unskilful conflation with  
 the B-text, since e E vg coitd hol mg,  
 which all contain the gloss, have  
 τον λογον only.)

αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη· οὕτω γὰρ ἐντέταλται 47  
 Ia. xiii. 6 ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος· Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν  
 ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. ἀκούοντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαIRON καὶ ἐδό- 48  
 ξαζον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι  
 εἰς ζωὴν αἰωνίαν· διεφέρετο δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου δι' ὅλης τῆς 49  
 χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς 50  
 εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπήγγειραν διωγμὸν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὁρίων. οἱ δὲ ἐκτυναζόμενοι τὸν κοινορτόν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 51  
 ἤλθον εἰς Εἰκόνιον, οἱ τε μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ πνεύ- 52  
 ματος ἁγίου.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν Εἰκόνιῳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς XIV  
 τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λαλῆσαι οὕτως ὥστε πιστεῦ-  
 σαι Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ ἀπειθήσαντες 2  
 Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπήγγειραν καὶ ἐκάκωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ

Editors	48 θεοῦ] κυρίου WHmg Soden +αυτων WH Soden JHR	αἰωνιον WH Soden JHR 52 τε] δε WHmg	50 οριων]
Old Uncial	47 εντεταλται B <sup>NAO</sup> (cf. D) 48 θεοῦ B(+D) κυρίου <sup>NAO</sup> 81 49 BC(+D) καθ <sup>NA</sup> 81 52 τε BA δε <sup>NO</sup> 81(+D)	εντελλεται 81 50 παρωτρυναν B <sup>NAO</sup> (cf. D) 1 των ιουδαιων BAC <sup>NO</sup> 81(+D)	ο BAC <sup>NO</sup> 81(+D) om <sup>NS</sup> αἰωνιον B αἰωνιον <sup>NAO</sup> 81(+D) παρωξυναν 81 οριων B +αυτων <sup>NAO</sup> 81(+D) om <sup>NS</sup>
Antiochian	48 εχαμεν PS LPSS(+D) οριων] +αυτων LPSS(+D) 52 τε] δε LPSS(+D) LPSS	εδοξα(ε)ν P 50 γυναικας] +και LPSS 51 κοινορτον] +απο S 1 ελληρων τε και ιουδαιων L	θεοῦ] κυρίου LPSS αἰωνιον των βαρναβαν PS <sup>c</sup> ποδων] +αυτων LPSS(+D) 2 απειθουντες

47 ἰδοὺ φως τεθεικα σε τοις εθνεσιν D d (*super gentibus*) Cypri (*inter gentes*) was the 'Western' reading. Also 814 1888 e E have preserved ἰδοὺ; *εἰς γὰρ gentibus*, e *super gentibus*. The facts are accounted for if the B-text of Acts is a translation from the Hebrew (or an Aramaic equivalent) made probably with the aid of, but not wholly in accordance with, the LXX, which reads ἰδοὺ δεδωκα σε εἰς διαθήκην γενους εἰς φως εθνων. (The words εἰς διαθήκην γενους are lacking in Hebrew.) In that case the 'Western' text altered the form by adding ἰδοὺ (LXX; not Hebrew), by improving the barbarous εἰς φως εθνων to φως τοις εθνεσιν, and by giving φως a more prominent position.

For *hol.mg* cf. σωτηριαν εν τοις εθνεσιν 814.

2 The words των ιουδαιων and της συναγωγης D d, which are not found in *hol.mg*, may be later additions to the 'Western' gloss; they introduce a certain inaptness, from which the corresponding text of *hol.mg* is wholly free. *επηγγειραν* D for *επηγγειραν* d *hol.mg* is also doubtful. *αυτους* D (om d) is superfluous in the face of *κατα των δικαιων*, and its origin is not easily guessed, but it ought not to be neglected (cf. vs. 27 and Note). Pesh renders: 'but the Jews who had not believed started up the gentiles that they should hurt the brethren,' which might represent *επηγγειραν τα εθνη του κακωσαι τους αδελφους*, but is

47 ἑαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη· οὕτως  
 γὰρ ἐντέταλκεν ὁ κύριος· Ἴδου φῶς τέθεικά σε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῦ  
 48 εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἀκούοντα τὰ  
 ἔθνη ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν  
 49 ὅσοι ᾔσων τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον· καὶ διεφέρετο ὁ λόγος  
 50 τοῦ κυρίου δι' ὅλης τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυνον  
 τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ ἐπήγειραν θλεῦναι μεγάλην καὶ διωγμὸν ἐπὶ Παῦλον  
 51 καὶ Βαρνάβαν, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν. οἱ  
 δὲ ἐκτιναζόμενοι τὸν κονιορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 52 κατήγγησαν εἰς Εἰκόνιον, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ  
 πνεύματος ἁγίου.

XIV Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν  
 συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λαλῆσαι οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥστε  
 2 πιστεύειν Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ ἀρχισυν-  
 ἀγωγοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐπήγαγον  
 αὐτοῖς διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν δικαίων, καὶ ἐκάκωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν

50 ἐπι] επει

eos in aeternam vitam ecce convertimur ad gentes 47 ita enim mandatum dedit d  
 nobis dñs ecce lumen posui te super gentibus ut sint in salutem usque ad ultimum  
 terrae 48 et cum audirent gentes gavisae sunt et exceperunt verbum dñi et  
 crediderunt quodquod erant in vitam aeternam 49 et divulgabatur verbum dñi  
 per omnem regionem 50 judaei autem instigaverunt caelicolae mulieres honestas  
 et principes civitatis et suscitaverunt tribulationem magnam et persecutionem super  
 paulum et barnabā et eiecerunt eos de finibus eorum 51 ad illi exonso pulvere de  
 pedibus suis super eos venerunt in hucio 52 discipuli vero implebantur gaudio  
 et spū sancto

1 contigit autem ut ichonio similiter introire eos in synagoga judaeorum et loqui  
 sic ad eos ita ut crederent judaeorum et grecorum copiosa multitudo 2 archisyn-  
 agogae judaeorum et principes synagogae incitaverunt persecutionem adversus justos

47 sic enim dixit per scripturam dominus: ecce lucem posui te inter gentes, *Cyprian*  
 ita ut sis in salvationem usque ad fines terras. *Test.* 1. 21

47 σωτηρίαν] + eis ✕ gentibus ✓ 2 αἱ δὲ ἀρχισυναγωγαὶ . . . *Hardean*  
*ειρηνην*] *mg* illi autem archisynagogae et principes excoitaverunt persecutionem,  
 et male affectos reddiderunt animos gentium adversus fratres. dominus autem  
 dedit cito pacem

perhaps only a free translation of the  
 B-text. The precise form of the  
 'Western' text cannot be recovered.  
 For an attempted different explanation

of κατὰ τῶν δικαίων as meaning 'in  
 respect of legal proceedings,' see  
 W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the*  
*Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 46.

τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον διέτρεψαν παρρησιαζό-  
μενοι ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ μαρτυροῦντι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,  
διδόντι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γείνεσθαι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν.  
ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σὺν τοῖς 4  
Ἰουδαίοις οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁρμὴ 5  
τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσι αὐτῶν ὑβρίσαι καὶ  
λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτούς, συνιδόντες κατέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς 6  
Λυκαονίας Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην καὶ τὴν περίχωρον, κακεῖ εὐ- 7  
αγγελιζόμενοι ἦσαν.

Καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λύστροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκάθητο, χωλὸς 8  
ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς οὐδέποτε περιεπάτησεν. οὗτος 9

Editors	3 μαρτυροῦντι] +επι JHR	8 ἐν λυστροῖς ἀδύνατος Soden	
Old Uncial	3 διέτρεψαν B <sup>8</sup> C <sup>81</sup> διέτριβαν A διδόντι BA(+D) διδόντος N και διδοντι C B <sup>8</sup> A C <sup>81</sup> 81 εἰς λυστραν C(+D) ἦσαν ευαγγελιζόμενοι C A C <sup>81</sup> 81	μαρτυροῦντι B C <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) +επι N A και διδοντος 81 6 λυστραν 7 ευαγγελιζόμενοι ἦσαν B <sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) 8 ἀδύνατος ἐν λυστροῖς B <sup>8</sup> ἐν λυστροῖς ἀδύνατος A C <sup>81</sup> 81	
Antiochian	3 οὐν ἐπὶ S HLPSS <sup>-</sup> HLPSS <sup>-</sup>	διδόντι] και διδοντι L S <sup>-</sup> 8 ἐν λυστροῖς ἀδύνατος HLPSS <sup>-</sup> περιεπατηκει HLPSS(+D)	7 ἦσαν ευαγγελιζόμενοι αὐτοῦ] +υπαρχων

The motive of the 'Western' additions in this verse is plainly to overcome the exegetical difficulties of vs. 3 on the assumption that two stages of persecution, a brief lighter one and another more violent, were separated by a period of peace. This is made still more explicit by the form taken in *hcl. mg* by vs. 6, where D, perhaps under Latin influence, conforms substantially to the B-text.

The comment of Ephrem on 2 Tim. iii. 11 (Latin translation, Venice, 1898, pp. 264 f.), as well as his Commentary on Acts, *ad loc.* (see below, p. 418), show traces of the 'Western' character of the Old Syriac used by him in Acts xiii. 50, xiv. 2, 5, 6 (see J. R. HARRIS, *Four Lectures*, pp. 23 f.; Zahn, *Uebersetzung*, pp. 357 f. and *Kommentar*, pp. 462 f.).

8 ἐπὶ N A *peah boh* is so unusual a construction after *μαρτυροῦντι* that it is probably genuine. Its presence may well be due to an Aramaic original (77); cf. *peah* John v. 38, xviii.

37, Acts x 22, 3 John 8; Targum of Job xxix. 11 *לְהַמְלִיכָא*, representing Heb. *לְהַמְלִיכָא*; Palestinian Syriac, Lk. iv. 22 'and all bore to (77) him witness' (O. C. Torrey). In Heb. xi. 4 *עַל* has a different meaning, and is, moreover, probably drawn from the LXX of Gen. iv. 4.

6 In h, as Zahn points out, the pronoun *eis* before LX[ . . . ] translates *tois*; this would prove that this addition was found in the underlying Greek. It should be noted that Berger was not able to decipher anything of the words *sicut eis dixerat eis LX*; but Buchanan, after renewed examination of the *ms.*, is sure of them. No other authority seems to give any hint of this gloss. Buchanan deems it "almost certain from considerations of space that our *ms.* read LXXII and not LXX."

7 The rendering *omne genus h* is held by Zahn to represent *ὅλον το σῶνος* (see xvii. 26, where all Latin texts except d render *genus*, but cf. v.l. *γῆνος*

ἐθνῶν κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔδωκεν ταχὺ εἰρήνην·  
 3 ἱκανὸν μὲν ὄν χρόνον διατρεῖψαντες παρ(ρ)ησιασάμενοι ἐπὶ  
 τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ μαρτυροῦντι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, διδόντι  
 4 σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ἐσχι-  
 σμένον τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 ἄλλοι δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κολλώμενοι διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
 5 θεοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁρμὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων σὺν  
 6 τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν ὑβρίσαι καὶ λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτούς, συν-  
 ιδόντες καὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαωνίας εἰς  
 7 Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην καὶ τὴν περίχωρον ὅλην, κακεῖ εὐαγγελι-  
 ζόμενοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐκευθήθη ὅλον τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ. ὁ  
 δὲ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Λύστροις.  
 8 Καί τις ἀνὴρ ἐκάθητο ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκ κοιλίας τῆς  
 9 μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς οὐδέποτε περιπεπατήκει. οὗτος ἤκουσεν τοῦ

3 αὐτου 2<sup>o</sup>] corrected to αὐτων, perhaps by 1st hand  
 πεπατηκει

8 περι-

et maletractaverunt animas gentium adversus fratres dñs autem dedit comfestum d  
 pacem 3 plurimo ergo tempore commorati sunt habita fiducia in dño qui testi-  
 monium perhibuit verbo gratiae ipsius dans signa et portenta fieri per manus eorum  
 4 divisa autem erat multitudo civitatis et alii quidam erant cum judaeis alii vero  
 cum apostolis adherentes proptarter verbum dñi 5 ut autem factum est impetus  
 gentilium et judaeorum cum magistris ipsorum et injuriaverant et lapidaverunt  
 eos 6 intellexerunt et fugerunt in civitates lycaroniae in lystra et derben et circum  
 totam regionem 7 et illic erant evangelizantes et commota est omnis multitudo in  
 doctrinis paulus autem et barnabas moras faciebant in lystris 8 et quidam vir  
 sedebat adynatus a pedibus ab utero matris suae qui numquam ambulaverat 9 hic

5 runt eos et lapidaverunt, 6 intellexerunt [et fugerunt] in Lycaroniae h  
 civitates, sicut ihs dixerat eis LX[. ., in Lys]tra et Derben et omnes confines  
 regionis. 7 [et bene nñ]habant ut motum est omne genus in doctri[na eorum]  
 Paulus autem et Barnabas commorabantu[r in Lystris]. 8 illic fuit quidam  
 infirmus sedens, languid[us pedibus], qui a vente matris numquam ambulaverat,  
 habens tñmorem. 9 hic libenter auditit apostolos in[apientes]loqui. intuitus

8 [et iterum Lystris Lyciae cum esset Paulus cum Barnaba et a nativitate Irenaeus,  
 claudum] m. 12, 9 ¶

4-6 κολλώμενοι . . . δερβην] mg adherentes propter verbum dei et iterum Hardean  
 excitaverunt persecutionem secundo Judaei cum gentibus; et lapidantes eos  
 ejecerunt eos ex civitate; et fugientes pervenerunt in Lycaroniam in civitatem  
 quandam quae vocatur Lystra et Derben

minn), and this to be the proper  
 of 'Western' reading, and, in the sense  
 of 'all the country-side,' to give a  
 better sense than πλῆθος, which regu-

larly means a definite community;  
 see Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 161 f., 176.  
 8 χωλος is omitted by D d gis,  
 probably as superfluous; h read it.

ἤκουεν τοῦ Παύλου λαλοῦντος· ὃς ἀπένεισας αὐτῷ καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι  
 ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι | εἶπεν μεγάλη φωνῇ· Ἀνάστηθι ἐπὶ 10  
 τοὺς πόδας σου ὀρθός· καὶ ἤλατο, περιεπάτει. οἱ τε ὄχλοι 11  
 ἰδόντες ὃ ἐποίησεν Παῦλος ἐπήραν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν Λυκαονιστὶ  
 λέγοντες· Οἱ θεοὶ ὁμωθέντες ἀνθρώποις κατέβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς·  
 | ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Βαρνάβαν Δία, τὸν δὲ Παῦλον Ἑρμῆν ἐπειδὴ 12  
 αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου. ὃ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος 13  
 πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύρους καὶ στέμματα ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἐνέγκας  
 σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἤθελεν θύειν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι Βαρνά- 14  
 βασ καὶ Παῦλος, διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν ἐξεπηδήσαν εἰς

Editors	9 ἤκουσεν Soden	10 τη φωνῇ Soden	ἤλατο] +καὶ WH Soden
JHR	11 τε] δε Soden	14 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν WHmg	[ε]αὐτῶν Soden

Old Uncial	9 ἤκουεν BC	ἤκουσεν A 81 (+D)	οὐκ ἤκουσεν Ξ	λαλοῦντος BAC <sup>80</sup> 81 (+D)
	λεγοντος Ξ	10 φωνῇ BNC 81	τη φωνῇ A	+σοι λεγω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου C (cf. D)
	δε C 81 (+D)	ἰδόντες BNA 81 (+D)	ἰδοτες C	παῦλος BNA C (+D)
	ο παῦλος 81	αὐτῶν BAC <sup>80</sup> 81 (+D)	om Ξ	ἀνθρώποις BAC <sup>80</sup> 81
	(cf. D) ἀνθρώποις Ξ	12 ἐπειδὴ BAC <sup>80</sup> 81 (+D)	ἐπὶ Ξ	ο BNA 81
	om C (+D)	18 ο τε BNA C <sup>8</sup>	τοτε C	τοτε ο 81
	προς C	προς τῶν πυλῶν 81	ἤθελεν BNA C	ἤθελον 81 (+D)
	14 αὐτῶν BAC <sup>80</sup>	αὐτῶν NC 81 (+D)	εἰς BNA 81 (+D)	ἐπὶ C

Antiochian	9 ἤκουσεν HL (+D)	πίστιν εχει HLPS <sup>5</sup>	10 τη φωνῇ HLPSS <sup>5</sup>
	ορθως HP	ἤλατο] ἤλλετο (ἤλετο H) HLPSS <sup>5</sup>	add καὶ before περιεπατει
	HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	11 τε] δε HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	ο παῦλος HLPSS <sup>5</sup>
	την φωνην S	12 τῶν 1 <sup>o</sup> ] +μεν HLPSS <sup>5</sup>	αὐτῶν
	πολεως] +αὐτῶν HLPSS <sup>5</sup>	ἤθελον HS (+D)	13 τε] δε HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (cf. D)
	HLPSS <sup>5</sup> (+D)	ἐξεπηδήσαν] εἰσεπηδήσαν HLPSS <sup>5</sup>	14 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν

9 *ὑπαρχων ἐν φόβῳ D*, *possidens in timore d*, [*habens in timore h*, is intended to justify Paul's confidence in the man's faith. Note that *h* puts it in a different position, at the close of vs. 8; that *possidens d* may imply the same text as *habens h*; and that Antiochian inserts *ὑπαρχων* after *αὐτου*, vs. 8. The same motive here observed has led to the text of *gig: hic cum audisset paulum loquentem, credidit*.

10 The 'Western' text of Paul's address to the lame man is plainly assimilated to the language of Peter, Acts iii. 6.

The peculiar reading *καὶ εὐθὺς σὺν τῷ λόγῳ ἀνάστας ἤλατο* 1838 seems to be an attempt to improve the difficult

*εὐθὺς παραχρημα* of D (supported by *hol. mg*).

13 The reading of D *μὴν* (*mel*. 614) *τοῦ ὄντος διὸς προ τῆς* (D *om τῆς*) *πολεως* may be a conformation to a current name *Zēds prō pōlews*; see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 51 f., who adduces a dedication *Δι προσακτιω*, and from an inscription of Smyrna the phrase *ιερεα προ πολεως*, cf. also *Inscr. Gr. Iuviv.* (*Thera*), 522 *ιερεα . . του προ πολεως Διονυσου*; 420 *η γεραιρα του προ πολεως . . Διονυσου*, cited by Blass, *Syncl. Krit.*, 1900, p. 27. The unhellenic phrase of the B-text *του διος του ὄντος προ τῆς πολεως* may well reflect a Semitic original. It is further possible (cf.



- Παύλου λαλούντος ὑπάρχων ἐν φόβῳ· ἀπενίστας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος  
 10 καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι | εἶπεν μεγάλη φωνῇ· Σοὶ  
 λέγω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀνάστηθι ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πόδας σου ὀρθὸς καὶ περιπάτει. καὶ εὐθέως παρακρήμα  
 11 ἀνήλατο καὶ περιεπάτει. οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἰδόντες ὁ ἐποίησεν Παῦλος  
 ἐπήραν φωνὴν αὐτῶν Λυκαωνιστὶ λέγοντες· Οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοιωθέντες  
 12 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατέβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἐκάλουν δὲ Βαρνάβαν  
 Δίαν, τὸν δὲ Παῦλον Ἑρμῆν ἐπεκλειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ἡγούμενος τοῦ  
 13 λογοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως ταύρους αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ στέμματα ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἐνέγκαντες σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις  
 14 ᾗθελον ἐπιθύειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος, διαρρήξαν-  
 τες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεπήδησαν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον, κρίζοντες

audivit paulum loquentem possidens in timore intuitus autem eum paulum et videns d  
 quia habet fidem ut salvus fiat 10 dixit voce magna tibi dico in nomine dñi ihu xpi  
 surge supra pedes tuos rectus et ambula et statim subito exiit et ambulabat  
 11 turba autem videns quod fecit paulus levaverunt vocem suam lycæoni dicentes  
 du adsumlati hominibus descenderunt ad nos 12 vocabant barnaban jovem paulum  
 vero mercurium quoniam ipse erat princeps sermonum 13 sacerdotes autem qui  
 erant jovis ante civitate tauros eis et coronas ad jannas adherentes cum turba volentes  
 immolare 14 cum audisset autem barnabas et paulus considerunt vestimenta sua

est eum et cognovit Populu[s] quoniam] haberet fidem ut salvaretur. 10 clamans h  
 dixit ei [magna voce: tibi dico in nomine ihu, nostri dñi, fili dñi, surge  
 supra pedes tuos rectus, et ambula. et ille infirmus [exiit] et ambulabat.  
 11 et turbæ, videntes quod fecit Paulus], adlevaverunt vocem Lycæonicæ  
 dicent[es: du sum]laverunt se hominibus et descenderun[t ad nos. 12 et]  
 vocaverunt Barnaban Jovem Populum s[utem Mer]curium, quoniam ipse erat  
 princeps verborum. 13 et [ad portam] erat sacerdos Jovis: tauros et dia-  
 demata e[st coronas] adduxit ad jannas cum plebe, volens immo[lare]. 14 et cum  
 audissent Paulus et Barnabas ista, con[siderunt] suum vestimentum, accurrentes

10 in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi [ambulare fecisset].

10 om nostri Turner

Irenæus,  
 in. 12, 9 (12)

10 σοι λεγω . . . περιπατει] *mg* tibi dico in nomine domini Jesu Christi,  
 surge in pedes tuos recte, et ambula. et statim eadem hora exiibat et  
 ambulabat 11 Λυκαωνιστι] *mg* lingua Lycæoniæ

Harleian

Ramsay) that the 'Western' *οἱ ἱερεῖς*  
 D 460 d *gig* Ephr made the scene more  
 conceivable to a Greek familiar with  
 the customs of temples served by more  
 than one priest. But in both points the  
 variants are also susceptible of  
 explanation in the reverse order. The  
 decision must depend on the general  
 view taken of the two texts.

The conjectured reading in h [*ad*  
*portam*] is by no means certain.

*ἐπιθύειν* D is a less common word than

*θυεῖν* of all other witnesses, but since  
 it does not always have any distincto-  
 tive meaning, and the context here  
 suggests none, there is no sufficient  
 internal reason for preferring either  
 reading.

See W. M. Calder, in *Expositor*,  
 7th Series, vol. x, 1910, pp 1 ff., 148 ff.

14 The omission of *οἱ ἀποστολοι* in  
 D d h *gig* *peah* is balanced in h, vs. 9,  
 by the substitution of *ἀποστολος* for  
*Paulum*.

τὸν ὄχλον, κράζοντες | καὶ λέγοντες· Ἄνδρες, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; 15  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἔσμεν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς  
ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα ὃς ἐποίη-  
Bz. xx. 11 σεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν  
αὐτοῖς· ὃς ἐν ταῖς παρωχημέναις γενεαῖς εἶασεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη 16  
πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν· καίτοι οὐκ ἁμάρτυρον αὐτὸν ἀφήκεν 17  
ἀγαθουργῶν, οὐρανόθεν ὑμῖν ὑετοὺς διδοὺς καὶ καιροὺς καρπο-  
φόρους, ἐμπιπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.  
καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες μόλις κατέπαυσαν τοὺς ὄχλους τοῦ μὴ θύειν 18  
αὐτοῖς. ἐπῆλθαν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Εἰκονίου Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ 19

Editors 17 αὐτων] εαυτον Soden διδους νετοις Soden

Old Uncial 15 τι BNC 81 (+D) εἰ τι A εσμεν υμιν BNA 81 (+D) υμιν εσμεν C  
ζῶντα BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 (+D) τον ζῶντα N 17 καίτοι BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 καίτοιγε N  
(cf. D) αὐτον BNA εαυτον CN<sup>o</sup> 81 (+D) υμιν BNC (+D) om AN<sup>o</sup> 81  
νετοις διδους BC (+D) διδους νετοις NA 81 υμιν BNC 81 (+D) ημων AN<sup>o</sup>  
18 κατεπαυσαν BNA 81 (+D) κατεπαυσαντο C αὐτοις BNA (+D) +αλλα  
πορευεσθαι εκαστον εις τα ιδια C 81 19 επηλθαν δε BNA διατριβοτων δε  
αυτων και (om και C) διδασκοντων επηλθον C 81 (cf. D)

Antiochian 15 om και before ημεις S (+D) om υμιν H τον θεον τον ζῶντα  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) 17 καίτοι] καίτοιγε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) αὐτον] εαυτον  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (+D) αγαθουργων] αγαθοποιων HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (+D) υμιν] ημιν S  
υμων] ημων HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

15 The conjectured *δι[ε] his vanis ut conuertamini* h is less likely than *δι[ε]m ut ad his vanis conuertamini*, as in D d Ps-Aug. spec. Iren. The rendering of *h ad eum qui fecit* (i.e. *επι τον ποιησαντα*) may correctly represent the 'Western' text, since it may be suspected that the text of D is conflated, and that *τον θεον ζῶντα* has been supplied from the B-text. The text which seems to be represented by h corresponds well to the familiar traits of the 'Western' paraphrast, who objected to the unexampled use here of *ευαγγελιζόμενοι* followed by an appeal instead of an announcement, and therefore introduced *θεον* in a different connexion.

18 For *hol.ing* [*quum hanc*] *discessit* cf. *εικortes* 614 min.

The reading [*persuaserunt*] h is supported by *ειπσαν* 917 1874 sah, and perhaps by *suaderent* vg. cod. D. It suits well the addition *αλλα πορευεσθαι εκαστον εις τα ιδια* C 81 614 and many minuscules (cf. v. 18 D), which, although attested as 'Western'

by *hol.ing*, is not found in D. The rendering of h is in any case probably free, but the conjectural restoration *δι[ε]πισσειοντε* is doubtful. The older conjecture *δι[ε]scedere* seems, however, to be forbidden by the following *ι*, and by the fact that a transitive verb is required by the following *eos*.

19 The addition *και διαλεγόμενοι αυτων . . . ψευδονται*, found not in D d but in C 81 min h *hol.ing*, gives the 'Western' paraphrase; the early Latin translators in part failed to understand the Greek, taking *αυτων* to refer to the Jews, in part indulged in their habitual freedom. After *ψευδονται* (which closes the passage in C 81 min) the 'Western' text seems to have continued with *και επισσεωσantes τους οχλους και λιθασantes τον παυλον* (so *hol.ing*, h substantially the same, freely rendered). *ειπσεωσantes* D (cf. d *gig e peah*) is a survival from this text, not a mere corruption of *πεισantes*, as might at first be supposed.

The suggestion of Zahn that the

- 15 | καὶ φωνοῦντες· Ἄνδρες, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; ἡμεῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς  
 ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμῖν τὸν θεὸν ὅπως  
 ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέψητε ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ζῶντα τὸν  
 ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα  
 16 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὅς< > ἐν ταῖς παρωχημέναις γενεαῖς εἴασε πάντα τὰ  
 17 ἔθνη πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν· καί γε οὐκ ἁμάρτυρον ἀφήκεν  
 ἑαυτὸν ἀγαθοποιῶν, οὐρανόθεν ὑμῖν ὑετοὺς διδοὺς καὶ καιροὺς  
 καρποφόρους, ἐνπιμπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης καρδίας ὑμῶν.  
 18 καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες μόνις κατέπαυσαν τοὺς ὄχλους τοῦ μὴ θύειν  
 19 αὐτοῖς. διατριβόντων αὐτῶν καὶ διδασκόντων ἐπὶ ἑλθόν τινας

15 ποιεῖται ομοιοπαθεῖς ἐπιστρέφεται  
 16 παντα] κατα

et exierunt ad turbas clamantes 15 et vociferantes viri quid haec facitis nos d  
 pascentes sumus vobis hominibus evangelizamus vobis dm ut ab his vanis converta-  
 mini ad dm vivum qui fecit caelum et terram et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt  
 16 qui in praeteritis saeculis sanavit omnes gentes ambulate vias suas 17 et quidem  
 non sine testimonio reliquit se ipsū benefaciens de caelo vobis imbrans dans et  
 tempora fructifera implens cibo et jucunditate corda vestra 18 et haec dicentes et  
 conspescuerunt turbas ne sibi immolarent 19 moras facientes eos et docentes super-

ad plebem. 15 [et clamā]tes dicebant: viri, quid haec facitis? nos ho[m]ines h  
 sū]mus vestri corporis, nuntiantes vobis d[eu]m . . . . con]vertamini ad eum  
 qui fecit caelum et terrā, [mare et] omnia quae in eis sunt. 16 qui prae-  
 teritis tempo[ribus] d[omi]ni omni gentis hominum ire in viam suam. 17 [et non  
 int]estabilem dimisit se, sed magis benefecit, dans [vobis plu]viam dae caelo et  
 tempora fructuosa, adimplens [cibo et ju]cunditate corda vestra. 18 et haec  
 dicentes, [vix persua]serunt ne immolarent sibi illi homines: et d[im]iserun]t  
 eos ab se. 19 et cum ibi commorarentur et doce[rent, supe]r]venerunt quidam

15 nos similes vobis sumus homines, evangelizantes vobis deum, uti ab eis <sup>Iranensis,</sup>  
 vanis simulacris convertamini ad deum vivum, qui fecit caelum et terram, mare <sup>III 12, 9 (12)</sup>  
 et omnia quae in eis sunt: 16 qui in praeteritis temporibus permisit omnes  
 gentes abire vias suas, 17 quamquam non sine testimonio semetipsum reliquit  
 benefaciens, de caelo dans vobis pluvias et tempora fructifera, adimplens cibo et  
 hilaritate corda vestra.

18 λέγοντες] mg [quum] dixissent του μη θυειν αυτους] + mg sed abire <sup>Harleian</sup>  
 quemque ad sua 19 διατριβόντων . . . πολεως] mg quum commorarentur  
 autem et docerent, veneiunt contra eos Judaei ab Iconio et ab Antiochia, et cum  
 fiducia loquentes persuaserunt turbis discedere ab iis, dicentes quod nihil veri  
 dicerent sed omnia falso affirmarent. quum excitassent turbas et lapidassent  
 Paulum, traxerunt eum extra civitatem

addition in O, etc., is a part of the B-text which fall out by an early  
 homeoteleuton (πεισαν τους οχλους  
 . . . επωσεισαντες τους οχλους) is made  
 less probable by the inclusion in O

etc. of the preceding words διαλε-  
 γομενων αυτων παρησια, which do not  
 fall within the homeoteleuton, and  
 by the fact that O elsewhere contains  
 survivals of the 'Western' paraphrase.

πέισαντες τοὺς ὄχλους καὶ λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον ἔσυρον ἔξω  
τῆς πόλεως, νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθηγένηαι. κυκλωσάντων δὲ τῶν  
μαθητῶν αὐτὸν ἀναστὰς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον  
ἔξῃλθεν σὺν τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ εἰς Δέρβην. εὐαγγελισάμενοι τε τὴν 21  
πόλιν ἐκείνην καὶ μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανοὺς ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν  
Λύστραν καὶ εἰς Εἰκόνιον καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπιστηρίζοντες τὰς 22  
ψυχὰς τῶν μαθητῶν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει καὶ ὅτι  
διὰ πολλῶν θλείψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ  
θεοῦ. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους 23  
προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστεῶν παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ εἰς  
ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Πισιδίαν ἦλθαν εἰς τὴν 24  
Παμφυλίαν, καὶ λαλήσαντες ἐν Πέργῃ τὸν λόγον κατέβησαν εἰς 25  
Ἀτταλίαν, | κακείθεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὅθεν ᾔσαν παραδεδομένοι 26

Editors 21 αντιοχειαν] [eis] αντιοχειαν WH eis αντιοχειαν Soden JHR 25 εν  
περγη] eis την περγην WEHmg JHR λογον] +του κυριου Soden 26 κακειθεν]  
+απεπλευσαν WH Soden JHR

Old Uncal 19 πεισαντες τους οχλους B<sup>8</sup>A και διαλεγομενων αυτων παρρησια επεισαν (81  
ανεπεισαν) τους οχλους αποστηναι απ αυτων λεγοντες οτι ουδεν αληθες λεγουσιν  
αλλα παντα ψευδονται C 81 λιθασαντες B<sup>8</sup>CO 81 (+D) λιθοβολησαντες A  
εξω BAC<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) om B νομιζοντες B<sup>8</sup>A 81 (+D) νομισαντες C  
20-21 om και τη επαυριον . . . την πολιν B (B<sup>8</sup> suppl) 21 ευαγγελι-  
σαμενοι BC<sup>8</sup> 81 ευαγγελιζομενοι A(+D) μαθητευσαντες B<sup>2</sup>  
αντιοχειαν B 81 (+D) eis αντιοχειαν B<sup>8</sup>AC 22 παρακαλουντες B<sup>8</sup>A 81  
και παρακαλουντες C παρακαλουντες τε B<sup>8</sup>(+D) 24 διελθοντες  
BAC 81 (+D) +eis B την 20 B<sup>8</sup>CO 81 om A(+D) 25 εν περγη  
BC<sup>8</sup>M(+D) eis περγην A eis την περγην B 81 λογον B(+D) +του κυριου  
B<sup>8</sup>AC 81 26 κακειθεν B +απεπλευσαν B<sup>8</sup>AC 81 (+D)

Antiochian 19 νομισαντες HLPB<sup>8</sup> τεθναι HLPB<sup>8</sup>(+D) 20 αυτον (αυτων  
IS) των μαθητων HLPB<sup>8</sup> εξηλθεν] εισηλθεν H 21 ευαγγελιζομενοι  
HP(+D) om eis 20 HLPB<sup>8</sup>(+D) 23 πρεσβυτερους κατ εκκλησιαν  
HLPB<sup>8</sup> αυτους] αυτοις L 24 om την 20 HLPB<sup>8</sup>(+D)  
26 κακειθεν] +απεπλευσαν LPB<sup>8</sup>(+D) +απεπλευσαν H

20 In h *disciones* is an error for *discipulos*. For [*cum discipulis*] *discipulis* another conjectural restoration is [*cum interdiscipulis*]. With this latter, *populus* is an error for *paulus*, as in vsa 9 and 12, and the clause is repeated in *ισταντι se*. The clause in h is not otherwise attested. Possibly *circumdeduxerunt* may explain the impossible *κυκλωσαντες* of D d, in which *xs*, the 'Western' text may have been badly conformed to the B-text. αυτου D d e (E αυτον των μαθητων αυτου) finds no support in h and is probably an early error for αυτων.

The addition of *vespere* h is found also in sah and, in much expanded form, in Ephrem's Commentary (below, p. 420).

In Codex Bezae Blass (*St. Kr.*, 1898, p. 541) suggests *[v]w* for *Scrivener's [sur] tw*, partly on the ground of space.

21 ευαγγελιζομενοι A D Antiochian is probably due to an incomplete conformation of a 'Western' *ευαγγελιστρο* [-οντο?] (of. h) to the text of BC 81 L *ευαγγελισαμενοι* (B is here lacking by a homoeoteleuton). As between the

Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπὸ Ἰκονίου καὶ Ἀντιοχίας, καὶ ἐπισείσαντες τοὺς  
 ὄχλους καὶ λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον ἔσυραν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως,  
 20 νομίζοντες τεθνάναι αὐτόν. κυκλωσάντων δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν  
 αὐτοῦ ἀναστὰς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Λύστραν πόλιν. καὶ τὴν ἐπ-  
 21 αῦριον ἐξῆλθεν [σὺν] τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ εἰς Δέρβην. εὐαγγελιζόμενοι  
 δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μαθητεύσαντες πολλοὺς ὑπέστρεφον  
 22 εἰς Λύστραν καὶ Εἰκόνιον καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπιστηρίζοντες τὰς  
 ψυχὰς τῶν μαθητῶν, παρακαλοῦντές τε ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει καὶ  
 ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλείψεων δεξιῇ ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
 23 τοῦ θεοῦ. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυ-  
 τέρους προσευξάμενοι δὲ μετὰ νηστείων παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ  
 24 κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκασιν. διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Πισιδίαν ἦλθαν  
 25 εἰς Παμφυλίαν, καὶ λαλήσαντες ἐν Πέργῃ τὸν λόγον κατέβησαν  
 26 εἰς Ἀτταλίαν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι αὐτούς, κακεῖθεν ἀπέπλευσαν  
 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὅθεν ἦσαν παραδεδομένοι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ

19 ἐπεισεύσαντες

20 κυκλωσάντες

venerunt autem judaei ab iconio et antiochia et cum istigassent turbam et lapidassent d  
 paulum traxerunt extra civitatem existimantes mortuum esse eum 20 circueuntes  
 enim discipuli ejus cum surrexisset introibit in lystram civitate et altera die exivit  
 cum barnaban derben 21 evangelizantes autem in illa civitate et discipulos fecissent  
 plures reversi sunt lystram et iconium et antiochiam 22 confirmantes enim animas  
 discipulorum exhortantes ut permanerent in fidem et quia per multas conflictationes  
 oportet nos introire in regnum dñi 23 et cum ordinassent illis per ecclesias presby-  
 teros orantes autem cum jejunationibus commendaverunt eos dō in quem crediderunt  
 24 regressi autem pisidiam venerunt in pamphyliam 25 et locuti apud pergen  
 verbum descenderunt in attaliam evangelizantes eos 26 et inde enavigarunt antio-

Judaei ab Iconia et Antio[chia, qui] palam disputabant verbum dñi. persuade- h  
 bant [illis ho]minib. ne crederent eis docentibus, dicentes [quia nihil] veri  
 dicunt sed in omnibus mentiuntur. [et concita]berunt turbam, ut lapidarent  
 Paulum: quē [trahente]s foras extra civitatem, putabunt eum esse [mortuum].  
 20 tunc circumdederunt eum dicentes, et [cum disce]ssisset populus vespere,  
 levavit se, et intro[]ivit civit[ate]m Lystrum, et altera die exivit cum Barna[ban  
 in] Derben. 21 et bene nuntiavit eis qui erant in [civita]te, et docuerunt  
 multos. tunc reversi sunt [Lystra] et Iconium et Antiochiam, 22 confortantes  
 ani[m]as disce[ntium], et rogantes eos permanere in fide, [dicentes] quia per  
 multas tribulationes oportebit vos [introire] regnum dñi. 23 et constituerunt  
 eis majores na[tu]

22 καὶ [+mg] dicentes 25 τὸν λόγον] verbum ✕: domini ✓ εὐαγγελι- Harclean  
 ζομενοι αὐτοῖς] ✕: evangelizantes iis ✓

two participles, the aorist alone yields 22 For hcl. mg of λεγῶντες 1611  
 a possible sense. hnd.

τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν. παραγενόμενοι 27  
δὲ καὶ συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνήγγελλον ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ  
θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως.  
διέτρειβον δὲ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. 28

Καὶ τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς XV  
ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωυσέως, οὐ  
δύνασθε σωθῆναι. γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ 2  
ὀλίγης τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν  
Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν καὶ τινες ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος

1 περιτμηθῇτε] περιβμητε

Editors	2 om ἐξ αὐτων JHR		
Old Uncial	27 συναγαγοντες B <sup>h</sup> AC (cf D) συναγοντες 81 ο θεος εποισεν N(+D) 28 ουκ B <sup>h</sup> AC(+D) om 81 B <sup>h</sup> (B <sup>h</sup> Tdf) εθει BAC 81 (+D) εθι N δυνασθαι C 2 δε B <sup>h</sup> C 81 (+D) ουν A ἐξ αὐτων αλλους N πρεσβυτερος B <sup>h</sup> A 81 (+D) τους πρεσβυτερος C	εποισεν ο θεος BAC 81 1 περιτμηθῇτε δυνασθε B <sup>h</sup> A 81 (+D) αλλους ἐξ αὐτων BAC 81 τους πρεσβυτερος C	
Antiochian	27 ἀνηγγελων HLPSS(+D) 28 δε] +εκει HLPSS HLPSS <sup>o</sup> om τω 2 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS(+D)	1 περιτεμνηθε 2 δε] ουν HPS <sup>o</sup>	
	ζητήσεως] συζητήσεως 5		

27 The reading *μετα των ψυχων* αυτων D d gig cannot be explained except from Semitic influence of some kind, which is, however, equally present in *μετ αυτων* of the usual text. The difficulty in the way of the simple explanation that *μετα των ψυχων αυτων* is the original direct translation from Aramaic, later softened to *μετ αυτων*, is that the corresponding Aramaic would mean, not 'with them,' but 'with *themselfes*' (reflexive or emphatic), while here no such emphasis is admissible. That is, the reading of D looks like either imitation of Aramaic or the result of some still more complicated process. The preceding αυτοις (D d, not represented in gig) cannot easily be explained as due to conflation, since no other known text has αυτοις; of the similar superfluous αυτοις in xiv. 2 D. Both may well be due to the Aramaic proleptic pronoun, cf. also αυτοις xv. 2 D d, and see Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 88, where, however, the more difficult problem of xiv. 27 is not discussed.

1-5 The narrative of vs. 1-5 was

extensively and constantly rewritten in the 'Western' text at several points. All the more important 'Western' readings have been preserved in *hol mg.* or *hol \**; all but one (vs 1, + των πεπιστευκτων απο της αιρεσεως των φαρισαιων) in D d. Some of these are still found in other Greek and in Latin codices and in Ephrem. The distinctive general picture of the course of events on the part of the 'Western' reviser is noteworthy; and seems inconsistent with any hypothesis of identity of authorship for the two forms of the text. As between the two texts the B-text is clearly the more original. Many minor variants cannot be referred to here.

One leading motive for rewriting was to obviate the strange lack of sequence by which in the B-text the controversy at Jerusalem is introduced in vs. 5 quite as if no previous controversy at Antioch had just been described. The 'Western' text, moreover, enhances the importance of the Judaean Christians by stating that they (rather than the Antiochian church, as in the B-text) urged that

27 εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν. παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ συνάξαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνήγγειλαν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως. 28 διέτριβον δὲ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

xv Καὶ τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε καὶ τῷ ἔθει Μωσέως περι- 2 πατῆτε, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι. γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητή- σεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένετε οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν δισχυριζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὅπως κριθῶσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

27 ἀγγειλον

ἡνυξε

2 στασεως] εκτασεως

chiam unde erant traditi in cratia dī ad opus quod impleverunt 27 cum advenissent d autem et collegissent ecclesiam renuntiaverunt quas dīs fecit illis cum animabus eorum et quia aperuit gentibus ostium fidei 28 demorabantur vero tempus non modicum cum discipulis

1 et quidam cum advenissent a judaea docebant fratres quia non circumcisi fueritis et more moysi ambulaveritis non potestis salvi fieri 2 facta ergo seditione et questione non modica a paulo et barnaba ad eos dicebat autem paulus manere sic sicut crediderunt qui autem venerunt ab hierusalem statuerunt eis paulo et barnabae et quosdam alios ascendere apostolos et presbyteros in hierusalem ut judicent super

1 *ιουδαίας*] +*mg* ex illis qui crediderunt de haeresi Pharisaeorum καὶ 2<sup>o</sup>] Harelean *mg* quoque περιπατῆτε] *mg* ambuletis 2 *ελεγεν* . . . ἀποστόλους] *mg* dicebat enim Paulus manere ita sicut quis crediderit firmiter. illi autem qui venerant ab Hierosolyma jusserunt tunc Paulum et Barnabam et quosdam alios ascendere ad apostolos οπως κριθωσιν επ αυτοις] ✕ ut djudicarentur coram iis ✓

Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem, and that the purpose was the trial of the case before (literally, 'in the presence of') the apostles and elders at Jerusalem.

1 The designation of the brethren arriving from Judaea as former Pharisees (614 minn *hol.mg*) was drawn from vs. 5, and it seems to have been intended that it should there be omitted. In D d *hol.mg* it was restored in vs. 5, and in D d, consistently, dropped in vs. 1. The text of D d in vs. 5 is a crude and easily recognizable conflation, and clearly reveals what has taken place. See Conybeare's note on the text of Ephrem (below, pp. 423, 425).

2 (a) The addition *ελεγεν γαρ* . . . δισχυριζόμενος (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 8, 20, 24, 40, which is probably the source of the addition) is found with some

variation of language in D d *gig w* vg. *codd* *hol.mg*, and Ephrem. Nowhere is it introduced after the genitive absolute with complete grammatical success (d vg. *codd* *dicebat autem*; D *ελεγεν γαρ*; *gig* *hol.mg* 'for'); and a conflation (not, however, peculiar to D) may be suspected. *δισχυριζόμενος* was nowhere adopted save in D and in *hol.mg* (where it is represented by an adverb).

(b) *οι δε εληλυθοτες* . . . καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις seems to be an integral part of this gloss, but is found only in D d *hol.mg*, although it is implied in Ephrem and *autem* *gig* is perhaps a surviving trace of it. *αυτοις* D d (*eis*) is not easily explained.

(c) *οπως κριθωσιν επ αυτοις* D d 614 minn (*επ αυτων*) *hol.✕* Ephrem.

(d) *αλλους εξ αυτων*] *εξ αυτων αλλους*

τούτου. οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο 3  
τὴν τε Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμαρείαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν  
τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐποιοῦν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.  
παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεδέχθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ- 4  
κλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀγγελλάν  
τε ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν μετ' αὐτῶν. ἐξανέστησαν δέ τινες τῶν 5  
ἀπὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες, λέγοντες ὅτι  
δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς παραγγέλλειν τε τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωυσέως.

Συνήχθησάν τε οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἰδεῖν περὶ 6  
τοῦ λόγου τούτου. πολλῆς δὲ ζητήσεως γενομένης ἀναστὰς 7  
Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὅτι  
ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου  
ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ὁ 8  
καρδιογνώστης θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς δούς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ

Editois	4 ἀπο] υπο Soden	8 δους] +[αυτοῖς] Soden
¶14 Unclal	3 τε BNC 81 (+D) om Δ	ἐκδιηγούμενοι BAC <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D)
	διηγούμενοι N	4 ιεροσολυμα BA 81 ιερουσαλημ NC(+D) παρεδεχθησαν
	BNA 81 (cf. D) απεδεχθησαν μεγαλως C(+D)	απο BC υπο NA 81 (+D)
	και 1 <sup>ο</sup> BAC <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om N	τε BAC <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om N ο θεος εποησεν
	μετ αυτων BNA C	εποησεν μετ αυτων ο θεος 81 (cf. D) 5 τινες BNC 81 (+D)
	+ανδρες Δ	6 τε BC 81 δε NA(+D) 7 δε BNA C(+D) τε 81
	ζητησεως BNA 81 συνζητησεως C(+D)	οτι BAC <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om N
	8 εμαρτυρησεν BNA 81 (+D) διεμαρτυρησεν C	δους BNA 81 +αυτους C
	(cf. D)	
Antiochian	3 om τε HLPSS <sup>7</sup>	την σαμαριαν HS(+D) om πασι S
	4 ιερουσαλημ HLPSS(+D)	παρεδεχθησαν] απεδεχθησαν HLPSS <sup>7</sup>
	απο] υπο HLPSS(+D)	αυτων] +και οτι ηρωξαν τοις αθεοις θυραν πιστewe HL
	5 πεπιστευκωτων L	6 τε] δε HLPSS(+D) 7 ζητησεως] συνζητησεως
	HLPSS(+D)	εν υμιν εξελεξατο ο θεος] ο θεος εν ημιν εξελεξατο HLPSS <sup>7</sup>
	om τον λογον P	8 δους] +αυτοις HLPSS <sup>7</sup> (cf. D)

N. This variation in order and the absence of anything corresponding to εἰς αὐτὸν in the 'Western' paraphrase lead to the suspicion that εἰς αὐτὸν did not form a part of the original text. Possibly the translation of the Peshitto, 'with them,' is evidence in the same direction.

5 In the face of οἱ δε παραγγειλantes . . . πρεσβυτεροι D d hol. mg, the words from the B-text τινες . . . πεπιστευκότες ought not to appear in the 'Western' text, which had sufficiently described these persons in vs. 1 (so 614 mmm hol. mg). In

hol. mg the roughness of the text produced by the conflation is somewhat reduced; in D d the glaring incongruity is left unrelieved. Const. Apost. vi. 12 (see above, pp. xcvi-viii) does not refer to 'Pharisees' in its résumé of vs. 5, and probably follows the thoroughly 'Western' text of the original Didascalia (modified in the extant Syriac translation). Ephrem (Catena, see below, p. 428, with Conybeare's note) seems to imply for vs. 1 a text like that of D, and gives no indication that his text mentioned 'Pharisees' in vs. 5.



- 3 περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου. οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο τὴν τε Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίαν  
ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐποίουν χαρὰν  
4 μεγάλην πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱερου-  
σαλὴμ παρεδέχθησαν μεγάλως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἡ ἀπηγγειλαντες ὅσα ἐποίησεν  
5 ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ παραγγέλλαντες αὐτοῖς ἀναβαίνειν  
πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐξανέστησαν λέγοντές τινας ἀπὸ τῆς  
αἵρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνεν  
αὐτοὺς παραγγέλλειν δὲ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωσέως.  
6 Συνήχθησαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ  
7 λόγου τούτου. πολλῆς δὲ συνζητήσεως γενομένης ἀνέστ[η]σεν  
ἐν πνεύματι Πέτρος καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,  
ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο  
διὰ στόματός μου ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ  
8 πιστεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ καρδιογνώστης ὁ θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς δοῦν[αι]

4 παρεδεχθησαν] παρεδοθησαν  
7 ἐπιστασθαι

δ αἵρεσεως] ἐρεσεως

eos de questione hanc 3 illi quidem praemissi ab ecclesia regrediebantur phoenicem d  
et samariam exponentes reversionem gentium et efficiebat gaudium magnum omnibus  
fratribus 4 cum pervenissent autem hierusalem excepti sunt mirae ab ecclesia et  
apostolis et presbyteris renuntiaverunt quanta fecit deus cum illis 5 qui autem prae-  
ceperunt eis ascendere ad praesbyteros surrexerunt dicentes quidam de heresim  
pharisaeorum crediderunt quia oportet circumcidi eos praecipendumque servari  
legem moysi 6 convenierunt autem apostoli et praesbyteri videre de sermone hoc  
7 et cum multa altercation fieret surrexit in sp[iritu] petrus et dixit ad eos viri fratres vos  
scitis quia a diebus antiquis in vobis deus elegit per os meum audire gentes verbum  
evangelii et credere 8 qui autem corda vobis deus testimonium perhibuit eis dedit

7 Petrus dixit eis : viri fratres, vos scitis quoniam a diebus antiquis in vobis Irenaeus,  
deus elegit, ut ex ore meo audirent gentes verbum evangelii et crederent : 8 et III. 12, 14 (17.  
cordis inspector deus testimonium perhibuit eis, dans eis spiritum sanctorum

4 μεγ[αλ]ως] ✕ magnifice ✓ 5 οἱ δὲ παραγγέλλαντες . . . πεπιστευκότες] Herculian  
mg illi autem quum jussissent eos ascendere ad seniores surrexerunt adversus  
apostolos, quum essent illi qui credidissent de haeresi Pharisaeorum 6 πρε-  
σβυτεροί] test[is] seniores cum multis 7 ἐν πνεύματι] mg in spiritu sancto

6 πρεσβυτεροί] +σιν τω πληθει 614  
minn hol. text Ephrem (Catena, below,  
p. 425) ; probably 'Western,' plainly  
suggested by vs. 22.

7 Luke hol. mg, 614 257 read ἐν  
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, placing the words after  
πετρος ; similarly D d have ἐν πνεύματι  
before πετρος. Tertullian and Ephrem

(Catena, below, p. 425) both had the  
gloss.

ἐν ὑμῖν BNAO 81 Iren vg. cod. ar-  
machi is probably right. The change  
to ἐν ἡμῖν Antiochian gic Rebaht vg  
was easy. Peah sah omitt. Cf.  
Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*,  
pp. 21 f.

ἄγιον καθὼς καὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐθὲν διέκρινεν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε καὶ 9  
 αὐτῶν, τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν. νῦν οὖν τί 10  
 πειράζετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθη-  
 τῶν ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι;  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πιστευόμεν σωθῆναι 11  
 καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἀκείνοι. ἐσειγήσεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ 12  
 ἤκουον Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς  
 σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι' αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σειγῆσαι 13  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπεκριθὲν Ἰάκωβος λέγων· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ  
 μου. Συμμεῶν ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέφατο 14  
 λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτ' συμφωνοῦσιν 15  
 Jer. xii. 16 οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν, καθὼς γέγραπται· Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-  
 Amos ix. στρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυεὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν  
 11 f. καὶ τὰ κατεστρεμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν,

Editors 9 ουθεν] ουθεν WHmg Soden 11 αλλα] αλλ η JHR 15 τουτω]  
 ουτως JHR 16 κατεστρεμμενα] κατεσκαμμενα Soden

Old Uncial 9 και 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 (+D) om A ουθεν B ουθεν B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 (+D) 10 ουν  
 B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 (+D) om C<sup>ind</sup> ζυγον B<sup>h</sup>\*A 81 (+D) om N 11 ιησου B<sup>h</sup>AC 81  
 +χριστου C(+D) πιστευομεν BAC 81 πιστευομεν N(+D) 12 εσειγησεν B<sup>h</sup>AC  
 81 (+D) εσειγησαν C εξηγουμενων B<sup>h</sup>AC εξηγουμενου 81 14 λαβειν εξ εθνων  
 B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 (+D) εξ εθνων λαβειν C 16 κατεστραμμενα B<sup>h</sup> κατεσκαμμενα  
 AC 81 (+D) ανοικοδομησω 2<sup>o</sup> B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 (+D) οικοδομησω C<sup>ind</sup>

Antiochian 9 ουθεν] ουθεν 5(+D) 11 om του Η5 ιησου] +χριστου 5(+D)  
 14 λαον] +επι HLPSS 15 τουτο HL 16 κατεστρεμμενα] κατ-  
 εσκαμμενα LPSS(+D) σκαμμενα H

11 αλλ η 614 minn (i.e. ἀλλ' η, 'but in fact') appears to be represented by *sed enim* Tert, and may give the proper 'Western' text. If so, it is perhaps to be preferred to αλλα of

the B-text; cf. Lk. xii 51 and v.l. there.

15 ουτως D d gig Iren sah may be the original which has given rise to τουτω B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 vg, τουτο HL.

9 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖν, καὶ οὐδὲν δι-  
 10 ἔκρεινεν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν, τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρ-  
 11 διὰς αὐτῶν. νῦν οὖν τί πλεονάζετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπιθεινὰ ζυγὸν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς  
 12 ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι; ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ  
 13 Χριστοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι καθ' ὃν τρόπον κακεῖνοι. συν-  
 κατατεθειμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημέ-  
 νοις ἐσείηγσεν πᾶν τὸ πλήθος, καὶ ἤκουον Βαρνάβαν καὶ Παῦλον  
 ἐξηγουμένους ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς  
 14 ἔθνεσιν δι' αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σειγῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀναστὰς Ἰάκω-  
 15 βος εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο  
 καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνό-  
 16 ματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως συμφωνήσουσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν,  
 17 καθὼς γέγραπται· Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω  
 τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυεὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς  
 18 ἐξηγουμενοί

super eos spm̄ sanctum sicut et nobis 9 et nihil discrevit inter nos et ipsos fidei d  
 emundatis cordibus eorum 10 nunc ergo quid temptatis dñm inponere jugum super  
 cervices discipulorum quod nequae patres nostri neque nos potumus bajolare  
 11 sed per gratiam dñi ihu xpi credimus salvi fieri quemadmodum et illi 12 des-  
 ponentes autem presbyteros quae a petro dicebantur silevitque omnis multitudo et  
 audiebant barnabam et paulum exponentes quanta fecerit dñs signa et prodigia in  
 gentibus per ipsos 13 postquam autem hi silerunt surgens jacobus dixit viri  
 fratres audite me 14 symeon exposuit quemadmodum primum dñs prospexit  
 accipere ex gentibus populum nomini suo 15 et sic consonat sermones prophetarum  
 sicut scriptum est 16 post haec autem convertar et aedificabo tabernaculum david

10 [sed et in illa disceptatione custodiendae neque legis primus omnium Tertullian,  
 Petrus spiritu instinctus et de nationum vocatione praefatus,] et nunc, [inquit,] *Præf. 21*  
 cur temptastis dominum de inponendo jugo fratribus quod neque nos neque  
 patres nostri sufferre valuerunt? 11 sed anim per gratiam Jesu credimus nos  
 salutem consecuturos sicut et illi.

sicut et nobis, 9 et nihil discrevit inter nos et ipsos, emundans per fidem corda Irenaeus,  
 illorum. 10 nunc igitur quid temptatis deum, inponere jugum super cervicem *III. 12, 14 (17)*  
 discipulorum quod neque patres nostri neque nos valuimus portare? 11 sed  
 per gratiam domini nostri Jesu Christi credimus nos posse salvari quomodo  
 et illi.

14 viri fratres, Symeon retulit quemadmodum deus excogitavit accipere ex  
 gentibus populum nomini suo. 15 et sic conveniunt sermones prophetarum,  
 sicut scriptum est: 16 post haec revertar, et reaedificabo tabernaculum David

10 οὖν] igitur ✕ vos ✓ 12 συνκατατεθειμένων δε των πρεσβυτερων τοις Harelean  
 υπο του πετρου ειρημενοις] ✕ quum assensissent autem simul seniores his quae a  
 Petro dicta fuerant ✓ οσα] ✕ omnia ✓ quae

ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον, 17  
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς,  
λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα | γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος. | διὸ ἐγὼ κρείνω 18, 19  
μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν,  
ἀλλ' ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν 20  
εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· Μωυσῆς 21  
γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν  
ἔχει ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγενοσκόμενος.  
τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ 22  
ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν  
σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ, Ἰουδαν τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβ-  
βᾶν καὶ Σείλαν, ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, | γράψαντες 23

Editors 17 ο ποιων Soden 20 ἀπεχεσθαι] +απο Soden του πνικτου  
Soden om και πνικτου JHR

Old Uncal 17 ποιων B<sup>8</sup> ο ποιων A C<sup>8</sup> 81 18 γνωστα απ αιωνος B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>8</sup> 81 γνωστον  
απ αιωνος τω κυριω το εργον αυτου A (cf. D) 20 απεχεσθαι B<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D)  
+απο AC πνικτου BA 81 του πνικτου NC του αιματος B<sup>8</sup> AC (+D)  
αιματος 81 21 κατα πολιν τους κηρυσσοντας αυτον B<sup>8</sup> A 81 (cf. D) τους  
κηρυσσοντας αυτον κατα πολιν C 22 εξ αυτων B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) om A  
ηγουμενους BAC<sup>8</sup> 81 Pap<sup>2</sup> (+D) ηγουμενους S

Antiochian 17 ο ποιων HLP S<sup>c</sup> ταυτα] παντα ταυτα LPS ταυτα παντα H<sup>c</sup>  
18 αιωνος] +εστι τω θεω παντα τα εργα αυτου HLP S<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) 20 om του  
1<sup>o</sup> H απεχεσθαι] +απο HLP S<sup>c</sup> του πνικτου HLP S<sup>c</sup> 22 om  
τω HLP S (+D) καλουμενον] επικαλουμενον HPS<sup>c</sup>

18 The reading ποιων ταυτα γνωστα απ αιωνος B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>8</sup> 81 sah was altered and expanded in the 'Western' text to read γνωστον απ αιωνος εστιν (om εστιν A) τω κυριω (d<sup>8</sup>o Iren; om τω κυριω hcl. mg) το εργον αυτου A D d Iren vg hcl. mg, perhaps in order thereby to disassociate from the quotation the words γνωστα απ αιωνος, which are not found in Amos ix. 11 f. The Antiochian text seems to have combined the two variant readings, adopting from the B-text the plural (γνωστα, etc.) and making minor changes. With the Antiochian substantially agree gig e (E) pesh ('known from eternity are the works of God'). Minor variants are also found within the B-text and the Antiochian. It is noteworthy that no tendency appears to restore, either here by omission or

in vs. 16 by addition, the precise text of the LXX, from which Acts in fact departs. In vs. 17 ο ποιων A C<sup>8</sup> 81 Antiochian for ποιων agrees with LXX, but is a natural independent improvement of language.

Of ποιησει D no trace appears elsewhere. It is probably a mere error, perhaps introduced in an attempt to make D conform to the B-text.

20 (a) om και πνικτου D d gig Iren. (b) The addition of the (negative) Golden Rule in vs. 20 is found (with variations in detail) in D d min Iren vg. cod. ar. dmach sah. That in both (a) and (b) the Greek text of Iren agreed with the Latin translation is made certain by a scholion in cod. 1739; see E. v. d. Goltz, *Eine lateinische Arbeit des neunten bzw. sechsten Jahrhunderts* (T. U. xvii.), 1899,

- 17 ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ  
κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν θεόν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς  
ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ἡ ποιήσῃ  
18 ταῦτα. γνωστὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνός ἐστιν τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.  
19 διὸ ἐγὼ κρείνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν  
20 ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλι-  
σχημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ  
21 ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἐτέροις μὴ ποιείτε. Μωυσῆς  
γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν ἔχει τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν  
ἐ[. . .] ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγεωσκό-  
22 μενος. τότε ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις  
σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι εἰς  
Ἀντιόχειαν σὺν Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ, Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον  
Βαραββᾶν καὶ Σεῖλαν, ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς,  
22 ἐδοξεν] ἐδοξασεν

quod cecidit et quae dimolita sunt ejus raeaedificabo et erigam illud 17 et ex- d  
quiram residui hominum dñm et omnes gentes super quos invocatum est nomen meum  
super ipsos dicit dñs faciens haec. 18 notum a saeculo est dño opus ipsius  
19 propter quod ego judico non sumus molesti his qui de gentibus convertuntur ad  
dñm 20 sed praecipere eis ut abstineant a contaminationibus simulacrorum et  
stupris et sanguinem et quae volunt non fieri sibi alius ne faciatis 21 moyses enim  
ex progeniebus antiquis per civitates habet qui eum praedicant habent in synagogis  
per omne sabbatum ut legatur 22 tunc visum est apostolis et presbyteris cum tota  
eclesia electos viros ut ex eis mitterent in antiochiam cum paulo et barnaba judas  
qui vocatur barabbas et silan viros principales ad fratribus 23 scripserunt epistolam

quod cecidit, et disturbata ejus aedificabo, et erigam illud, 17 uti requirant Irenaeus,  
reliqui hominum dominum, et omnes gentes in quibus invocatum est nomen <sup>iii</sup> 12, 14 (17)  
meum super eos, dicit dominus, faciens haec 18 cognitum a saeculo est deo  
opus ejus. 19 propterea ego secundum me judico non molestari eos qui ex  
gentibus convertuntur ad deum: 20 sed praecipendum eis uti abstineant a  
vanitatibus idolorum et a fornicatione et a sanguine; et quaecumque nolunt  
sibi fieri, aliis ne faciant.

20 οὐκ οὐ τοῦ πνεύματος.

καὶ ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἐτέροις μὴ ποιέω.

[cod. 1789  
mg ad loc.]

18 γνωστὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐστὶν τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ] *mg* notum a saeculo est Harelean  
opus ejus

pp. 41-43. See Detached Note on  
vs. 29 (below, pp. 265-269), for which  
verse a much larger body of evidence  
is available. In the original text,

vs. 20 and vs. 29 must have stood  
in agreement, although that is not  
the case in all extant copies. Cf. also  
xxi. 25.

διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν· Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ ἡκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐτάραξαν 24 ὑμᾶς λόγοις ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, οἷς οὐ διεσπειλάμεθα, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκλεξαμένοις ἄνδρας 25 πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῶν Βαρνάβῃ καὶ Παύλῳ, ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος 26 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀπεστάλκαμεν οὖν Ἰούδαν 27 καὶ Σείλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλλοντας τὰ αὐτά. ἔδοξεν 28 γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἡμῶν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι

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Editors	28 αὐτῶν] +ταδε Soden	πρεσβύτεροι] +[καὶ οἱ] Soden	24 ἐταράξαν]
	ἐξεληθόντες ἐταράξαν Soden	25 ἐκλεξαμένους WHmg Soden	

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Old Unocal	28 αὐτῶν B <sup>NA</sup> +ταδε N <sup>o</sup> 81	+ἐπιστολῇ περιεχούσῃ ταδε C (cf. D)
	πρεσβύτεροι B <sup>NA</sup> C 81 Pap <sup>33</sup> (+D) +καὶ οἱ N <sup>o</sup>	τοὶς 1 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>NA</sup> C <sup>o</sup> 81
	Pap <sup>33</sup> (+D) om C	24 ἐπειδὴ B <sup>AC</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 81 Pap <sup>33</sup> (+D) ἐπὶ δε N <sup>o</sup>
	ἡμῶν B <sup>AC</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 81 Pap <sup>33</sup> (+D) ὑμῶν N <sup>o</sup>	ἐταράξαν B <sup>N</sup> ἐξεληθόντες
	ἐταράξαν A <sup>C</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 81 Pap <sup>33</sup> (cf. D)	ψυχὰς ὑμῶν B <sup>NA</sup> 81 Pap <sup>33</sup> (+D)
	+λεγοντες περιτεμενεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον C	25 ἐκλεξαμένοις BA 81
	ἐκλεξαμένους N <sup>C</sup> (+D)	28 τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ B <sup>NA</sup> 81 τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι
	C (+D) [τῷ ἁγίῳ πνι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνι] Pap <sup>33</sup>	ἡμῶν B <sup>NA</sup> C (+D) ὑμῶν 81
	ἐπιτίθεσθαι B <sup>NA</sup> C 81 (+D) ἐπιτίθεσθαι Pap <sup>33</sup>	

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Antiochian	28 αὐτῶν] +ταδε HLP <sup>85</sup>	πρεσβύτεροι] +καὶ οἱ HLP <sup>85</sup>	om ἐξ H
	24 ἐταράξαν] ἐληθόντες ἐταράξαν HL	ἐξεληθόντες ἐταράξαν P <sup>85</sup> (cf. D)	ὑμῶν]
	+λεγοντες περιτεμενεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον HLP <sup>85</sup>	25 ἐκλεξαμένους	
	HP <sup>85</sup> (+D)	28 τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ] τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι HLP <sup>85</sup> (+D)	

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23 Since *hol. test* reads *pro manum eorum hanc*, it is not certain from the marginal gloss that *dia cheiros autων* was lacking in the text followed in *hol. mg*.

For *hol. mg* cf. *mittentes* cf. *καὶ πέμψαντες* 614 minn.

24 The addition, after *ψυχὰς ὑμῶν*, of *λεγοντες περιτεμενεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον* in C Antiochian *pesh* *hol. test* is found also in e (E) and for substance, in a slightly different position, in *Iren* *gig* vg. *one cod.* Although absent in D, it is probably a part of the 'Western' text.

25 By the omission of *των* before *ἐταράξαν* N D 33 (and perhaps P<sup>acian</sup>, cf. Tert), *ἐταράξαν* would become part of a new sentence, and the construction would be better suited to an Aramaic original. Sah (cod. B) also is so punctuated. But in the lack of competent Latin evidence it is perhaps better to suppose an accidental omission.

28 For the reasons which advise the rejection from the text of the words *καὶ πνικτων*, as well as of the (negative) Golden Rule found in D d and many authorities, see Detached Note, pp. 265-269.

23 | γράψαντες ἐπιστολὴν διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν περιέχουσιν τάδε· Οἱ  
 ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιό-  
 χειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀδελφοῖς  
 24 χαίρειν. ἐπεκεῖνδῃ ἡκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξελθόντες  
 ἐξέταραξαν ὑμᾶς λόγοις ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, οἷς οὐ  
 25 διεστείλαμεθα, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκλεξαμέ-  
 νους ἄνδρας πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ὑμῶν Βαρνάβᾳ  
 26 καὶ Παύλῳ, ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσιν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντα πει-  
 27 ρασμόν. ἀπεστέλλομεν οὖν Ἰούδαν καὶ Σίλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ  
 28 λόγου ἀπαγγελοῦντας ταῦτα. ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι  
 καὶ ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλεῖον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρους πλὴν τούτων  
 24 διεστείλομεθα 26 παραδεδωκασιν 28 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν

per manus suas continentem haec apostoli et presbyteri fratres huius qui sunt per d  
 antiochiam et syriam et ciliciam qui sunt ex gentibus fratribus salutem 24 quoniam  
 audivimus quod quidam ex nobis exeuntes perturbaverunt vos verbis destruentes animas  
 vestras quibus non injunximus 25 visum est nobis constitutis pariter electos viros  
 mittere ad vos cum dilectissimis nostris barnaba et paulo 26 hominibus qui tradide-  
 runt animam suam propter nomen dñi nostri ihu xpi in omni temptationi 27 misimus  
 ergo judam et silan et ipsos verbo adnuntiantes haec 28 visum est enim sancto  
 spui et nobis nihil amplius ponere vobis honoris praeter haec quae necesse est

28 visum est [inquiunt] spiritu sancto et nobis nullum amplius vobis Tertulian,  
 adicere pondus, quam eorum Pud. 13

28 visum est sancto spiritui et nobis nullam vobis inponere sarcinam quam Cyprian,  
 ista, Test. vi. 113

28 apostoli et presbyteri fratres huius qui sunt in Antiochia et Syria et Cilicia Irenaeus,  
 fratribus ex gentibus salutem. 24 quoniam audivimus quia ex nobis quidam III. 12, 14 (17)  
 exeuntes turbaverunt vos sermonibus, destruentes animas vestras, quibus non  
 praecepimus, dicentes, circumcidimini et servate legem, 25 placuit nobis con-  
 venientibus in unum electos viros mittere ad vos cum dilectissimis nostris  
 Barnaba et Paulo, 26 hominibus qui tradiderunt animam suam pro nomine et III. 12, 13  
 domini nostri Jesu Christi. 27 misimus igitur Judam et Sileam et ipsos per  
 sermonem adnuntiantes nostram sententiam. 28 placuit enim sancto spiritui  
 et nobis nullum amplius vobis pondus imponere quam haec

23 ἐπιστολὴν διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν περιέχουσαν τάδε] mg epistolam, et mittentes, Harleson  
 in qua erant haec 24 ἐξελθόντες] mg profecti sunt ad vos et 26 eis  
 πάντα πειρασμόν] mg in omnem tentationem

ὁμῶν βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων 29  
καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορνείας· ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες  
ἑαυτοὺς εἰ πράξετε. ἔρρωσθε.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθέντες κατήλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ 30  
συναγαγόντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν· ἀναγνόντες 31  
δὲ ἐχάρησαν ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει. Ἰούδας τε καὶ Σείλας, καὶ 32  
αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες, διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς  
ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐπεστήριξαν· ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον ἀπελύθησαν 33  
μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστειλαντας αὐτούς.  
Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτρειβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διδάσκοντες 35  
καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
κυρίου.

Μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας εἶπεν πρὸς Βαρνάβαν Παῦλος· Ἐπι- 36  
στρέψαντες δὴ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἀδελφούς κατὰ πόλιν πᾶσαν  
ἐν αἷς κατηγγείλαμεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἔχουσιν. Βαρ- 37

Editors 29 om και πνικτων JHR

Old Uncial 28 τούτων των B<sup>9</sup> 81 om τούτων A om των N(+D) 29 πνικτων  
B<sup>9</sup> AC 81 πνικτων N<sup>9</sup> Δ<sup>9</sup> πραξετε B<sup>9</sup> A 81 Pap<sup>38</sup> πραξατε C(+D)  
32 και επεστηριξαν B<sup>9</sup> N<sup>9</sup> AC 81(+D) om N 33 αυτους B<sup>9</sup> AC 81(+D)  
εαυτους N 34 om vs. 34 B<sup>9</sup> A 81 εδοξε δε τω σιλα επιμειναι αυτους C(+D)  
36 δη B<sup>9</sup> AC N<sup>9</sup> 81(+D) δε N πολιν πασαν B<sup>9</sup> AC πασαν πολιν 81(+D)  
κατηγγειλαμεν B<sup>9</sup> A 81(+D) εκηρυξαμεν C

Armenian 28 των επαναγκες τουτων LP<sup>5</sup> 29 πνικτου HLP<sup>5</sup> πραξατε  
HL(+D) 30 κατηλθον] ηλθον HLP<sup>5</sup> επεδωκαν] εδωκαν S  
33 αποστειλαντας αυτους] αποστολους HLP<sup>5</sup> 34 εδοξε δε τω σιλα επιμειναι  
αυτου 5 (of. D) 36 παυλος προς βαρναβαν HLP<sup>5</sup> (of. D) επισκεψο-  
μεθα H αδελφους] +ημων HLP<sup>5</sup> πασαν πολιν HLP<sup>5</sup>(+D)

29 φερομενοι εν τω (om τω Iren) αγιω  
πνευματι D d Iren (Gk. and Lat.) Tert  
Ephr appears to be a part of the  
earliest 'Western' text.

34 εδοξε δε τω σιλα (σειλα D latt)  
επιμειναι αυτου (αυτους C D d, αυτοι  
minn) C D 614 minn gig d vg cod<sup>al</sup>  
hol ✕ sah boh. cod<sup>al</sup>; +μονος δε ιουδας  
επορευθη D d gig vg. cod<sup>al</sup> Ephrem.  
Probably both parts of the verse were  
contained in the 'Western' text.  
The reading αυτου suits the context  
better than αυτους, and is to be

preferred; cf. the same variation  
Mk. vi 33.

To the dative form σειλα (d *silēsa*)  
corresponds xvii. 4 the dative σιλαια  
D. For the name Silas the Latin  
codices which contain considerable  
Old Latin elements have, with marked  
individual consistency, forms from  
nom. *silēas*, *syllēas*, *sīlīas*. Gig follows  
in every one of the thirteen cases the  
form *syllēas*. Cf. *Ency. Bibl.*, 'Silas',  
cols. 4519 f.; Zahn, *Bibl. Einleitung*, vol. i.  
§ 1, Ann. 16. See Detached Note.



29 ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθυτῶν καὶ αἵματος καὶ πορνίας, καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν· ἅψ' ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξατε φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. ἔρρωσθε.

- 30 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθέντες ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις κατήλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ συνάγοντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολήν·  
 1, 32 ἀναγνόντες δὲ ἐχάρησαν ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει. Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ Σείλας, καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου, διὰ λόγου παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐπεστήριξαν· ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς 33 ἀποστειλαντας αὐτούς. ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σειλέᾳ ἐπιμείναι αὐτούς, 34 μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ μετὰ ἐτέρων πολλῶν τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου.  
 36 Μετὰ δὲ τινας ἡμέρας εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς Βαρνάβαν· Ἐπιστρέψαντες δὴ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐν οἷς κατηγγείλαμεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἔχουσιν.

29 abstinere sacrificiis et sanguine et stupris et quaecumque non vultis vobis fieri d alii ne feceritis a quibus conversantes vos ipsos bene agitis ferentes in santo spō valete 30 illi quidem dimissi in diebus paucis pervenerunt antiochiam et cum collegissent multitudinem tradiderunt epistolam 31 et cum legissent gavisī sunt super hanc orationē 32 judas quoque et silas etiam ipsi prophetae cum essent pleni spō sancto sermoni exhortati sunt fratres et perconfirmati sunt 33 cum fecissent autem tempus dimissi sunt cum pace a fratribus ad ipsos qui miserant eos 34 placuit autem aileae sustinere eos solus autem judas profectus est 35 paulus vero et barnabas demorabantur antiochia docentes et evangelizantes et cum aliis multis verbum dñi 36 et post aliquos dies ait paulus ad barnaban reversique visitemus fratres per omnem civitatem penes quos adnuntiabimus verbum dñi

29 a quibus necesse est abstineri, a sacrificiis et a fornicationibus et sanguine, Tertullian, Pud. 12  
 a quibus observando vos recte agitis, vectante spiritu sancto.

29 quae ex necessitate sunt: abstinere vos ab idololatriis et sanguine et Cyprian, Test. ih. 119  
 fornicatione, et quaecumque vobis fieri non vultis, alii ne feceritis.

29 quae sunt necessaria, ut abstinētis ab idololatriis et sanguine et fornicatione, Irenaeus, III. 12, 14 (17)  
 et quaecumque non vultis fieri vobis, alii ne faciatis: a quibus custodientes vos ipsos bene agitis, ambulantes in spiritu sancto.

29 om τοῦ πικτοῦ.

ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε φερόμενοι ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

[cod. 1789  
mg. ad loc.

29 καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε . . . μὴ ποιεῖν] \* et [ut] omnia quae nolitis vobis fieri Harleian  
 aliis ne faciatis ✓ 30 τὴν ἐπιστολήν] epistolam \* Judas et Silas ✓ 34 ἐδοξε  
 δε τῷ σείλᾳ ἐπιμείναι αὐτούς] \* Silae autem visum est manere ibi ✓  
 36 τοὺς 29] \* illos ✓ του κυρίου] domini \* et videamus ✓ πῶς εἰσὶν]  
 quomodo se habeant \* placuit autem cogitatio Barnabae ✓

νάβας δὲ ἐβούλετο συναπαλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν κα-  
 λούμενον Μάρκον· Παῦλος δὲ ἡξίου, τὸν ἀποστάτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν 38  
 ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας καὶ μὴ συνελθόντα αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἔργον, μὴ  
 συναπαλαμβάνειν τοῦτον. ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμὸς ὥστε ἀπο- 39  
 χωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν παραλαβόντα  
 τὸν Μάρκον ἐκπέμψαι εἰς Κύπρον. Παῦλος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος 40  
 Σείλαν ἐξῆλθεν παραδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν, διήρχετο δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐπι- 41  
 στηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας. κατήντησεν δὲ καὶ εἰς Δέρβην καὶ εἰς ΧΥΙ  
 Λύστραν. καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητὴς τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος, υἱὸς  
 γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς πατρὸς δὲ Ἑλλήνος, ὃς ἑμαρτυρεῖτο 2  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λύστοις καὶ Εἰκονίῳ ἀδελφῶν τοῦτον ἠθέλησεν ὁ 3  
 Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν διὰ  
 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις, ᾗδουσιν γὰρ  
 ἅπαντες ὅτι Ἑλλήν· ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν. ὥς δὲ δι- 4  
 επορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις, παρεδίδουσιν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα  
 τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν

Editors 41 [την 2<sup>ο</sup>] WH om Soden

Old Uncial 37 συναπαλαβεῖν B<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) συναπαλαμβάνειν A τὸν 1<sup>ο</sup> B<sup>8</sup> 81 om  
 A C (+D) καλούμενον B<sup>8</sup> A επικαλούμενον C<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) 38 ἀποστάτα  
 B<sup>8</sup> 81 ἀποστατήσαντα A (cf. D) ἀπὸ παμφυλίας B<sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) om C<sup>8</sup>  
 (C uncertain) συνελθόντα B<sup>8</sup> 39 δε B<sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) οὐν C  
 τὸν 2<sup>ο</sup> B<sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) om A 40 κυρίου B<sup>8</sup> A 81 (cf. D) θεοῦ C 41 τὴν  
 2<sup>ο</sup> B (+D) om A C 81 1 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> BA om N C 81 (+D) εἰς 2<sup>ο</sup>  
 B<sup>8</sup> A 81 om C (+D) 2 εἰκονίῳ B A C 81 (+D) ἱκονίου N 3 ἅπαντες  
 B<sup>8</sup> A 81 πάντες C (+D) 4 κεκριμένα B<sup>8</sup> A C κεκρυμμένα 81

Antiochian 37 ἐβούλετο] ἐβουλεύσατο HLP S<sup>5</sup> (cf. D) om καὶ HLP S<sup>5</sup> (+D)  
 38 συναπαλαβεῖν HLP S<sup>5</sup> 39 δε] οὐν HLP S<sup>5</sup> αυτοῖς L  
 τε] δε HS 40 κυρίου] θεοῦ HLP S<sup>5</sup> 41 om δε S om τὴν 2<sup>ο</sup>  
 HLP S<sup>5</sup> 1 om καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> HLP S<sup>5</sup> (+D) om εἰς 2<sup>ο</sup> HLP S<sup>5</sup> (+D)  
 γυναικὸς] + τινος HLP S<sup>5</sup> 3 om λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς L οὐ  
 ἔλλην οὐ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ] τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ οὐ ἔλλην HLP S<sup>5</sup> (+D) 4 διεπορεύοντο]  
 ἐπορεύοντο H τῶν πρεσβυτέρων HLP S<sup>5</sup>

41 The 'Western' addition is given by gig vg. *codā* in a form somewhat nearer to *hel mg* than is that of D. The Latin authorities read *praescipiens custodiare praescripta apostolorum et seniliorum*.

3 τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ οὐ ἔλλην *υπῆρχεν* D Antiochian gig d *pesh hel* may have been the original, ruder expression, for which has been substituted

οὐ ἔλλην οὐ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ *υπῆρχεν* B<sup>8</sup> A C 81 *minn vg sah boh*; but it is also possible that the 'Western' glossator wished to put the word 'father' into a more prominent position than it occupied in the B-text. The deacon must turn on the general estimate of the two types of text.

4 D d καὶ παρεδίδουσιν αυτοῖς is not

37 Βαρνάβας δὲ ἐβουλεύετο συναπαλαβεῖν Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπι-  
 38 καλούμενον Μάρκον· Παῦλος δὲ οὐκ ἐβούλετο, λέγων τὸν ἀπο-  
 στ<ατ>ήσαντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας καὶ μὴ συνελθόντα εἰς  
 39 τὸ ἔργον εἰς ὃ ἐπέμφθησαν τοῦτον μὴ εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς. ἐγένετο  
 δὲ παροξυσμὸς ὥστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.  
 τότε Βαρνάβας παραλαβὼν τὸν Μάρκον ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κύπρον.  
 40 Παῦλος δὲ ἐπιδεξάμενος Σείλαν ἐξῆλθεν παραδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι  
 41 κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, διήρχετο δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλι-  
 κίαν ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας παραδιδούς τὰς ἐντολὰς τῶν  
 XVI πρεσβυτέρων. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα κατήντησεν εἰς Δέρβην  
 καὶ Λύστραν. καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητὴς τις ἐκεῖ ἦν ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος,  
 2 υἱὸς γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς πατρὸς δὲ Ἑλλήνος, | ὃς ἐμαρτυ-  
 3 ρεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λύστροις καὶ Εἰκονίῳ ἀδελφῶν· τοῦτον  
 ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν  
 αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις,  
 ἦδεισαν γὰρ πάντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὑπῆρχεν.  
 4 διερχόμενοι δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἐκήρυσσον †καὶ παρεδίδουσιν αὐτοῖς†  
 μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἅμα παρα-  
 διδόντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν

quomodo habeat 37 barnabas vero volebat adsumere johannem qui cognominatur d  
 marcus 38 paulus autem nolebat dicens huius qui discesserunt ab eis a pamphylia  
 et nec simul venerunt ad opus in quo miseri erant hunc non adsumerent secum  
 39 facta est autem discertatio ita ut separarentur ab invicem barnabas vero  
 adsumpto marco navigaverunt in cyprum 40 paulus autem suscepit silan exhibit  
 traditus gratia dñi a fratribus 41 pergredebatur autem syriam et ciliciā confirmand  
 ecclesias tradens autem mandatum presbyterorū

1 pertransiens gentes istas debent darben et lystem ecce discipulus quidam erat  
 ibi nomine timotheus filius mulieris judeae fidelis patre autem graeco 2 cui testi-  
 monium perhibuit ab his qui lystem et iconio fratribus 3 hunc voluit paulus  
 secum exire et accipiens circumcidit eum propter judaeos qui erant in locis suis  
 sciebant enim omnes patrem ejus quod cretus esset 4 circumcisos autem civitates  
 praedicabant et tradebant eis cum omnem fiduciam dñm ihm xpm simul tradentes  
 et mandata apostolorum et presbyterorū his qui erant hierosolymis 5 ecclesiae

39—xvi. 7 [quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo, et cooperarius Irenaeus  
 ejus in evangelio, ipse facit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsa productus <sup>iii. 14, 1:</sup>  
 veritate. separatus enim, inquit, a Paulo et Barnaba et Johanne qui vocabatur  
 Marcus, et cum navigassent Cyprus,]

41—xvi. 1 παραδιδους . . . λυστραν] *mg* et tradebant iis custodire mandata Hierolan  
 apostolorum et seniorum. quum pertransivissent autem gentes has, pervenerunt  
 in Derben et in Lystem 4 ἐκήρυσσον . . . χριστον] *mg* praedicantes cum  
 omni fiducia dominum Jesum Christum

found in *hol. mg*, and is plainly a case since it breaks the connexion and is  
 of contamination from the B-text, covered by ἅμα παραδιδόντες just below.

Ἱεροσολύμοις. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐσπερευνόντο τῇ πίστει καὶ 5 ἐπερίσσευν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ' ἡμέραν.

Διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες 6 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλήσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐλθόντες 7 δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βειθυνίαν πορευθῆναι καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ· παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν 8 κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα. καὶ ὄραμα διὰ νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ 9 ὤφθη· ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν τις ἦν ἐστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· Διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν. ὥς δὲ τὸ ὄραμα 10 εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐξηγήσαμεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, συνβιβάζοντες ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτούς. ἀν- 11 αχθέντες οὖν ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εὐθυδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ εἰς Νέαν Πόλιν, | κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις 12 ἐστὶν πρώτη μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολωνία.

Editors	9 της νυκτος Soden WH Soden JHR WH Soden	11 νεα[?] πολιν Soden †πρωτη της μεριδος† WHmg	12 πρωτη της μεριδος om της δευτερε μακεδονιας
Old Uncal	5 εκκλησαι B <sup>h</sup> AC(+D) πορευεσθαι C(+D) om C ωφθη τω παυλω AC(+D) BAC <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) om N δε N <sup>h</sup> A 81 (cf. D) της μεριδος NAC 81	αι εκκλησαι 81 ιησου B <sup>h</sup> AC <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) της νυκτος NC 81 10 εξηγησαμεν BAC 81 αυτους BNC 81 (cf. D) νεαν πολιν B <sup>h</sup> A της μακεδονιας B(+D) om της NAC 81	7 πορευθηναι B <sup>h</sup> A 81 9 δια B <sup>h</sup> A 81 (+D) τω παυλω ωφθη B <sup>h</sup> 81 εξηγησαμεν N ημας 11 ουν BC 12 μεριδος B
Antiochian	4 ιεροουσαλημ HLPSS <sup>-</sup> HLPSS <sup>-</sup> HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (+D) HLPSS <sup>-</sup> om και 2 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (+D) HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (+D) 8 <sup>o</sup> τε HSS (P illegible) HPS <sup>-</sup>	6 διελθοντες HLPSS <sup>-</sup> eis] κατα HLPSS <sup>-</sup> om ιησου HLPSS <sup>-</sup> 10 την μακεδονιαν HSS <sup>-</sup> 11 της τρωαδος HLPSS <sup>-</sup> νεαπολιν HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (+D) της μεριδος HLPSS <sup>-</sup>	την γαλατικην πορευεσθαι 9 της νυκτος τις ην μακεδων HLPSS <sup>-</sup> θεος] κυριος ευθυδρομησαντες S 12 κἀκειθεν] κειθεν τε
	7 om δε HLPSS <sup>-</sup> αυτοις S ωφθη τω παυλω HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (+D) 8 <sup>o</sup> τε HSS (P illegible) εκειθεν δε L		

6 It is more likely that the Antiochian reading *διελθοντες* was substituted for *διηλθον* because of the difficulty of understanding the force of *κωλυθεντες*, when attached to *διηλθον*, than that the reverse change took place as a means of obviating an awkward accumulation of three participles (for the latter explanation, J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 287 note).

The omission by B<sup>h</sup>AC 81 D of *την* (Antiochian) before *γαλατικην* must be adopted on both external and in-

ternal grounds, and is important for the interpretation of the phrase.

8 *διελθοντες* D is a correction to avoid the ambiguity of *παρελθοντες*, which seems intended to mean that the missionaries passed through Mysia without stopping to preach in any of the towns; the same improvement is found, perhaps due to the translators, in *gig d vg hol. ier.*

*Nos venimus* of Irenaeus, for *κατεβησαν*, is subject to suspicion because it occurs in so free a summary;

- 5 Ἱεροσολύμοις. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐσπερευύντο καὶ ἐπερίσσευσεν  
τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ' ἡμέραν.  
6 Διήλθον ἔξ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες  
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μηδενὶ λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν  
7 τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἤθελον εἰς Βιθυνίαν  
8 πορεύεσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ· διελθόντες  
9 δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατήντησαν εἰς Τρωάδα. καὶ ἐν ὁράματι διὰ  
νυκτὸς ὤφθη τῷ Παύλῳ ὡσεὶ ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν τις ἐστὼς κατὰ  
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ παρακαλῶν καὶ λέγων· Διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν  
10 βοήθησον ἡμῖν. διεγερθεὶς οὖν διηγῆσατο τὸ ὄραμα ἡμῖν, καὶ  
ἐνόησαμεν ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς  
11 ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἀχθέντες ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εὐθυ-  
δρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς Νεάπολιν,  
12 | κατέειπεν εἰς Φιλίππους, ἧτις ἐστὶν κεφαλὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας,  
πόλις κολωνία.

7 γενομενοι] γενομενην

ηθελαν

βυθυνιαν

ergo consolidabantur et abundabant numero cottidie 6 pertransiebant autem d  
phygiam et galatiam regionem prohibita a sancto sp̄s nemini loqui verbum dī in asia  
7 cum venissent autem circa mysiam volebant bithyniam abire et vetuit illos sp̄s ih̄u  
8 cum transissent autem mysiam descenderunt troada 9 et visum per noctem  
apparuit paulo quasi vir macedo quidam stans anti faciem ejus et rogans dicens  
transi in macedonia auxiliari nobis 10 exurgens ergo enarrabit visum nobis et  
intelligimus quoniam provocavit nos dñs evangelizare qui in macedonia sunt  
11 alia die perducti a troadae cursum direximus in samothraciam et sequenti die  
neapolim 12 inde autem philippis quas est capud macedoniae civitas colonia

8 nos venimus in Troadem: 9 [et cum vidisset Paulus per somnium virum Irenaeus,  
Macedonem dicentem:] veniens in Macedoniam opitulare nobis Paule, 10 statim,  
[ait,] quaequivimus proficisci in Macedoniam, intelligentes quoniam provocavit  
nos dominus evangelizare eis. 11 navigantes igitur a Troade, direximus  
navigium in Samothracen.

8 Troadem Turner

9 κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ] ✕ coram facie ejus ✓  
crastino autem

11 τῇ δε επαύριον] τηg Harnack

but his argument is scarcely sound unless he thought he had a Greek text with the first person. It is not unlikely that he misquoted this verse through a confusion with Acts xx. 6, from which he quotes in this same paragraph (iii. 14, 1) the sentence, "et venimus Troadem." This latter quotation also, it will be noticed, Irenaeus has given in a form abridged from the Greek.

10 From the 'Western' text sah has preserved: 'and having arisen he

told us the vision' (for *ὡς δε το ὄραμα εἶδεν*), in substantial agreement with D d, which are not supported by any other Latin witness. Of the 'Western' form of ix. 17.

13 For *πρωτῇ τῇ* (om *τῇ*: B) *μαριδος* BNAC 81 Antiochian vg, the (wrong) interpretation *κεφαλῇ* D d is supported by pesh ('head'). *κεφαλῇ* itself is not used in this sense in Greek and must be accounted a Latinism, but the adoption of the reading in pesh makes difficult the suggestion that the text

\*Ἦμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινάς. | τῇ 13  
 τε ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ ποταμὸν  
 οὗ † ἐνομιζόμεν προσευχῇ † εἶναι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐλαλοῦμεν ταῖς  
 συνελθούσαις γυναῖξιν. καὶ τις γυνὴ ὀνόματι Λυδία, πορφυρό- 14  
 πωλὶς πόλεως Θυατείρων σεβομένη τὸν θεόν, ἤκουεν, ἧς ὁ κύριος  
 διήνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ Παύλου.  
 ὥς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς, παρεκάλεσεν λέγουσα· Εἰ 15  
 κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκόν  
 μου μένετε· καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς. ἐγένετο δὲ πορευομένων 16  
 ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα πύθωνα  
 ὑπαντήσai ἡμῖν, ἣτις ἐργασίαν πολλὴν παρείχεν τοῖς κυρίοις  
 αὐτῆς μαντευομένη· αὕτη κατακολουθοῦσα Παύλῳ καὶ ἡμῖν 17  
 ἔκραζεν λέγουσα· Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου  
 εἰσίν, οἵτινες καταγγέλλουσιν ὑμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας. τοῦτο δὲ 18  
 ἐποίει ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. διαπονηθεὶς δὲ Παῦλος καὶ ἐπιστρέψας  
 τῷ πνεύματι εἶπεν· Παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Editors 13 ἐνομιζόμεν προσευχῇ WH ἐνομιζέτο προσευχῇ Soden JHR 14 του  
 παυλου Soden JHR 15 μείνατε Soden 16 πύθωνος Soden (but cf. mg)  
 υπαντησαι] απαντησαι Soden (but cf. mg) 17 κατακολουθησασα Soden  
 [τω] παυλω WH τω παυλω Soden JHR υμων] ημιν Soden mg  
 18 ο παυλος Soden

Old Uncial 13 ου B<sup>9</sup>AC(+D) om 81 ἐνομιζόμεν BA(rewritten) O(-ζαμεν) 81  
 ἐνομιζεν B προσευχῇ BA (cf. D) προσευχῇ NO 81 συνελθούσαις  
 BA<sup>9</sup> 81 (cf. D) +ημιν NO 14 παυλου B(+D) του παυλου BAC 81  
 15 εβαπτισθη B<sup>9</sup>AC 81(+D) +αυτη B<sup>9</sup> μενετε B<sup>9</sup>A 81(+D) μείνατε C  
 16 παιδισκην B<sup>9</sup>AC(+D) παιδισκη 81 ἔχουσαν BA<sup>9</sup> 81(+D) οχοῦσαν B  
 υπαντησαι B<sup>9</sup>C 81 απαντησαι A(+D) παρειχεν B<sup>9</sup>A 81(+D) παρειχετο C  
 17 κατακολουθησασα B<sup>9</sup>(+D) κατακολουθησασα AC παρακολουθησασα 81  
 παυλω B τω παυλω BAC 81(+D) υμων B<sup>9</sup>(+D) ημιν AO<sup>9</sup> 81  
 18 παυλος B<sup>9</sup>A ο παυλος C 81(+D) παραγγελλω B<sup>9</sup>A(+D) παραγγελω C 81

Antiochian 12 ταυτη] αυτη HLPSS 13 πυλης] πολεις HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ἐνομιζέτο  
 προσευχῇ (ευχη 8) HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) 14 ηκουσεν LS(+D) του  
 παυλου HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 15 μείνατε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 16 om την HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)  
 πύθωνος HLPSS<sup>c</sup> υπαντησαι] απαντησαι HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 17 κατα-  
 κολουθησασα HLPSS<sup>c</sup> τω παυλω HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) ημιν] τω σιλα L  
 υμων] ημιν HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 18 om δε 1<sup>o</sup> H ο παυλος HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)  
 τω ονοματι HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)

of D is derived by retranslation from d (or its Latin exemplar). For πρώτη μερίς B (e reads *prima partis* with vg) cf. sah.cod<sup>a</sup>. W and Wess<sup>14</sup> ('*prima pars*'). πρώτη μερίς (without της) B could be accepted only on the supposition that it was a current

technical phrase, not otherwise known to us, and is probably an error (haplography) due to the collocation of letters THTHX. The rendering *prima partis* is found in the vg codices Θ c Par.11606<sup>2</sup>, and doubtless comes from Langueoq, but in the

- 13 Ἦμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διατρεῖβοντες ἡμέρας τινάς. | τῇ  
δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πύλης παρὰ τὸν  
ποταμὸν οὗ ἐδόκει προσευχὴ εἶναι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἔλαλουμεν  
14 ταῖς συνελθούσαις γυναῖξιν. καὶ τις γυνὴ ὀνόματι Λυδία,  
πορφυρόπωλις τῆς πόλεως Θυατείρων σεβομένη τὸν θεόν, ἤκουσεν,  
ἧς ὁ κύριος διήνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ  
15 Παύλου. ὥς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς, παρεκάλεσε  
λέγουσα· Εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ θεῷ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς  
16 τὸν οἶκόν μου μένετε· καὶ παρεβιβάσατο ἡμᾶς. ἐγένετο δὲ πο-  
ρευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς προσευχὴν παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα  
πύθωνα ἀπαντῆσαι ἡμεῖν, ἥτις ἐργασίαν πολλὴν παρέειχε τοῖς  
17 κυρίοις διὰ τούτου μαντευομένη· αὕτη κατακολουθοῦσα τῷ Παύλῳ  
καὶ ἡμεῖν καὶ ἔκραζεν λέγουσα· Οὗτοι οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ  
ὑψίστου εἰσὶν, οἵτινες εὐαγγελίζοντες ὑμεῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας.  
18 | τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. ἐπιστρέψας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῷ  
πνεύματι καὶ διαπονηθεὶς εἶπεν· Παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι

13 ημεν] ημην

14 διηνυξεν

17 εκραζον

fumus in ista civitate demorantes dies aliquos 13 die autem sabbati exibimus d  
extra portam secundum flumen ubi oratio esset bidebatur et cum sedissemus  
loquebatur quae cum venerant mulieres 14 et quaedam mulier nomine lydia  
purpuraria thyatirum civitatis colens dñm audiebat cujus dñs aperuit cor intendere  
eis quae dicebantur a paulo 15 ut autem baptizata est et omnis domus ejus rogavit  
dicens si judicatis me fidelem dño esse ingressi in domum meam manete et extorsit  
nobis 16 contigit quae euntibus nobis ad orationem puella quendam habentem spm  
phytonem obviam fieri nobis quae reditum multum praestabat dominus suis per hoc  
divinando 17 haec persecuta est paulum et nos et clamabat dicens hi servi dñi  
excali sunt qui evangelizant vobis viam salutis 18 hoc autem faciebat per multos  
dies conversus autem paulus in spū et cum indoluisse dixit praecepto tibi in nomine

18 sedentes [enim, inquit,] locuti sumus mulieribus quae conveniant.

Irenaeus,  
iii. 14, 1

18 συνελθούσαις] quae congregatae erant ✕ ibi ✓

Harclean

absence of any corresponding Greek reading we may best regard it as of strictly Latin origin. Other readings which occur are negligible.

13 *ενομιζετο* ('it was customary') *προσευχη ειναι*, as in the Antiochian, is probably the 'Western' reading, and the true text. 'Seemed,' or the like, was a wrong translation of *ενομιζετο* in *gig d vg pesch holl. text* (*edokei* D is a retranslation from *videbatur*). *ενομιζομεν* (-αμεν O) *προσευχην ειναι* ('we thought,' etc.) C 81 boh was probably a substitute to avoid *ενομιζετο* in its less usual sense.

*ενομιζεν προσευχην ειναι* § is an error, either for *ενομιζομεν* or for a parallel substitution with *ενομιζον* ('they thought,' etc.). *ενομιζομεν προσευχη ειναι* BA sah ('to a place wherein we are accustomed to pray') combines the Antiochian ('Western') reading with that of C 81 boh, *προσευχη* being taken (so sah) as dative ('in prayer'). Blass's conjecture *ενομιζω* ('they were accustomed') *ε προσευχη ειναι* (cf. Lk. vi. 12) would also provide a common source (note the indefinite subject) for both the text of BA sah and the Antiochian, and is attractive.

ἐξελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ. καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ 19  
κύριοι αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι  
τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σείλαν εἰλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἄρχοντας, καὶ προσαγαγόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς εἶπαν· 20  
Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκταράσσουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι  
ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ καταργέλλουσιν ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παρα- 21  
δέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν. καὶ συνεπέστη ὁ ὄχλος 22  
κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ περιρῆξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια  
ἐκέλευον ῥαβδιῶν, πολλὰς δὲ ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πληγὰς ἔβαλον 23  
εἰς φυλακὴν, παραγγεῖλαντες τῷ δεσμοφύλακι ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖν  
αὐτούς· ὃς παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην λαβὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν 24  
ἐσωτέραν φυλακὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἡσφάλισατο αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ  
ξύλον. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον Παῦλος καὶ Σείλας προσευχό- 25  
μενοι ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμοι· ἄφων 26  
δὲ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ δε-  
σμωτηρίου, ἠνεψῆχθησαν δὲ αἱ θύραι πᾶσαι, καὶ πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ  
ἀνέβη. ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεωγμένους 27  
τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ἡμέλλεν ἑαυτὸν  
ἀναιρεῖν, νομίζων ἐκπεφευγῆναι τοὺς δεσμίους. ἐφώνησεν δὲ 28  
Παῦλος μεγάλη φωνῇ λέγων· Μὴδὲν πράξεις σεαυτῷ κακόν,  
ἅπαντες γὰρ ἔσμεν ἐνθάδε. αἰτήσας δὲ φῶτα εἰσεπήδησεν, καὶ 29

Editors 19 καὶ ἰδόντες] ἰδόντες δε WH Soden καὶ ἰδόντες WHmg 23 δε] τε  
WHmg 24 αὐτων ησφαλισατο Soden (but cf. mg) 26 δε 20]  
+παραρημα WH Soden 27 om την Soden 28 φωνη μεγαλη ο παυλος  
Soden

Old Uncial 19 καὶ ἰδόντες B om καὶ A<sup>vid</sup> ἰδόντες δε NC 81 (cf. D) τον 20 BNA 81  
om C(+D) 23 δε B 81 τε KAC(+D) παραγγειλαντες BACN<sup>o</sup> 81  
(+D) παραγγιλας τε K 24 εβαλεν BNC 81 (+D) ελαβεν A  
ησφαλισατο αυτων BNA 81 αυτων ησφαλισατο O<sup>+</sup>(+D) 25 το BAC 81  
om K σειλας BNA 81 (+D) ο σιλας C αυτων BNA 81 (+D)  
+και C 26 δε 20 B δε (C τε) παραρημα KAC 81 (+D) ανεβη  
BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 ανελυθη K(+D) 27 ανεωγμενας τας θυρας BNA 81 (+D) τας  
θυρας ανεωγμενας C την BC 81 (+D) om KA αναιρειν BNA 81 (+D)  
ανελειν C 28 παυλος μεγαλη φωνη B μεγαλη φωνη ο παυλος A φωνη  
μεγαλη (+ ο 81 [+D]) παυλος NC 81 (cf. D) σεαυτω BNA C (+D) σεαυτων 81

Antiochian 19 καὶ ἰδόντες] ἰδόντες δε HLPSS<sup>+</sup>(cf. D) 21 εθ] ηθ L ἐξεστ]ιν  
εστ]ιν S 23 δε] τε HLPSS<sup>+</sup>(+D) 24 λαβων] ειληφως HLPSS<sup>+</sup>  
αυτων ησφαλισατο HLPSS<sup>+</sup>(+D) 26 δε 20] τε παραρημα HLPSS<sup>+</sup>  
27 om την HLPSS<sup>+</sup> 28 φωνη μεγαλη ο παυλος HLPSS<sup>+</sup>(+D)

27 The reading ο δεσμοφύλαξ ο πιστος στεφάνος 614 2147 is noteworthy.



Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡα ἐξέληθης ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ εὐθέως ἐξήλθεν.  
 19 ὡς δὲ εἶδαν οἱ κύριοι τῆς παιδείας ὅτι ἀπεστέρηται τῆς ἐργασίας  
 αὐτῶν ἥς εἶχαν δι' αὐτῆς, ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ Σίλαν  
 20 εἴλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ προσαγαγόντες  
 αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς εἶπον· Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκταράσ-  
 21 σουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ καταγγέ-  
 λουσιν τὰ ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς παραδέξασθαι οὕτε ποιεῖν Ῥω-  
 22 μαίοις ὑπάρχουσιν. καὶ πολὺς ὄχλος συνεπέστησαν κατ' αὐτῶν  
 κρίζοντες. τότε οἱ στρατηγοὶ περιρήξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια  
 23 ἐκέλευον ῥαβδεῖζειν, πολλὰς τε ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πληγὰς ἔβαλον  
 εἰς φυλακὴν, παραγγείλαντες τῷ δεσμοφύλακει ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖ-  
 24 σθαι αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ παραγγελείαν τοιαύτην λαβὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς  
 εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν φυλακὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἡσφάλισατο ἐν  
 25 τῷ ξύλῳ. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ Παῦλος καὶ Σίλας προσ-  
 ευχόμενοι ὑμνοῦν τὸν θεόν, ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιλοι·  
 26 ἄφνω δὲ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ  
 δεσμωντηρίου, ἠνεψύθησαν δὲ παραχρῆμα αἱ θύραι πᾶσαι, καὶ  
 27 πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ ἀνελύθη. καὶ ἔξυπνος γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ  
 καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεωγμένας τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ σπασάμενος τὴν  
 μάχαιραν ἔμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν, νομίζων ἐκπεφευγέναι τοὺς  
 28 δεσμίους. ἐφώνησεν δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων· Μηδὲν  
 29 πράξης σεαυτῷ τι κακόν, ἅπαντες γάρ ἐσμεν ἐνθάδε. φῶτα δὲ

19 πεδισκῆς	ἀπεστέρησθαι	20 προσαγαγοντας
21 ἐθη] ἐθνη	24 ἡσφαλίσαντο	

ihu xpi ut exeat ab eam et eadem hora exiit 19 cum vidissent domini ejus puellas d  
 quoniam ipse et reditus eorum quem habebant per ipsam adpraehenderunt paulum  
 et silam traxerunt in forum ad magistratos 20 et cum optulissent eos praetoribus  
 dixerunt isti homines perturbam nostram civitatem judaei cum sint 21 et praedi-  
 cantes gentes quam non licet nobis recipere nec facere romani cum simus 22 et  
 multa turba supervenerunt adversus eos clamantes tunc magistratu discussis vesti-  
 mentis jusserunt virgis caedi 23 multisque inpositis eis plagis miserunt in carcerem  
 praesepto dato optioni carceris diligenter servari eos 24 qui mandato tali accepto  
 misit eos in unam carceris et pedes eorum conclusit in ligno 25 circa mediam vero  
 nocte paulus et silas orantes ymnum dicebant dō audiebant autem eos ipsi vincti  
 26 repente autem terrae motus factus est magnus ita ut commoverentur fundamenta  
 carceris apertaeque sunt statim januae omnes et omnium vincula relaxata sunt  
 27 et exomni factus est optio carceris et vidit apertas januas carceris evaginato  
 gladio coeperat se interficere existimans effugisset custodias 28 clamavit autem  
 magna voce paulus dicens nihil feceris tibi malum omnes enim sumus hic 29 lumen

25 circa mediam autem noctem Paulus et Sileas orantes gratias agebant deo, Cyprian,  
 audiebant autem eos vincti Test. ii. 14

28 ἐφώνησεν] clamavit ✕ ei ✓

Harleian

ἐντρομος γενόμενος προσέπεσεν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Σείλῃ, καὶ προ- 30  
 αγωγὸν αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἔφῃ· Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; | οἱ 31  
 δὲ εἶπαν· Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ  
 ὁ οἶκός σου. καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ σὺν πάσιν 32  
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ 33  
 τῆς νυκτὸς ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ  
 αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες παραχρῆμα, ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον 34  
 παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν, καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο πανοικεῖ πεπιστευκῶς τῷ  
 θεῷ. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς ῥαβ- 35  
 δούχους λέγοντες· Ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους. ἀπ- 36  
 ἡγγειλεν δὲ ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ τοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ὅτι  
 Ἀπέσταλκαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἵνα ἀπολυθῇτε· νῦν οὖν ἐξελθόντες  
 πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· Δείραντες 37  
 ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ ἀκατακρίτους, ἀνθρώπους Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχοντας,  
 ἔβαλαν εἰς φυλακὴν· καὶ νῦν λάθρα ἡμᾶς ἐκβάλλουσιν; οὐ γάρ,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντες αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν. ἀπηγγείλαν δὲ τοῖς 38

Editors	29 τῷ σιλᾷ Soden	31 ἰησοῦν] +χριστον Soden	32 θεοῦ] κυρίου
	WHmg Soden	33 ἅπαντες] παντες Soden	36 λογους] +τουτους
	Soden	om εν ειρηνη JHR	
Old Uncial	29 γενομενος B <sup>9</sup> A 81	υπαρχων C(+D)	σειλα B C(+D) τῷ σιλᾷ
	NA 81	30 προαγαγων BAC <sup>9</sup> (cf. D)	προαγων N προαγαγων 81
	31 ἰησουν B <sup>9</sup> A 81	+χριστον C(+D)	32 θεου B <sup>9</sup> κυριου AC <sup>9</sup> 81 (cf. D)
	33 οἱ B <sup>9</sup> C 81 (+D)	+οικιοι A	ἅπαντες B <sup>9</sup> παντες AC 81 (+D)
	B <sup>9</sup> A 81 (+D)	δε C	οικον BC 81 +αυτου NA(+D)
	B <sup>9</sup> AC <sup>9</sup> 81	ἡγαλλιατο C <sup>9</sup> d(+D)	36 λογους B C(+D) +τουτους NA 81
	ἀπεσταλκαν B <sup>9</sup> A (cf. D)	ἀπεστειλαν C 81	εν ειρηνη BAC 81 εις ειρηνην N
	37 εφη B <sup>9</sup> A(+D)	om 81	38 δε 1 <sup>o</sup> BA 81 (+D) τε N
Antiochian	29 τῷ σιλᾷ HLP <sup>9</sup> S	31 ἰησοῦν] +χριστον HLP <sup>9</sup> S(+D)	32 θεοῦ]
	κυρίου HLP <sup>9</sup> S(+D)	συν] καὶ HLS <sup>9</sup>	33 ἅπαντες] παντες HLP <sup>9</sup> S(+D)
	34 οικον] +αυτου HLS <sup>9</sup> (+D)	ἡγαλλιατο P(+D)	θεῷ] κυριῷ S
	36 λογους] +τουτους HLP <sup>9</sup> S	37 om ημας 3 <sup>o</sup> HPS	38 ἀπηγγειλαν]
	ἀπηγγειλαν HLP <sup>9</sup> S		

30 Hol. ✕: *appropinquavit* represents, apparently with a change of order, *προαγαγων*, which is found for *προαγαγων* in 614 minn.

32 Tischendorf *ad loc.* argues, with full references, that *του κυριου* AC<sup>9</sup> 81 (D), Antiochian, versions, should be accepted rather than *του θεου* B<sup>9</sup>. His ground is that *λογος του κυριου* is elsewhere often altered to *λογος του θεου*, but that the reverse process does not usually take place, though it sometimes occurs. But it is safer to follow

B<sup>9</sup> here, as usual; especially since a special force resides in *θεου*, which calls attention to the divine truth of the answer of vs. 31. In vs. 15, on the other hand, *θεο* D is inappropriate and reflects later and less precise ideas, while *κυριῷ* of nearly every other witness alone suits the situation.

36 *εν ειρηνη* (N *εις ειρηνην*), omitted by D d g i g, is inappropriate in the mouth of a Greek jailer; it may have been an early addition in 'biblical' style, for its inaptness would not be

αἰτήσας εἰσεπήδησεν, καὶ ἔντρομος ὑπάρχων προσέπεσεν πρὸς  
 30 τοὺς πόδας τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Σιλᾷ, καὶ προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἔξω  
 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλίσταμενος, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ  
 31 ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν  
 32 Χριστόν, καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου. καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ  
 33 τὸν λόγον κυρίου σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ παρα-  
 λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔλυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 34 [καὶ] ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ [καὶ] παρέθηκεν  
 τράπεζαν, καὶ ἡγαλλιᾶτο σὺν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκῶς ἐπὶ  
 35 τὸν θεόν. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ  
 αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἀναμνησθέντες τὸν σεισμόν τὸν γεγονότα  
 ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς ραβδούχους λέγοντας· Ἀπόλυσον  
 36 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους οὓς ἐχθὲς παρέλαβες. καὶ εἰσελθὼν  
 ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ ἀπήγγειλεν τοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ὅτι  
 Ἀπεστάλκασιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἵνα ἀπολυθῇτε· νῦν οὖν ἐξελθόντες  
 37 πορεύεσθε. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Ἀναίτιους δείρωντες  
 ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ ἀκατακρίτους, ἀνθρώπους Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχον-  
 τας, ἔβαλαν εἰς φυλακὴν· καὶ νῦν λάθρα ἡμᾶς ἐκβάλλουσιν;  
 38 οὐ γάρ, ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντες αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν. ἀπήγγειλεν

29 αιτησας] ετησας

35 οι] οis

36 πορευεσθαι

vero petens accucurrit et tremibundus factus procidit ad pedes paulo et silae 30 et d  
 cum produxisset eos foras ceteros custodivit et dixit illis domini quid me oportet  
 facere ut salvus fiam 31 ad illi dixerunt crede in dno ihu xpo et salvus fies tu et  
 domus tua 32 et locuti sunt ei verbum dñi cum omnibus qui erant in domum ejus  
 33 et adprehendit eos in illa hora noctis solvit plagas et ipse baptizatus est et ejus  
 omnes confestum 34 et perduxit eos in domum suam et posuit mensam et exultabat  
 cum tota domu sua credens in dno 35 die autem facta convenerunt magistrati id  
 ipsud in foro et rememorati sunt terrae motum qui factus est timuerunt et trans-  
 miserunt lectores dicentes dimitte homines illos quos externa die suscepisti 36 et  
 ingressus optio carceris renuntiavit hos sermones ad paulum quoniam miserunt  
 praetores ut dimittami nunc ergo exeuntes ambulate 37 paulus autem ait ad  
 ipsos anetios caesos nos publice indemnatos homines romanos cives miserunt in  
 carcerem et nunc occultae nos eiciunt non ita sed veniant ipsi nos producant

30 καὶ προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξω τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλίσταμενος καὶ] et quum eduxisset  
 eos foras ✕ et reliquos astrinxisset tuto, appropinquavit et < 35 συνήλθον  
 . . . ἐφοβήθησαν] mg congregati sunt praefecti una in foro et recordati terrae-  
 motus qui factus erat timuerunt

Haroldian

likely to cause offence to an ancient  
 copyist or editor.

37 ἀναίτιους D d pesh is the  
 'Western' substitute, in changed

position, for ἀκατακρίτους of the B-text.  
 The latter is omitted by pesh, and  
 probably was brought into the text of  
 D d by conflation.

στρατηγοῖς οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσιν, καὶ ἐλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς, 39 καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. ἐξελθόντες 40 δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν, καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐξῆλθον.

Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἦλθον XVII εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονείκην, ὅπου ἦν συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. κατὰ δὲ 2 τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέξατο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος 3 ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. καὶ 4

Editors	39 om και εξαγαγοντες ηρωτων JHR	1 om την 3 <sup>o</sup> WH Soden JHR
	3 om o before χριστος WHmg	om o before ιησους WHmg Soden JHR
Old Uncial	38 εφοβηθησαν BNA(+D) φοβηθησantes 81	40 απο B <sup>h</sup> εκ A 81 (+D)
	1 αμφιπολιν BAN <sup>cap</sup> 81 (+D) πολιν N	την 8 <sup>o</sup> B om NA 81 (+D)
	2 εισηλθεν BNA(+D) εισηλθον 81	3 ο χριστος ο ιησους B χριστος
	ιησους A 81 (+D) ιησους χριστος N	καταγγελλω BNA(+D) καταγγελω 81
Antiochian	38 εφοβηθησαν δε] και εφοβηθησαν HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	39 απελθειν] εξελθειν
	HLPSS(+D) om απο HLPSS(+D)	40 απο] εκ HLPSS(+D)
	προς] εις 5	παρακαλεσαν τους αδελφους] τους αδελφους παρεκαλεσαν αυτους
	HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (cf. D)	1 om την 2 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS(+D)
	η συναγωγη HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	om την 3 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS(+D)
	2 διελεγετο HLPSS <sup>c</sup>	3 om e before ιησους HLPSS(+D)

38 (αυ)τοις(οι) στρατηγοῖς D d is otiose, in view of the following *προς τους στρατηγους*, and is probably due to contamination from the B-text. The omission of *τοις στρατηγοῖς* in 383 may be a genuine 'Western' survival, but is more likely to be an emendation. Probably the 'Western' text had *αυτοι*, the combination of which with an interlinear *τοις* would produce the *πονηριον αυτους*. In peah a modified fragment of the 'Western' text survives in a rendering equivalent to *τα ρηματα ταυτα τα ρηθεντα αυτους. τα ρηματα ταυτα* seems to owe its place in D to contamination.

39 In the 'Western' addition to vs. 39 the words *εξαγαγοντες παρεκαλεσαν αυτους λεγοντες* D d are not found in 614 and other minn, and are not represented in hol \* nor in the free quotation by Ephrem in the Armenian commentary (below, pp. 430 ff.). Since with this exception (apart from unimportant minor variants) the whole gloss (*εξελθειν . . . καθ' υμων*) is found

in these witnesses, it is probable that these words, originally absent from the 'Western' text, have been introduced into the text of D d by conflation from the B-text (which, however, reads *ηρωτων*, not *παρακαλεσαν*). One element of the narrative in the B-text would thus wholly disappear in the 'Western.' Since omission of this kind is contrary to the usual practice of the 'Western' glossator, it seems not improbable that the original text read *παρακαλεσαν αυτους απελθειν*, and that *και εξαγαγοντες ηρωτων* in the B-text is a very early gloss suggested by *εξαγαγεωσαν* ol. va. 87. This would account for the present text of BNA 81, in which both the absence of an infinitive after *παρακαλεσαν* and the presence of *εξαγαγοντες* (vs. 39) side by side with *εξελθοντες* (vs. 40) are harsh.

Hol also shows a conflation, since the words covered by \* are properly a substitute for the sentence which follows. This may indicate that

δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἱ ῥαβδούχοι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα τὰ  
 ρηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί  
 39 εἶον ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν εἰς  
 τὴν φυλακὴν παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰπόντες· Ἠγωνή-  
 σαμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι. καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες  
 παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· Ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξ-  
 ἔλθατε μήποτε πάλιν συνοστραφῶσω ἡμεῖν ἐπικράζοντες καθ'  
 40 ὑμῶν. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἦλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν,  
 καὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελφούς διηγήσαντο ὅσα ἐποίησεν κύριος  
 αὐτοῖς παρακαλέσας αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξῆλθαι.

XXVII Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ κατήλθον εἰς Ἀπολ-  
 λωνίδα καὶ κεινὴν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπου ἦν συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰου-  
 2 daίων. καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὁ Παῦλος εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπὶ  
 3 σάββατα τρία διελέχθη αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ  
 παρατυθέμενος ὅτι Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν,  
 καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

38 τοῖς] αυτοῖσι

39 ἐστὲ] ἐσται

2 εἰωθός] εἰσωθός

38 renuntiaverunt autem praetoribus lectores verba haec quas dicta sunt a praetores d  
 cum autem audierunt quia romani sunt tamen 39 et cum venissent cum amicis  
 multis in carcerem rogarunt eos exire dicentes ignoramus adversum vos quoniam  
 estis viri justī et cum produxissent rogarunt eos dicentes de civitate ista exite ne  
 forte iterum convertantur ad nos clamantes adversum vos 40 et cum exissent de  
 carcere venerunt ad lydiam et cum vidissent fratres narraverunt quanta fecit dñs  
 cum eis exhorta sunt eos et exierunt

1 cum ambulasset autem amphipolim et descenderunt apolloniam et inde  
 thessalonicam ubi erat synagoga iudeorum 2 et secundum consuetudinem paulus  
 introibit ad eos per sabbata tria disputabit eis de scripturis 3 adaperiens et con-  
 firmans quia xpm oportet pati et resurgere a mortuis et quia hic est xps ihs quem

39 εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν] ✕ in carcerem ✕ ἐξελθεῖν εἰπόντες . . . ἐπικράζοντες Harleian  
 καθ' ὑμῶν] ✕ exire dicentes: Nesciebamus ea quas de vobis quod essetis viri  
 justī; et ex hac civitate exite, ne forte convertantur rursus illi qui clama-  
 verunt contra vos ✕ et quum eduxissent eos persuadebant ut egredierentur ex  
 civitate

what was originally a marginal note  
 has come to be wrongly inserted with  
 ✕ in the text.

For the order of words *conver-*  
*tantur rursus* hcl. mg of. *ἐπιστραφῶσι*  
*ταῖς* 614 minn; likewise for *illī qui*  
*clamaverunt* of. *οἱ ἐπικράζοντες* 614  
*minn.*

40 From a Bohemian ms. of 1429 a

'Western' reading is cited as follows:  
 "Und als sie die Brüder gesehen,  
 erzählten sie ihnen, was ihnen aus  
 Gnade der Herr gethan, ermunterten  
 dieselben, und reisten ab", see  
*Oesterreichisches Literaturblatt*, vol.  
 vi, 1897, cols 168 f. For Latin  
 evidence to the gloss see Wordsworth  
 and White.

τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέισθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ  
καὶ Σείλᾳ, τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλήθος πολὺ γυναικῶν  
τε τῶν πρώτων οὐχ ὀλίγαι. ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ 5  
προσλαβόμενοι τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄνδρας τινὰς πονηροὺς καὶ ὄχλο-  
ποιήσαντες ἐθอรύβουν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπιστάντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰάσονος  
ἐζήτησαν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον· μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς 6  
ἔσυρον Ἰάσονα καὶ τινὰς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας, βοῶντες  
ὅτι Οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν,  
| οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων 7  
Καίσαρος πράσσουν, βασιλεῖα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν.  
ἐτάραξαν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας ἀκούοντας ταῦτα, 8  
καὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπ- 9

Editors	4 [τω] σιλα WH	τω σιλα Soden JHR	γυναῖκες JIR
Old Uncial	4 σιλα B τω σιλα NA 81 (+D) B <sup>h</sup> +καὶ A 81 (+D) αὐτοὺς B <sup>h</sup> 81 (+D) αὐτὸν A <sup>na</sup> βοῶντες B <sup>h</sup> 81 (+D) βοῶντας A	τε 1 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>NA</sup> δε 81 5 ἄνδρας τινὰς BA 81 τινὰς ἄνδρας N(+D) 6 ἐσυρον BA <sup>h</sup> 81 (cf. D) ἐυρον N	σεβομένων
Antiochian	4 τω σιλα HLPSS(+D) πλήθος HLPSS <sup>c</sup> δε οἱ ιουδαῖοι οἱ ἀπειθῶντες HLPSS (cf. D) προσλαβόμενοι 5 ἐπιστάντες τε (δε S) HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 6 τῶν ἰασων HLPSS <sup>c</sup> ταρασσοῦσιν S	τε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] δε H 5 [ζηλώσαντες δε οἱ ιουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι] προσλαβόμενοι [ζηλώσαντες δε οἱ ἀπειθῶντες ιουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι 5 τινὰς ἄνδρας HLPSS(+D) προαγαγεῖν] ἀγαγεῖν HPS <sup>c</sup> ἀναγαγεῖν L om τινὰς ἀδελφούς ἐπὶ S λέγοντες ἕτερον HLPSS(+D)	om ἑλλήνων S πολὺ καὶ ἐπιστάντες] 7 πρᾶσσουσιν] om ἰησοῦν S

4 In the text of D two matters are to be noted:

(a) τῇ διδαχῇ probably shows that τῷ παύλῳ καὶ τῷ σιλᾷ was introduced by conflation.

(b) πλήθος πολὺ D is redundant after πολλοί, and is probably due to conflation from the B-text. Observe that the Antiochian text reads πολὺ πλήθος, with change in the order of the words. Pesh reads: 'and many (cf. πολλοί D) of the Greeks who feared God and also noble women not a few.'

Thus emended, D appears to offer the 'Western' text, of which the following account can be given: (1) in order to avoid the awkwardness in the B-text of the loosely appended additional subject πλήθος, the paraphrase substituted for it πολλοί, in a different position, and dropped τε before σεβομένων, thus making πολλοί the subject of προσεκληρώθησαν.

(2) Because of the unusual character

of the expression τῶν σεβομένων ἑλλήνων of the B-text, καὶ was inserted after σεβομένων so as to indicate two classes instead of one.

As to (1) and (2), πολλοί has survived in pesh, while the omission of τε and the insertion of καὶ are both found in gig; the insertion of καὶ is still seen in A 81 minn vg boh. In both these points the text of BNC seems clearly more original.

(3) The 'Western' καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων D d hol, in the sense 'wives of the leading men,' seems a better reading than γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων of the B-text, to which, under a desire for grammatical uniformity, it could easily be altered. Vg pesh have preserved the nominative in their free rendering (cf. vs. 12), 'noble women.'

For a different view of the verse see Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller*, pp. 226 f., 285 f., who thinks the

4 καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίσθησαν, καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ  
καὶ τῷ Σιλαίῳ τῇ διδαχῇ πολλοὶ τῶν σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων  
5 πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι. οἱ δὲ  
ἀπειθοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι συνστρέψαντές τινας ἄνδρας τῶν ἀγοραίων  
πονηροὺς ἐθορυβοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπιστάντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰά-  
6 σωνος ἐζήτουν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον· μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἔσυραν Ἰάσωναν καὶ τινας ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιει-  
άρχας, βοῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι Οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνα-  
7 στατώσαντες οὗτοί εἰσιν καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεσιν, οὓς ὑποδέδεκται  
Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πρᾶσ-  
8 σουσιν, βασιλέα λέγοντες ἕτερον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ἐτάραξαν  
9 τοὺς πολιτάρχας καὶ τὸν ὄχλον. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα | καὶ λαβόντες  
τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς.  
6 τινες] τινες 8 ἐταραξεν

ego adnuntio vobis 4 et quidam ex eis persuasum est et consortes facti sunt paulo d  
et silae doctrinae multi caelicolarum et graecorum multitudo magna et mulieres quae  
morum non paucae 5 adsupra vero iudaeis convertentes quosdam viros forenses  
subdoles turbabant civitatem et circumstantes ad domum jasonis quaeiebant eos  
producere ad populum 6 cum vero non invenissent eos traxerunt jasonē et quosdam  
fratres ad principes civitatis clamantes et dicentes quia qui orbem terrae iniqui-  
taverunt hi sunt et hoc venerunt 7 quos suscepit jason et isti omnes contra  
consulta caesaris agunt regem dicentes alium esse ih̄m 8 et concitaverunt principes  
et turbam audientes haec 9 et accipientes satis ab jasonem et ceteris dimiserunt

8 ἀκούσαντες] *mg* [quum] dicerent  
quidam primores civitatis, quum accepissent sponsores

9 καὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν] *mg* ipsi Harcleian

author intended to distinguish between 'sebomenoi' and heathen 'Greeks,' and who therefore prefers the 'Western' addition of *καὶ* after *σεβομένων*. Cf. above, p. cxxxiii.

8 The nominative ἀκούσαντες D (ἀκουοντες 614) belongs to the 'Western' text. Pesh renders freely, with the main verb ('were disturbed') in the passive, and so retains the participle in the nominative. In *hol.mg* the participle rendered seems to have been *λεγοντες*, a substitution otherwise

unattested but still nominative. The nominative was probably an early accidental variant. The sense of the B-text is superior, both as to the order of *τον οχλον καὶ τους πολιτάρχας* and as to the bearing of *ακουσαντες*.

Pesh and *hol.mg* both render *το ικανον* with the same word (a different one from that used in *hol.itzs*), while otherwise their renderings are not identical. The word had perhaps been taken over by the Philoxenian from the Peshitto.

ἔλυσαν αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν 10  
 τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σείλαν εἰς Βέροϊαν, οἷτινες παραγενόμενοι  
 εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπήεσαν· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενέ- 11  
 στεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονείκῃ, οἷτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ  
 πάσης προθυμίας, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνακρείνοντες τὰς γραφὰς  
 εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσαν, 12  
 καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγοι. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονείκης Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι 13  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Βεροίᾳ κατηγγέλη ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 ἦλθον καὶ ἐκεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ ταράσσοντες τοὺς ὄχλους. εὐθέως 14  
 δὲ τότε τὸν Παῦλον ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πορεύεσθαι ἕως ἐπὶ  
 τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπέμεινάν τε ὁ τε Σείλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκεῖ.  
 οἱ δὲ καθιστάνοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον ἕως Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ 15  
 λαβόντες ἐντολὴν πρὸς τὸν Σείλαν καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἵνα ὥς  
 τάχιστα ἔλθωσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου, παρ- 16

Editors	11 [το] WH Soden Soden	14 εως] ως JHR	15 καθιστανοντες] καθιστωντες
Old Uncial	10 ευθεως δια νυκτος εξεπεμψαν B(+D) ευθεως εξεπεμψαν δια νυκτος B εξ- επεμψαν A ευθεως εξεπεμψαν 81 τε BNA δε 81 11 το B om NA 81 (+D) 12 ελληνιδων BNA ελληνιδων 81 (cf. D) 14 δε BNA om 81 υπεμειναν B <sup>81</sup> 81 υπεμειναν A(+D) 15 καθιστανοντες BA (cf. D) καθιστανοντες B καθιστωντες B <sup>a</sup> αποκαθιστανοντες 81 τον 3ο B <sup>81</sup> 81 om A(+D) 16 αυτους BA <sup>81</sup> 81 αυτου N(+D) του παυλου BA <sup>81</sup> 81 (+D) om B		
Antiochian	10 της νυκτος HLPB <sup>c</sup> απηεσαν των ιουδαιων HLPB 13 om και ταρασσοντες HLPB <sup>c</sup> τον οχλον H 14 εως] ως HLPB <sup>c</sup> om S(+D) υπεμενον (-εν S) HLPB <sup>c</sup> τε 1ο] δε HLPB <sup>c</sup> (+D) εκει ο τε σιλας και ο τιμοθεος H 15 καθιστανοντες] καθιστωντες HLPB <sup>c</sup> ηγαγον] +αυτον HLPB <sup>c</sup> om τον 3ο HLPB <sup>c</sup> (+D)		

11 For *hol.ing* cf. *καθως παυλος* *απαγγελλει* 614 *minn gig vg cod. ad. am. mach.*

14-15 For *εως* the reading *ως* HLP *hol. text* (8 *minn* D *gig* omits altogether; *d ad mare uersus*) yields an attractive sense in view of vs. 15 (which does not suggest a sea voyage), and is perhaps to be preferred, in spite of the lack of ancient attestation.

The gloss, *παρηλθεν δε . . . τον λογον*, in vs. 15, found in D d and supported in part by Ephrem (below, p. 432) and by the Armenian catena-fragment (Chrysostom?) cited in

the following paragraph, creates the suspicion that the 'Western' text of vs. 14 was based on a corrupt variant, *θεσσαλιαν* (Ephr 'Thessalonica') for *θαλασσαν*. The words *επι την θαλασσαν* (without *ως* or *εως*) would thus owe their presence in D d to a later restoration from the usual text. This corruption would have made natural the 'Western' explanation offered in vs. 15 to show why Paul did not preach in Thessaly after all. That the supposed variant *θεσσαλιαν* is the true reading is rendered unlikely by the word *εξαπεστειλαν*, to which it



- 10 οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν  
Σείλαν εἰς Βέροϊαν, οἷτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν  
11 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπήεσαν· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενεῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσ-  
σαλονίκῃ, οἷτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας,  
καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφὰς εἰ ἔχει ταῦτα οὕτως.  
12 τινὲς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσαν, τινὲς δὲ ἠπίστησαν, καὶ τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἱκανοὶ ἐπί-  
13 στευσαν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι λόγος  
θεοῦ κατήγγελη εἰς Βέροϊαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς αὐτὴν  
καῖκεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ τακράσσοντες τοὺς ὄχλους οὐ διελίμπανον.  
14 τὸν μὲν οὖν Παῦλον οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
15 θάλασσαν· ὑπέμεινεν δὲ ὁ Σείλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκεῖ. οἱ δὲ  
καταστάνοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον ἕως Ἀθηνῶν, παρήλθεν δὲ  
τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον,  
λαβόντες δὲ ἐντολὴν παρὰ Παύλου πρὸς τὸν Σείλαν καὶ Τιμόθεον  
ὅπως ἐν τάχει ἔλθωσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν.  
16 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου, παρ-

eos 10 vero fratres statim per noctem dimiserunt paulum et silan beroean qui d  
cum advenissent in synagoga judaeorum ibant 11 hi autem sunt nobiliores qui  
thessalonicae sunt qui exceperunt verbum cum omni animatione cottidie exami-  
nantes scripturas si habeant haec ita 12 multi ergo ex his crediderunt quidam vero  
credere noluerunt et grecorum et non placentium et viri et mulieris pleres crediderunt  
13 ut autem cognoverunt qui a thessalonica judaei quia verbum di adnuntiatum est  
in beroean et credederunt et venerunt in eam et illic commoventes et turbantes  
multitudinem non cessabant 14 statimque paulum fratres dimiserunt abire ad  
mare versus substituit autem silas et timotheus ibi 15 qui autem ducebant paulum  
perdixerunt naque athenis transitit vero thessalam vetatus est enim super eos  
praedicare sermonem ut acceperunt mandatum a paulo ad silam et timotheum ut  
quam celeriter veniant ad eum proficiscebantur 16 vero athenis expectante eo

11 ουτως] + ✕ sicut Paulus evangelizabat ✓

Harleian

is not natural to join a destination at which Paul did not stop. And with the readings *us* and *θεσσαλιαν* combined, the sentence would lose all meaning, for Paul's route lay not only ostensibly but actually through Thessaly.

A passage in the Armenian catena, there ascribed to Ephrem but only in part included in the Ephrem-extracts printed in this volume because for the most part not confirmed by Ephrem's continuous text, reads: "He came then as far as the shore, receding (*ὑποχωρῶν*). But the Holy Spirit prevented him from preaching,

lest perhaps they should slay him. And those who conducted Paul led him as far as Athens." This may be Chrysostom. With it compare Chrysostom (ed. Savile, p. 816, line 4) *δρα αὐτὸν καὶ υποχωροῦντα καὶ ἐπιστάμενον καὶ πολλὰ ἀνθρωπίνως τοιοῦντα*, also p. 817, lines 31 ff., and p. 817, lines 2 ff. It has been sought to bring the reading of *d abire ad mare versus* into relation with these passages, but with no clear result. See J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures*, pp. 47, 98 f., Conybeare, *American Journal of Philology*, xvii, 1896, pp 164 f.

ωξύνετο τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντος κατείδωλον οὐσαν  
τὴν πόλιν. διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις 17  
καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς  
τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρίων καὶ 18  
Στωικῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἔλεγον· Τί ἂν  
θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δὲ Ἑξένων δαιμονίων  
δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι· ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν  
εὐηγγελίζετο. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρείον Πάγον 19  
ἤγαγον, λέγοντες· Δυνάμεθα γινῶναι τίς ἡ καινὴ αὕτη ὑπὸ σοῦ  
λαλουμένη διδασχῇ; ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα εἰσφέρεις εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς 20  
ἡμῶν· βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τίνα θέλει ταῦτα εἶναι. Ἀθηναῖοι 21  
δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠλκαίρουν  
ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον. σταθεῖς δὲ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ 22  
τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου ἔφη· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὥς  
δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ· διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν 23  
τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο· Ἀγνώστῳ  
Θεῷ. ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῶν.  
ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ 24

23 ὑμιν] ὑμων

Editors	19 δε] τε Soden	αυτη] +[η] WH	+η Soden JHR	21 η 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] και
Soden mg	[τι 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] Soden	22 ο παυλος Soden		28 ον Soden mg
τουςαν Soden mg				

Old Uncial	18 ευηγγελιζετο B <sup>8</sup> +αυτοις A <sup>8</sup> 81	19 δε B 81 (cf. D) τε B <sup>8</sup>
	ηγαγον B <sup>8</sup> 81 (+D) ηγον A	αυτη B (+D) +η B <sup>8</sup> 81
	B <sup>8</sup> A λεγομενη 81	20 εισφερεις B A <sup>8</sup> 81 (cf. D) εισφερει B <sup>8</sup>
	B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) και 81	τι 2 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>8</sup> A om 81 (+D)
	ο παυλος 81 (+D)	εφη BA 81 (+D) ειπεν B <sup>8</sup>
	σεβαστα B <sup>8</sup>	ο B <sup>8</sup> A 81 (+D) ον A <sup>8</sup> B <sup>8</sup>
	A <sup>8</sup> B <sup>8</sup> 81	καταγγελλω B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) καταγγελω 81
		22 παυλος B <sup>8</sup> A
		23 σεβασματα BA 81 (+D)
		τουτο B <sup>8</sup> A (+D) τουςαν
		υμω B <sup>2</sup> (B <sup>8</sup> T <sup>1</sup> U)

Antiochian	16 θεωρουντι HLPSS (+D)	18 οιν και 1 <sup>ο</sup> 5	των στωικων
	HLPSS (+D)	αναστασιν] +αυτοις 5	ευηγγε-
	λ[ε]το] +αυτοις H	19 δε] τε HLPSS	αυτου] αυτους S
	+η HLPSS	20 τωα θελει] τι αν θελοι (θελει P) HLPSS (+D)	21 η 2 <sup>ο</sup>
	και HLPSS	om τι 2 <sup>ο</sup> HLPSS (+D)	22 ο παυλος HLPSS (+D)
	οιν ανδρες αθηναιοι κατα παντα S	28 ο] ον HLPSS	ευσεβετε] σεβητε L
	τουςαν HLPSS	καταγγελω HS	

17 *τους* before *εν τη αγορα* D d hol. mg sah makes *προς τους παρατυγχάνοντας* (D *παρτυχοντας*) superfluous. The fact that d (unlike D) inserts *et his qui forte aderant* before *et his qui in foro*, together with the varying form

of the pronoun (*his*, not *his*), suggests that the insertion of *τους* in the 'Western' text was balanced by the omission of *προς τους παρατυγχάνοντας*, and that these latter words have been reintroduced in D d sah from the

ωξύνετο πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντι κατείδωλον οὖσαν τὴν  
 17 πόλιν. διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ  
 τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς  
 18 τοὺς παρατυχόντας. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρίων καὶ τῶν Στοι-  
 κῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλον αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἔλεγον· Τί ἂν θέλῃ  
 ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δὲ· Ἐξέων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ  
 19 καταγγελεὺς εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπιλαβόμενοι αὐτοῦ  
 ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀριον Πάγον, πυρθανόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες·  
 Δυνάμεθα γινῶναι τίς ἡ καυὴ αὕτη ὑπὸ σοῦ καταγγελιομένη  
 20 διδαχῇ; ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα φέρεις ῥήματα εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν  
 21 βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τί ἂν θέλοι ταῦτα εἶναι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ  
 πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες εἰς αὐτοὺς ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον  
 22 ἠυκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν καινότερον. σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος  
 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρίου Πάγου ἔφη· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα  
 23 ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ· διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ δι-  
 ιστορῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἦκν> γε-  
 γραμμένον· Ἀγνώστω Θεῷ. ὁ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο  
 24 ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ

18 συνεβαλον] συνελαβον

οἱ δε] οἶδεν

20 ξηνίζοντα

panium incitabatur sps ejus in eo videnti simulacris esse civitatem 17 disputabat d  
 ergo in synagoga judaeis et his qui colunt et his qui forte aderant et his qui in foro  
 per omnem diem 18 quidam autem et epicuriorum et stoicorum philosophorum  
 conferebant cum eo et quidam dicebant quid nunc velit spermologus hic dicere alii  
 noborum daemioniorum videtur adnuntiator esse 19 post dies aliquos adpraehensum-  
 que eum adduxerunt ad arium pagum cogitantes et dicentes possumus scire que  
 est novitas haec a te narratio doctrinae 20 nova enim quaedam adferens inter  
 locutiones adversus nostras volumus ergo scire quid nunc sibi vellint haec esse  
 21 athenenses vero omnes et qui advenerant hospites ad nihil aliud vacabant quam  
 dicere aliquid aut audire novius 22 cum stetisset autem paulus in medio arii pagi  
 ait viri athenenses per omnia superstitiones vos video esse 23 circumambulans enim  
 et perspicies ea quae colitis inveni etiam et aram in qua scriptum erat ignoto dō  
 quod ergo ignorantes colitis hoc ego adnuntio vobis 24 dō qui fecit mundum et

24 deus qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo, hic caeli et terrae dominus Irenaeus,  
iii. 12, 9 (

17 καὶ τοῖς 3<sup>ο</sup>] mg et illis  
 aliquot <

19 μετὰ δε ἡμέρας τινὰ] ✕ post autem dies Harclean

B-text. But no 'Western' authority omits them.

18 D d gig omit οτι τον ιησουν και την  
 αναστασιν ευηγγελιζετο, and thus throw  
 some doubt on the genuineness of

the sentence. In Aug. *C. Cresc.* i. 12  
 (15) the omission is not certainly  
 attested Cf., however, the omission  
 of similar sentences by h and D d gig,  
 mentioned above, pp. cccxxvi-viii.

καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ  
 | οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος, 25  
 αὐτὸς διδούς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα· ἐποίησέν τε 26  
 ἐξ ἐνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντός προσώπου τῆς  
 γῆς, ὀρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς  
 κατοικίας αὐτῶν, ζητεῖν τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσ<ε>αν αὐτὸν 27  
 καὶ εὗροιεν, καὶ γε οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα.  
 ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κεινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὥς καὶ τινες 28  
 τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν· Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.  
 γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ ἢ 29  
 ἀργυρῷ ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ  
 θεῖον εἶναι ὁμοιον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν 30  
 ὁ θεὸς τὰ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντας πανταχοῦ  
 μετανοεῖν, καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρείνειν τὴν 31

Editors 26 παντος προσωπου] παν το προσωπον Soden 28 ημας] υμας WH Soden  
 JHR ημας WHmg om ποιητων JHR 30 απαγγελλει] παραγγελλει  
 Soden

Old Uncial 25 χειρων ανθρωπων BA 81 (+D) ανθρωπων χειρων B θεραπευεται  
 BA<sup>80</sup> 81 (+D) +ως B προσδεομενος BA<sup>80</sup> 81 (+D) ως προσδεομενος B τα  
 BA<sup>80</sup> (+D) om B 81 27 ψηλαφήσειαν BA 81 ψηλαφήσειεν B και  
 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>80</sup> 81 η Δ (+D) και γε B 81 (+D) καιτοι Δ καιτοιγε B ου B<sup>80</sup> Δ (+D)  
 ουκ αμαρτυρων 81 ημων B<sup>80</sup> Δ<sup>80</sup> π\* 81 (+D) υμων Δ 28 ημας B υμας  
 B<sup>80</sup> 81 (+D) 29 χρυσω B (+D) χρυσω B<sup>80</sup> Δ αργυρω B<sup>80</sup> (+D) αργυριω Δ  
 30 απαγγελλει B<sup>80</sup> παραγγελλει Δ<sup>80</sup> (+D)

Antiochian 24 κυριος υπαρχων HLPSS (+D) 25 ανθρωπων] ανθρωπων HLPSS  
 om προσδεομενος τινος S (of. D) om αυτος HS (+D) δους HS (+D)  
 και τα] κατα HLPSS 26 ενος] +αιματος HLPSS (+D) παντος  
 προσωπου] παν το προσωπον HLPSS προστεταγμενου] προτεταγμενου S  
 (+D) 27 θεων] κυρων P<sup>5</sup> ψηλαφήσειεν S και γε] καιτοιγε S  
 ημων] υμων L 28 ημας] υμας HLPSS (+D) 30 απαγγελλει] παρ-  
 αγγελλει HLPSS (+D) πασι HLPSS 31 καθοτι] διοτι HLPSS

27 Can the superfluous *εστιν* D be a survival, in a changed position, of the reading in the later part of the sentence *ευρισαν (-ειν) τις εστιν* implied by *holmg*? But of the similar case in *xxi. 21 τους κατα εθνη ειων ιουδαιους* D, where *ειων* seems introduced in order to com-

plete the parallelism with the Latin.  
 28 The omission of *ποιητων* in D d gij ien, Pacianus, Ambrose, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Pelagius (on 1 Cor. ix. 21) is sufficient to raise doubts as to the true text. Pesh has 'wise men.' *ποιητων* is attested by Clem. Alex., Origen, Didymus.

πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς κύριος ὑπάρχων οὐκ ἐν  
 25 χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ | οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενος, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ δοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν  
 26 καὶ τὰ πάντα | ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπου κατ-  
 οικεῖν ἐπὶ παντός προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προτεταγμένους  
 27 καιροὺς κατὰ ὁροθεσίαν τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν, μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ  
 θεῖον ἵέστων | εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσασαν αὐτὸ ἡ εὐροισαν, καὶ γε  
 28 οὐ μακρὰν ὄν ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ  
 κεινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς  
 29 τινες εἰρήκασαν· Τούτου γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. γένος οὖν  
 ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ὀφίλομεν νομίζεω οὔτε χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ  
 ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης ἢ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον  
 30 εἶναι ὁμοιον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ταύτης παριδὼν  
 ὁ θεὸς τὰ νῦν παραγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἵνα πάντες πανταχοῦ  
 31 ἡμετανοεῖν, καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν κρεῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν

24 κατοικοι  
 31 εστησαν

27 και γε] και τε

28 αυτω] αυτη

omnia quae in eo sunt hic cum sit caeli et terrae dñs qui est non in manufactis d  
 templis inhabitat 25 neque manibus humanis curatur tamquam egeat quod ipse  
 dederit omnibus vitam et spiramentū et omnia 26 fecit ex uno sanguine omnem  
 nationem hominum inhabitare super omnem faciem terrae cum definisset imperata  
 tempora et determinationes inhabitationes eorum 27 quaerere quod divinum est  
 si forte tractent illud inveniant quidem non longe ab uno quoque nostrorum 28 in  
 ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus in diurnum sicut qui secundum vos sunt  
 quidam dixerunt huius enim et genus sumus 29 genus ergo cum sumus dī non  
 debemus existimare neque auro aut argento aut lapidi sculptiōni artis et cupiditatis  
 humanae quod divinum est esse simile 30 itaque temporibus ignorantiae huius  
 despiciens dñs jam nunc adiuvant hominibus ut omnes ubique poenitentiam agant  
 31 quoniam statuit diem iudicare orbem terrae in iustitia in viro ihu cuius constituit

24 non habitat in manufactis.

Tertullian,  
 Prae 16

existens non in manufactis templis inhabitat, 25 nec a manibus humanis  
 tractatur, tamquam alienius indigens, cum ipse omnibus dederit vitam et  
 spiritum et omnia, 26 feceritque ex uno sanguine omne genus hominum in-  
 habitare super faciem totius terrae, praefiniens tempora secundum determina-  
 tionem inhabitationis eorum, 27 quaerere illud quod est divinum, si quo  
 modo tractare possint illud aut invenire, quamvis etiam non longe sit ab  
 unoquoque nostrum; 28 in ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus; et  
 quemadmodum quidam secundum vos dixerunt: huius enim et genus sumus.  
 29 genus igitur cum sumus dei, non oportet nos putare id quod est divinum  
 simile esse auro vel argento vel lapidi per artem vel concupiscentiam hominis  
 deformato. 30 tempora igitur ignorantiae despiciens deus nunc praecepit homi-  
 nibus omnibus ubique poeniteri in ipsum, 31 quoniam constituit diem iudicari

Irenaeus,  
 III, 12, 9 (11)

26 εθρος] mg genera

27 ευροισας] mg et inveniant quis esset

Harleian

οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν, πίστιν παρασχὼν  
 πᾶσι ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν 32  
 νεκρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ  
 τούτου καὶ πάλιν. οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξήλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν· 33  
 τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διο- 34  
 νύσιος Ἀρεοπαγίτης καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς.

Με<τὰ> ταῦτα χωρισθεῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον. XVIII  
 καὶ εὗρών τινα Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει, 2  
 προσφάτως ἐληλυθότα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Πρίσκυλλαν γυναῖκα  
 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι <Κλαύδιον> χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς  
 Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσήλθεν αὐτοῖς, | καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁμό- 3  
 τεχρον εἶναι ἔμεινεν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡργάζοντο, ἦσαν γὰρ σκηνο-

Editors	84 [ο] αρεοπαγιτης WH ο αρεοπαγιτης Soden JHR 1 χωρισθαι] +[ο παυλος] Soden 3 ηργαζετο WHmg ειργαζετο Soden
Old Uncial	84 αρεοπαγιτης B (cf. D) ο αρεοπαγιτης NA 1 μετα B <sup>2</sup> χωρισθεις BN (cf. D) +ο παυλος A 2 διατεταχεναι BA <sup>2</sup> τε<τ>α>χεναι N(+D) κλαυδιον NA(+D) om B 3 ηργαζοντο BN ηργαζετο A(+D) ειργαζετο N <sup>2</sup>
Antiochian	82 περι τουτου και παλιν] παλιν περι τουτου HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (cf. D) 88 αιδ και before ουτως HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 84 ο αρεοπαγιτης HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 1 μετα] +δε HLPSS <sup>c</sup> χωρισθεις] + ο παυλος HLPSS <sup>c</sup> 2 διατεταχεναι] τεταχεναι LPS(+D) απο 2 <sup>o</sup> ] εκ HPSS <sup>c</sup> 3 εμεινεν H1S ειργαζετο HLPSS <sup>c</sup> (cf. D)

84 For γυνή reads *μυίη* *honestia* (translated into Greek in E as γυνή *τιμή*). D *ευσχημων* is plainly a survival of this gloss, and the omission in D of the name Damaris is probably somehow due to an attempt to excuse the gloss, in which the wrong word got omitted. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. viii. 5.

2-3 In D the 'Western' additions attested by h *hel mg* have been omitted, and other changes have been made, all doubtless by conformation to the B-text. The 'Western' Greek seems to have read approximately as follows (the reconstruction is chiefly from h and *hel mg*; some details are uncertain): 2 και ευρεν ακυλαν, ποντικον τω γενει, ιουδαιον, προσφατως εληλυθота απο της ιταλιας συν πρισκυλλη γυναικι αυτου, και προσηλθεν αυτοις· ουτοι δε εξηλθον απο της ρωμης δια το τεταχεναι κλαυδιον καισαρα χωριζεσθαι παντας ιουδαιους απο της ρωμης· οι και κατοικησαν εις την αιχμην ο δε παυλος εγνωρισθη τω ακυλα 3 δια το ομοφυλον και ομοτεχρον ειναι, και εμεινεν προς αυτους και ηργαζετο ησαν

γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τεχνῇ. For προσήλθεν αὐτοῖς the Greek may have read *ησπασατο* αὐτους, but *salutant eos* is explicable as a free rendering of the former phrase.

Interesting survivals of this 'Western' text are found. (1) *Vg. cod. R<sup>2</sup>* has, in substantial agreement with h, *et salutant eos. his autem egressi fuerant a roma*, but does not follow h thereafter; (2) m, closely like h, reads *paulus autem agnitus erat aquilae* at the close of vs. 2; (3) *gig vg. cods* have *et salutant eos*, but in a different position from h, appending it by conflation to *accessit ad eos* of the B-text; (4) *peah* reads 'Claudius Caesar' (cf. also *Doct. of Addis*, ed. Phillips, p. 16), and thus gives support to the conjectural reading for the lacuna of h.

It is not clear that the 'Western' changes were meant to imply that Paul had known Aquila previously.

2 That the use of *urbs* for Rome in h implies nothing as to the place of origin of the Latin version, may be seen from the passages assembled by Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Ka-*

δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρὶ Ἰησοῦ ᾧ ὤρισεν, πίστιν παρασχεῖν πᾶσιν  
 32 ἀναστῆσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν  
 οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου  
 33, 34 πάλιν. οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες  
 ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῷ, ἐπίστευσαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιός τις Ἀρεο-  
 παγίτης εὐσχήμων καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς.

xviii Ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον.  
 2 καὶ εὗρών τινα Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει,  
 προσφάτως ἐληλυθότα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν  
 γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ τεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας  
 Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, οἱ καὶ κατώκησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν,  
 3 προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος, | καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχρον ἔμενεν πρὸς  
 4 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡργάζετο. εἰσπορευόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν

31 παρευχεῖν 2 κλαυδιος 01 καὶ] 01 κε κατωκησεν

fidem exihere omnibus resuscitavit eum a mortuis 32 audientes autem resurrectione d  
 mortuorum aliquid eridebant alii vero dixerunt audimus te de hoc iterum 33 sic  
 paulus exiit de medio illorum 34 quidam autem viri cum eantessent ei crediderunt  
 in quibus et dionysius quis areopagita complacens et alii cum eis

1 regressus vero ab athenis venit in corinthum 2 et cum invenissent quemdam  
 judaeum nomine acylam pontium nomine recens venisse ab italia et priscillam  
 uxorem ejus eo quod praecepisset claudius discedere omnes judaeos ex urbem qui et  
 demorati sunt in achaiam accessit ad eos paulus 3 et propter artificium manebat  
 apud eos et operabatur 4 ingressus autem synagogam per omne sabbatum dis-

34 quidam autem crediderunt in quibus Dion[ysius] quidam Aisopagites, h  
 et mulier nomine Damalis, est multa ce]teus cum eis.

1 et cum recessisset Paulus ab At[henis], venit] Corinthum: 2 et invenit  
 Aquilam, natione Pon[ticum], Ju[da]eum, qui in recentia verant ab Italia, cum  
 [Pris]cilla uxore sua, et salutavit eos. hi aute[m] propte]rea exierant ab urbe,  
 quod dixisset Claud[us Caesar] uti omnes Judaei exirent ab urbe: qui vene[r] . .  
 in Acha[i]am. Paulus autem agnitus est Aquilae, 3 [quoniam] asset ejusdem  
 artis, et mansit apud eum: e[ra]nt eni] arteificio leotari. 4 et cum introiret in

orbem terrae in justitia in viro Jeau, in quo statuit fidem, excitans eum a Irenaeus,  
 mortuis. h. 12, 9 (11)

2-3 καὶ πρίσκιλλαν . . . πρὸς αὐτοὺς] mg cum Priscilla uxore ejus. hi autem Harcleam  
 exierant a Roma quod praecepisset Claudius ut discederent omnes Judaei ab  
 Italia. hi < . . . > Acha[i]am. ipse autem Paulus agnovit Aquilam, et propter  
 paritatem gentis et paritatem officii < . . . > apud eos

note, vol. ii. p. 132, note 1. The usage  
 was current in all parts of the empire.

3 The omission by h of καὶ ἡργάζετο  
 (-ero) might be a 'Western non-inter-  
 polation,' but in Aug have it in the  
 noteworthy form opus faciens.

ἦσαν γὰρ σκηποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ is

omitted by D d gg, possibly by an  
 error incident to the conflation of  
 'Western' and B-texts, which charac-  
 terizes both mss. in the following  
 verses. The presence of the sentence  
 in h speaks strongly against the theory  
 of a 'Western non-interpolation.'

ποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. διελέγετο δὲ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον, 4  
ἐπειθέν τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλλήνας. ὥς δὲ κατήλθον ἀπὸ τῆς 5  
Μακεδονίας ὁ τε Σείλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος, συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ  
ὁ Παῦλος, διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν  
Ἰησοῦν. ἀντιτασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βλασφημούντων ἐκτιναξά- 6  
μενος τὰ ἱμάτια εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
ὑμῶν· καθαρὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύσομαι. καὶ 7  
μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν τινὸς ὀνόματι Τιτίου Ἰούστου  
σεβομένου τὸν θεόν, οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ.  
Κρείσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος ἐπίστευσεν τῷ κυρίῳ σὺν ὅλῳ 8

Editors	7 ἦλθεν] εισηλθεν Soden	τιτίου] τιτου Soden	om τιτιου JHR
Old Uncial	5 τοις ιουδαιοις B <sup>h</sup> (+D) om A ονοματι B <sup>h</sup> (cf. D) om A	7 ἦλθεν B εισηλθεν B <sup>A</sup> (cf. D) τιτιου B τιτου B <sup>h</sup> om A(+D)	
Antiochian	3 την τεχνην HSS <sup>c</sup> πνευματι HLPB <sup>c</sup> om τοις ιουδαιοις H om ειwai HLPB <sup>c</sup> om	4 παν] μαν H 6 πορευομαι HL(+D)	5 om της L λογω] om τιτιου HLS <sup>c</sup> (+D) τιτου P 8 συν] εν H

4 Gig agrees with the B-text except in the retention after *σαββατον* of *ιη-  
τερονος νομινη dominici jesu*, which is  
also found in vg *codā* prov tepl. Vg  
omits vs 4 altogether; probably the  
'Western' form of the underlying  
Old Latin was dropped, and by some  
accident the proper substitute from  
the B-text failed to get introduced.

5-6 In vs. 5 D is plainly conflate, the  
words *συνείχετο . . . ιησουν* belonging  
to the B-text. These being omitted,  
D substantially agrees in vs. 5-6a  
with h *hol.mg*. Yet the text of D is  
left in some disorder, for *αυτων*, vs. 6,  
can hardly have been intended to  
refer to Timothy and Silas, but rather  
(cf. h) to the Jews. The text of d in  
this verse is not without interest.

A few details require mention in vs. 5.  
*Συνεισενεγκοντες* h may imply (so Zahn)  
Greek *εσηλθεν* instead of *παρεγενοντο*;  
τοτε D (not d) before *σιλας* may be due  
to corruption of *οτε* of the B-text, but  
cf. (in earlier position) *ευνε* h. *Ιερωνιμ*  
h has no other support; *πυλitis* seems  
to be an error for *πυλitiu* (cf. *hol.mg*).  
One form of the 'Western' text  
perhaps read *πολλων δε λογων*, cf.  
*hol.mg*.

The two rival forms of vs. 1-6  
must be taken each as a whole. In  
the 'Western' text the passage has  
apparently been rewritten, and the

difficult *συνείχετο τω λογω* (Antiochian  
and *hol.mg* *πνευματι*) made over into  
*πολλου δε λογου γενομενου*. (Pesh has  
tried to relieve the difficulty of the  
B-text in its own way by treating  
*αντιτασσομενων δε αυτων και βλασφη-  
μουτων* as if these words stood before  
*διαμαρτυρομενος*.) On the other hand  
the 'Western' *εντιθεις το ονομα του*  
*κυριου ιησου* is a striking expression and  
without parallel, and if it were not  
associated with the other 'Western'  
readings it would probably seem  
original as compared with the more con-  
ventional *διαμαρτυρομενος τοις ιουδαιοις*  
*ειναι τον χριστον ιησουν* of the B-text,  
for which it is the substitute. The  
available explanations of the text of  
these verses do not solve the whole  
problem.

7 In Codex Bezae, for Scrivener's  
[. . .] *αα*, Blass was able to read  
*ακυλα* (*Stuhl. Krit.*, 1898, p. 541). For  
[*δε απο*], [*απο του*] is equally possible.  
For the following [*εισηλθεν*] Blass  
thought he read [*εισηλθεν*], while  
J. R. Harris believed that he could  
detect traces of *και ηλθεν* (ib. p. 541).

*απο ακυλα* for *εκειθεν* D d li (*εκειθεν*  
*απο του ακυλα* 614) is probably a  
misinterpretation; the divergence is  
wholly inconsistent with the idea of a  
common authorship for the two forms  
of the text.



κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον διελέγετο, καὶ ἐντιθεὶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου  
 Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐπιθεν δὲ οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνας.  
 5 παρεγένοντο δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας τότε Σίλλας καὶ Τιμόθεος.  
 συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ Παῦλος, διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν. πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γενομένου  
 6 καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων | ἀντιτασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ  
 βλασφημούντων ἐκτωαξάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τὰ εἰμάτια αὐτοῦ  
 εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν· καθαρὸς  
 7 ἐγὼ· ἀ[φ'] ὑμῶ[ν] νῦν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύομαι. μεταβάς [δὲ ἀπὸ  
 Ἀκῦ]λα [εἰς] ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν [οἶκ]ο[ν] τιωos ὀνόματι Ἰούστου  
 σεβομένου τὸν θεόν, οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ.  
 8 ὁ δὲ ἀρχισυναγωγος Κρίσπος ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸν κύριον σὺν ὅλῳ

5 διαμαρτυρουμενος 6 αντιτασσομενων] [ε]τι τασσομενων  
 7 ονοματ[ο]s συνομορουσα

putabat et interponens nomen dñi ihu et persuadebat non solos judaeos sed et d  
 graecos 5 ut vero advenerunt in macedonia silas et timotheus instabant sermoni  
 paulus testificabatur judaeis esse xpm dnm ihm 6 multoque verbo facto et scripturis  
 disputantibus resistantibus autem eis et blasphemantibus excutiens paulus vestimenta  
 sua dixit ad eos sanguinem vestrum super caput vestrum mundus ego a vobis nunc  
 ad gentes vado 7 et cum recessisset ab acyla introiit in domum cuiusdam nomine  
 iusti colentis dm cuius domus erat confinis synagogae 8 vero archisynagogus crispus

syna[gogam, per] omnem sabbatum disputabat, interponen[is nomen] dñi ihu : h  
 suadebat autem non tantum Judae[is sed et Gre]cis. 5 tunc supervenerunt a  
 Macedonia [Sileas et] Timotheus. atque iterum, cum multis fier[et verbum], et  
 scripturae interpretarentur, 6 contr[adicebant] Judaei quidam, et maledice-  
 bant. tunc exo[ussit ves]tem suam Paulus, et dixit ad eos : sanguis ves[ter]  
 super caput vestrum : mundus ego : nunc vado ad [gentes] ab vobis. 7 et  
 recessit ab Aquila, et abiit in do[mum Iusti], metuentis dm : erat autem domus  
 ejus co[n]finis sy[nagogae]. 8 archisynagogus autem quida[m, nomine] Crispus,

4 ἐντιθεὶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ] mg interponens nomen domini Jesu Harcleian  
 5 τῷ λόγῳ] mg in spiritu εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν κύριον ἰησοῦν] quod Jesus ✕  
 esset ✕ Christus πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γενομένου καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων]  
 mg quum verba autem multa facta fuissent et scripturas explicatas essent  
 7 [εἰς] ἦλθεν] mg introivit

For τῶν ἰουστον the reading with  
 a single name ἰουστου A D d h<sup>na</sup>  
 Antiochian, Jerome (?), is probably  
 original. By dittography TIOT gave  
 rise to τῶν B D<sup>cor</sup> (corrector B,  
 cent. vii.) hol *test*, and that to the  
 more familiar τῶν E minn boh  
 ('Itus of Justus'). The Latin *iusti*  
*iusti* gig vg is indeterminate as be-  
 tween *iustus* and *iustus*. The reading  
 τῶν (without ἰουστου) pesh sah vg.codd

tepl has nothing to commend it.  
 8 ἐπιστενον καὶ is superfluous in  
 view of the following πιστευοντες κτλ.  
 of D. It is omitted by h and clearly  
 stands in D d by conflation with the  
 B-text. Hol ✕ has preserved most  
 of the 'Western' gloss, as have 614  
 minn; pesh has τῷ θεῷ from the  
 same source. The 'Western' reviser  
 expressly indicates these converts as  
 gentiles, not Jews.

τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον  
καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐν νυκτὶ δι' ὁράματος τῷ 9  
Παύλῳ· Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπήσης, | διότι ἐγώ 10  
εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοὶ τοῦ κακῶσαί σε, διότι  
λαὸς ἐστί μοι πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. ἐκάθισεν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν 11  
καὶ μῆνας ἕξ διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. Γαλλίωνος 12  
δὲ ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας κατεπέστησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, λέγοντες 13  
ὅτι Παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἀναπείθει οὗτος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι  
τὸν θεόν. μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα εἶπεν ὁ 14  
Γαλλίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· Εἰ μὲν ἦν ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥαδιούρ-  
γημα πονηρόν, ὧ Ἰουδαῖοι, κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἀνεσχόμην ὑμῶν·  
εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστιν περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ 15  
καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὄψεσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι.

Editors 12 ὁμοθυμαδον οἱ ιουδαιοι WHmg Soden JHR

15 κριτης] +[γαρ] Soden

Old Uncial 9 ἐν νυκτι BN(+D) om A δι' οραματος B<sup>h</sup> (cf. D) ἐν οραματι A  
11 ἐνιαυτον BA(+D) +ενα B 12 οἱ ιουδαιοι ὁμοθυμαδον B ὁμοθυμαδον οἱ  
ιουδαιοι BA(+D) ἐπὶ BA(+D) παρα B 14 ἀν B<sup>h</sup>(+D) om A

Antiochian 8 ακουσαντες HLS 9 δι' οραματος ἐν νυκτι (τῆς νυκτος H) HLl<sup>h</sup>PS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D)  
10 μοι ἐστιν L 11 δε] τε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 12 ἀνθυπατου οντος] ἀνθυπατεοντος  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ὁμοθυμαδον οἱ ιουδαιοι HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 13 ουτος ἀναπειθει  
(πειθει H) HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 14 μεν] +ον HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om ην L  
15 ζητημα HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) κριτης] +γαρ HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

12 The text of h points to the assumption that in the 'Western' text *προς τον ανθυπατον* stood in place of *επι το βημα*; cf hcl x. D has probably suffered here from correction to the B-text. There is no convincing evidence of any Greek text in which

both phrases were found side by side.

14 For *κατα λογον* at least one form of the 'Western' text seems to have read *ευλογως*, which is preserved (the Greek word being used) in sal. Cf. e (*rationaliter*), g<sup>h</sup>g (*merito*), vg (*recte*), boh (*calais*).

τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον  
καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ  
9 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ κύριος δι' ὀράματος  
τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν νυκτί· Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σειωκπήσης,  
10 διότι ἐγὼ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται τοῦ κακῶσαί σε,  
11 διότι λαός ἐστί μοι πολλὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν  
Κορίνθῳ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον  
12 τοῦ θεοῦ. Γαλλίωνός τε ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας κατεπ-  
έστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συναλλήσαντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ  
τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα,  
13 καταβῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι Παρὰ τὸν νόμον οὗτος ἀναπαίθει  
14 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι τὸν θεόν. μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου  
ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα εἶπεν ὁ Γαλλίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· Εἰ μὲν  
ἦν ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥαδιούργημα ποιηρόν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, κατὰ  
15 λόγον ἂν ἡνεσχόμην ὑμῶν· εἰ δὲ ζήτημα ἔχετε περὶ λόγου καὶ  
ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὁψέσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς ἐγὼ  
15 ὀψέσθαι

credidit in dño cum tota domo sua et multi corinthiorum audientes credebant et d  
baptizabantur credentes in dō per nomen dñi nostri ihu xpi 9 dixit autem dñs per  
visum paulo per noctem ne timeas sed loquere et ne tacueris 10 quoniam ego sum  
tecum et nemo adgreditur te ut malefaciat tibi quoniam populus est mihi multus in  
civitate hac 11 et consedit in corintho anno et mensibus sex docens penes ipsos  
verbum dī 12 cumque gallio proconsol esset achae intruerunt unanimiter iudaei  
conloquentes inter semetipsos de paulo et imponentes manum adduxerunt eum ad  
tribunal 13 clamantes et dicentes quia contra legem hic persuadet hominibus  
colere dñm 14 incipiente autem paulo aperire os dixit gallio ad iudeos si quidem  
esset injuria aut falsum subdolum o viri iudaei cum ratione forsitan paterer vos  
15 si autem questio est de verbo et nominibus et legem quae secundum vos est

credidit in dñm cum tota domo sua: et [quomodo mult]a plebs Corinthiorum h  
audierant verbum dñi, [tanti sun]t, credentes dō in nomine ihu xpi. 9 tunc  
dixit [dñs ad p]aulum in visum: ne timeas, sed loquere, et vi[de ne tac]eas:  
10 quoniam ego sum tecum: et nemo cona[bitur m]ale facere tibi, propterea  
quod plebs est mihi [multa i]n ista civitate. 11 et sedit Corinthi per annu et  
[sex men]ses, docens apud eos verbum dī. 12 Gallo autē [cum ess]et pro  
consule Achaiae, exuresserunt cō[sentient]es iudaei, et conlocuti secum de  
Paulo. inje[cerunt ei] manus, et perduxerunt ad proconsulam, 13 cla[mantes]  
et dicentes quia adversus legem suadet homi[n]ibus dñm colere. 14 et cum vellet  
Paulus os aperire, dixit [Gallio a]d iudeos: si esset aliqua iniquitas in eo vel  
fa[unus neq]uam, o viri iudei, recte vos sustinerem. 15 sed [si quae]sitiones  
aliquae sunt inter vos vel de verbo [vel de no]minib[us] vel de lege vestra, ipsi

8 ακουοντες . . . χριστου] quum audirissent credebant ✕ per nomen domini Harcleen  
Jesu Christi ✕ et baptizabantur 11 εν κορινθῳ] ✕ in Corintho ✕  
12 και επιθετες τας χειρας] ✕ et injecerunt manus in eum ✕ et αυτον]  
eum ✕ ad proconsulem ✕

καὶ ἀπήλασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες 16, 1  
Σωσθέην τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον ἔτυπτον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος·  
καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίῳ ἔμελεν.

Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔτι προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς 18  
ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρεσκοῦλλα  
καὶ Ἀκύλας, κειράμενος ἐν Κενχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἶχεν γὰρ  
εὐχὴν. κατήνησαν δὲ εἰς Ἔφεσον, κἀκείνους κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ, 19  
αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν διελέξατο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.  
ἐρωτῶντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον μέναι οὐκ ἐπένευσεν, 20  
| ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος καὶ εἰπὼν· Πάλιν ἀνακάμψω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ 21

Editors	17 παντες] + [οι ελληνες] Soden	19 αυτου] εκει JHR	διελεχθη Soden
Old Uncial	18 παυλος ΒΑΝ <sup>α</sup> (+D) +εφη & αυτου Β εκει &Α(+D)	19 κατελειπεν Β&(+D) 20 μιναι Β&Α(+D) επιμιναι & <sup>α</sup>	κατελειπεν Α
Antiochian	17 παντες] + οι ελληνες HLP&S <sup>+</sup> (+D) HLP&S <sup>+</sup> (+D) διελεχθη HLP&S <sup>+</sup>	18 την κεφαλην εν κενχρεαις 19 κατηνησε HLP&S <sup>+</sup> 20 αυτου L 21 αποταξμενος και] απεταξατο αυτοις HLP&S <sup>+</sup> εορτην την ερχομενην ποιησαι εις ιεροσολυμα HLP&S <sup>+</sup> (cf. D) HLP&S <sup>+</sup>	18 την κεφαλην εν κενχρεαις κατελειπεν HLP&S <sup>+</sup> μιναι] + παρ αυτοις HLP&S <sup>+</sup> (+D) ειπων] + δει με παντως την παλιν] + δε

17 Before *σωσθεν* in D about four letters were erased, and Blass (*Stud. Krit.*, 1898, p. 541) thinks that he finds traces of [με]τα, which he explains as the remains of *μετα ταυτα*.

The last sentence in D is unknown, the whole line containing the words after *βηματος* having been erased and rewritten. d reads (cf. hand Ephr. cat) *inunc gallio iungebat enim non videre*, and it is fair to assume that the text of D corresponded to this. Scrivener thinks an initial τ can be made out; the other letters which he prints seem wholly uncertain. See Scrivener's note, p. 445, and the not wholly convincing remarks of Blass, *Stud. Krit.*, 1898, pp. 541 f.

18 For *κειραμενος* the best codices of vg read *λοτονδεραντι* (cod. A. *arunt*), and for *ειχεν* *habebant*. The plural in the former case is supported by eth. two cods.

19, 21-22 Vs. 19, *τω επιοντι σαββατω* D 614 minn d h sah hol x clearly belongs with *εισελθων εις την συναγωγην*, but in all witnesses (except sah and perhaps h, which is defective) it is separated from its verb by the phrase, 'he left them there but he himself' (with slightly varying

language). The resulting text is impossible, whether *τω επιοντι σαββατω* be connected with *κατηνησαν* (-σε) (614, hol) or with *κατελειπεν* (D d). Probably (so Zahn) the proper 'Western' text read *κατηνησαν δε εις εφεσον, τω επιοντι σαββατω εισελθων εις την συναγωγην*, while, in all extant copies in which the note of time appears at all, conflation with the B-text has taken place, with resulting disaster to the sense.

The statement 'he left them there' the 'Western' reviser, according to his habit, has introduced later in vs. 21, 22, where 614 and, in part, other minn (pesh) hol. *mg* read *τον δε ακυλαν εισαγεν εν εφεσω, αυτος δε αναχθεις (ανεχθεις 614) ηλθεν εις καισαρειαν*. In 614 minn the gloss is inserted at the close of vs. 21 after *εφεσον*; in pesh it appears, correctly, as a substitute for *απηχθη* . . . *κατελθων εις καισαρειαν*. In hol. *mg* the same may be intended; the mark in the text is written after the word for *εφεσον*. D d do not have it, probably under the influence of the Latin, in no form of which is any trace preserved of this gloss in vs. 21.

Pesh lacks the 'Western' addition in vs. 19, but has preserved the

- 16 τούτων οὐ θέλω εἶναι. καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος.  
 17 [ἀ]πολαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες [ . . . ] Σωσθένην τὸν  
 ἀρχιευσνάγωγον ἔτυπτον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος· τ[ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ].  
 18 Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔτι προσμίνας ἡμέρας εἰκανὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς  
 ἀποταξάμενος ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρί-  
 σκυλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας, κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κενχρεαῖς,  
 19 εἶχεν γὰρ πρ[ο]σευχήν. καταντήσας δὲ εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ τῷ  
 ἐπιόντι σαββάτῳ ἐκείνους κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσελθὼν  
 20 εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν διελέγετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ἐρωτῶντων τε  
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλ[ε]ῖον <α> χρόνον μείναι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπένευσεν,  
 21 | ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος καὶ εἰπὼν· Δεῖ δὲ πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν ἡμέραν  
 ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνα[ . . . ] αὐτὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 17 τ[ . . . . . ] αὐτὸς γὰρ [ . . . ] ἐν (Savignier)

videritis ipsi iudex horum ego nolo esse 16 et abiecit eos a tribunal 17 adprae- d  
 hendentes eum omnes graeci cum sosthenen archisynagogum caedebant ante tribunal  
 tunc gallio fingeat eum non videre 18 vero paulus adhuc memoratus dies plurimos  
 fratribus valefecit navigavit in syriam et cum ipso priscilla et aquila tonsa capite in  
 cenchris habebat enim orationem 19 devenerunt ephesum et sequenti sabbato  
 illos reliquerunt ibi ipse vero ingressus in synagoga disputabat iudeis 20 rogantibusque  
 eis longiore tempore manere cum eis non adnuit 21 sed cum salutasset eos  
 et dixit oportet me sollempnem diem advenientem facere hierosolymis iter et reverti

videritis: iudex [horum n]olo esse. 16 et dimisit eos a tribunali suo. 17 et h  
 cō[prehenderunt] Graeci Sosthenen archisynagogū, [et cecid]erunt ante tribunal:  
 et Gallio simulabat [se non v]idere. 18 Paus autem, commoratus illic con-  
 plu[ribus] die[bus], valefecit fratrib, navigans in Syriam, [et cum e]o Priscilla et  
 Aquila, qui votum eum fecisset [Cenchris], capud tondit. 19 et cum venisset  
 Ephesum in se[quenti]

19 καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι σαββάτῳ] ✕ sabbato sequenti <

Harclean

'Western' transference of κακεῖνος κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς δε to vs. 21, where it appears in the form: 'and Aquila and Priscilla he left at Ephesus, and he journeyed by sea and came to Caesarea.'

Sah also omits κακεῖνος κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ in vs. 19, but inserts it later, in vs. 21 after ἀλλὰ.

The motive of the 'Western' reviser is obvious; he wished to avoid the infelicity of the B-text, which mentioned the departure from Ephesus before telling of the visit to the synagogue which in fact preceded it. Cf. the 'Western' reconstruction of xiv. 1-3.

19 The harsh sound of κακεῖνος κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ MA(D) may have given rise to the improvement αὐτοῦ for ἐκεῖ in B Antiochian.

21 The long addition (δεῖ δὲ πάντως, κτλ.) near the beginning of this verse (cf. xx. 16), found in both 'Western' witnesses (of Ephr. cat) and Antiochian (hence hol. text), would correspond to the understanding of ἀναβας, vs. 22, as meaning a journey to Jerusalem, but such an understanding on the part of the 'Western' paraphrast seems unlikely (though not impossible) in view of the 'Western' form of xix. 1 (D d hol. mg Ephr. cat).

θεοῦ θέλοντος, ἀνήχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, | καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Και- 22  
σαρείαν, ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη εἰς  
Ἀντιόχειαν, | καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινα ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος 23  
καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, στηρίζων πάντας  
τοὺς μαθητάς.

Ἰουδαῖος δέ τις Ἀπολλῶς ὀνόματι, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει, 24  
ἀνὴρ λόγιος, κατήντησεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς.  
οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, 25  
ἐλάλει δὲ καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἀκρειβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐπιστάμενος  
μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου. οὗτός τε ἤρξατο παρρησιάζεσθαι 26  
ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας  
προσελάβοντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀκρειβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν ὁδὸν  
τοῦ θεοῦ. βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν προ- 27  
τρεψάμενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀποδέξασθαι  
αὐτόν· ὃς παραγενόμενος συνεβλήτο πολὺ τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν

Editors 23 στηριζων] επιστηριζων Soden (but cf. mg) 25 του κυριου WH Soden  
JHR κυριου WHmg om δε WH Soden JHR 26 ακυλας και  
πρισκιλλα Soden om του θεου JHR

Old Uncial 21 ανηχθη BΔΣ<sup>o</sup>(+D) +δε Σ 23 διερχομενος BΔΣ<sup>o</sup>(+D) +και Σ  
24 απολλως BΔΣ<sup>o</sup> (cf. D) απελλης Σ 25 κυριου B του κυριου ΣA(+D)  
ελαλει δε B ελαλει ΔΣ<sup>o</sup> (cf. D) ω ελαλει Σ 27 προτρεψαμενοι BΣ  
προπεψωμενοι A συνεβαλετο BΣ συνεβαλλετο A(+D)

Antiochian 21 θελοντος] +και HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 23 στηριζων] επιστηριζων HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)  
25 του κυριου HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) om δε HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) ιησου] κυριου IIPSS<sup>c</sup>  
26 om τε H(+D) ακυλας και πρισκιλλα HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) εξεθετο H  
την του θεου οδον HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

26 την οδον (without qualifying genitive) D d is probably to be accepted, in agreement with the usage of ix. 2, xix. 9, 28, xxi. 4, xxiv. 14, 22. The variation in the genitive employed, and in its position, tends to confirm this view; and the preservation in all texts of the unusual την οδον [του] κυριου in vs. 26 makes improbable the opposite theory that the genitive was omitted with a view to agreement with the other passages in Acts.

The reading τον λογον for την οδον, supported here by minn, and in vs. 25 by D d min sah.co<sup>2</sup>, is clearly an attempt to make a hard word easier.

For πρισκιλλα και ακυλας NABE 83 boh sah.co<sup>2</sup> vg, ακυλας και πρισκιλλα is read in D d gig Aug and in the Antiochian recension. The desire to reduce the prominence of Priscilla

seems to have been at work in a number of places in this chapter. The original writer appears never to have mentioned Aquila without Priscilla, and always (except at the first introduction, vs. 2) put Priscilla's name first; the glossator departs from him in both respects. Only in vs. 18, where κειραμενος was interpreted of Aquila (cf. h) does the 'Western' reviser fail to put the husband first. It is hardly conceivable that the opposite change (i.e. from D to B) could have taken place, or that the two forms of text can have proceeded from the same hand. Cf. the 'Western' text of vs. 2 ('with Priscilla'; αυτω for αυτοις D), vs. 3 ('Aquila'), vs. 7 (απο ακυλα), vs. 21 (τον δε ακυλας, instead of κακεινους, vs. 19), vs. 26 (ακυλας και πρισκιλλα).

- 22 τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, ἀνέχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου, | καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς  
Καισαρίαν, καὶ ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη  
23 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, | καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινα ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος  
κατεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, καὶ ἐπιστηρίζων  
πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.  
24 Ἰουδαῖος δέ τις ὀνόματι Ἀπολλώνιος, γένει Ἀλεξανδρεὺς,  
ἀνὴρ λόγιος, κατήντησεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς,  
25 | ὃς ἦν κατηχημένος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ζέων  
τῷ πνεύματι ἀπελάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ,  
26 ἐπιστάμενος μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου. οὗτος ἤρξατο παρ-  
-κρησιάζεσθαι ἐν συναγωγῇ· καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ Ἀκύλας καὶ  
Πρίσκιλλα προσελάβοντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο  
27 τὴν ὁδόν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιδημοῦντές τινες Κορίνθιοι καὶ  
ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ παρεκάλουν διελθεῖν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα  
αὐτῶν. συνκατανεύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἔγραψαν τοῖς  
ἐν Κορίνθῳ μαθηταῖς ὅπως ἀποδέξωνται τὸν ἄνδρα· ὃς ἐπι-  
δημήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν πολὺ συνεβάλλετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις·

26 οὗτος] ητος                      ακουσαντες] ακουσαντος                      ἐξέθεντο  
27 πολυν

ad vos dō volente redie ab epheso 22 et descendit caesaream et cum ascēdisset et d  
salutasset ecclesiam descendit in antiochiam 23 et cum fecissent tempus quodam  
perxit pergređiens ex ordine galatiam regionem et phrygiam confirmands omnes  
discipulos 24 judaeus autem quidam nomine apollonius natione alexandrinus vir  
disertus devenit ephesum potens in scripturis 25 hic erat doctus in patria verbum  
dñi et ferbens spū eloquebatur et docebat diligenter de ihu sciens solum baptisma  
johannis 26 adque hic coepit cum fiducia loqui in synagoga et cum audissent eum  
aquilas et priscilla adprehenderunt eum et diligentius ei exposuerunt viam 27 in  
ephesum autem exeuntes quidam corinthii et audierunt eum hortantes transire  
cum ipsis in patria ipsorum redeunte autem eo ephesi scripserunt qui sunt in  
corintho discipulis quomodo exciperent hunc virum qui cum exiit in achaiam

21-22 ἀνέχθη . . . ἀσπασάμενος] *mg* Aquilam autem reliquit Ephesi; ipse Hareleam  
autem quum navem conscēdisset, venit in Caesaream. quum ascēdisset  
autem et salutasset                      27 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐφέσῳ . . . τὸν ἄνδρα] *mg* quum autem  
venissent in Ephesum quidam Corinthii, et audivissent eum, rogaverunt  
eum transire cum ipsis in patriam suam. quum autem consensisset eis, fratres  
scripserunt discipulis qui erant Corinthi ut exciperent virum                      or  
ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν ἀχαίαν] qui quum profectus est et ✕ in Achaiam ✓

Note also the placing of Priscilla first in the greetings sent to the couple, Rom. xvi. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 19; and the greeting from them, with Aquila first, 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

A similar change is found in Acts xvii. 12 *ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες* D d (peah).

See Harnack, 'Über die beiden Re-

censionen der Geschichte der Prisca und des Aquila in Act. Apost. 18, 1-27,' *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1900, pp. 2-18.

27 The bold paraphrase of vs. 27 found in D d and (with little variation) in *hol. mg* (of Ephr. cat) *vg. cod. R* was probably written because the glossator

διὰ τῆς χάριτος· εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο 28 δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδικνύς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Παῦλον XIX διεληθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἔλθειν εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εὐρεῖν τινὰς μαθητάς, | εἰπέν τε πρὸς αὐτούς· Εἰ πνεῦμα ἁγίων ἐλάβετε πιστεύ- 2 σαντες; οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ πνεῦμα ἁγίων ἔστιν ἡκούσαμεν. | εἰπέν τε· Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· 3 Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. εἶπεν δὲ Παῦλος· Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν 4 βάπτισμα μετανοίας, τῷ λαῷ λέγων εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτόν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἀκούσαντες 5 δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπιθέντος 6 αὐτοῖς τοῦ Παύλου χεῖρας ἦλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐλάλουν τε γλώσσαις καὶ ἐπροφήτευσον. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες 7 ὥσει δώδεκα.

Εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἐπὶ μῆνας 8 τρεῖς διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. ὥς 9

Editors	1 ελθειν] κατελθειν Soden	3 ειπεν τε] ο δε ειπεν WHmg	6 [τας.]
	χειρας Soden	8 πειθων] +τα Soden	
I Unclal	1 απολλω ΒΑΨ <sup>o</sup> απολλων Α <sup>2</sup> απελλην Ξ	ελθειν B (of. D) κατελθειν	
	ΝΑ	3 ειπεν τε B ο δε ειπεν ΝΑ	8 πειθων B(+D) +τα ΝΑ
απολλων	1 ελθειν] διελθειν P	ευρων HLPSS(+D)	2 ειπαν S om τε
	HLPSS(+D)	οι δε] +ειπον HLPSS	3 ειπεν τε] +προς αυτους HLPSS
	4 δε] τε HS	ιωαννης] +μεν HLPSS	om μετ S
	ιησουν HLPSS (of. D)	6 τας χειρας LS	aid χριστον before
	8 πειθων] +τα HLPSS	7 δωδεκα] δεκαδυο HLPSS	

understood *βουλομενον* to find its explanatory reason in *προτρεψαμενοι*, which was hence an act earlier in time. It was then not unnatural (although wrong) to take *οι αδελφοι* of the Corinthians (so *hol. mg* 'the brethren'; D d have obscured this by substituting *εφεσιοι* for *αδελφοι*), and to supply further in a few words an explanation of how they came to invite Apollos to come to their country.

614, exactly like *hol. \**, adds *εις την αρχαν* to *παρευγενομενος* of the B-text, and agrees with *hol. text* in omitting *δια της χαριτος*. Both these variants came from the 'Western' rewriting.

1 The addition in vs. 1, found in D d *vg. cod. B<sup>2</sup>* *hol. mg*, *Ado. martyroi* (see above, pp. lx-lxi; cf. Ephr. *cat.*, also Pionius [ca. 350 A.D.], *vita Polykarp* 2, see Zahn, *Urausgabe*, p.

370) would seem more appropriate to a position immediately after xviii. 22. The addition is not fully explained. Why is so much said about a purpose which failed of fulfilment?

6 The addition in *hol. mg*, vs. 6, is also attested by Ephr. *cat.*, and in part by *p. vg.* *five cods. from southern France mentioned by Berger*, which add, after *επροφητευσον*, *εἰς αὐτὸν ἵνα αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαν ἐλθῇ*.

8 *επαρρησιάζετο* D seems to be drawn from the B-text. The original 'Western' text may have read *ελαλεε*, although this has not been preserved in Greek; cf. *gig confidencis loquuntur* (where plural is by error), *vg omni fiducia loquuntur*. Perhaps *hol. text* have 'he spoke', with no indication of the specific force of *επαρρησιάζετο*. See J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 86 f.



28 εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο δημοσίᾳ δια-  
λεγόμενος καὶ ἐπιδικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι  
Χριστόν.

XIX Θέλontos δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι  
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν  
Ἀσίαν, διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ  
2 εὐρών τινας μαθητὰς | εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβ-  
ετε πιστεύσαντες; οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πνεῦμα  
3 ἅγιον λαμβάνουσιν τινες ἠκούσαμεν. εἶπεν δέ· Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπ-  
4 τίσθητε; οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον· Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. | εἶπεν δὲ ὁ  
Παῦλος· Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας, τῷ λαῷ λέγων  
εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτόν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εἰς  
5 Χριστόν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα  
6 κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ ἐπιθέντος  
αὐτοῖς χεῖρα τοῦ Παύλου εὐθέως ἐπέτεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον  
7 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, <ἐ>λάλουν δὲ γλώσσαις καὶ ἐπροφήτεον. ἦσαν δὲ  
οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ δώδεκα.

8 Εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ  
ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἐπὶ μῆνας ᾧ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων περὶ τῆς

multum contulit in ecclesias 28 fortiter enim iudeos convincebat publicae dis- d  
putante et ostendens per scripturas ihm esse xpm

1 volente vero paulo secundum eum consilium exire in hierosolyma dixit ei sps  
revertere in asiam perambulantes superioris partibus venit in ephesum et cum  
invenisset quosdam discipulos 2 dixit ad eos si spm sanctum acceperitis cum credi-  
dissetis illi vero ad eum sed neque spm sanctum accipiunt quidam audivimus  
3 dixitque quid ergo baptizati estis ad illi dixerunt in johannis baptisma 4 dixit  
autem paulus johannes baptizavit baptismata poenitentiae populo dicens in eum qui  
veniret post ipsum ut crederent hoc est in xpm 5 cum audissent hoc baptizati sunt  
in nomine dni ihu xpi in remissione peccatorum 6 et cum imposuisset eis manum  
paulus statim cecidit sps sanctus super eos loquebatur linguis et profetabant  
7 erant autem universi viri quasi duodecim 8 cum introisset autem paulus in  
synagogā cum fiducia magna palam loquebatur per tres menses disputans et

1 θελοντος δε . . . εφεσον] *mg* quum autem vellet Paulus cogitatione sua ire Hierosolimam, dixit ei spiritus: Revertere in Asiam. quum peragrasset  
autem partes superiores, venit in Ephesum 2 λαμβανουσιν τινες] *mg*  
accipiant aliqui 5 χριστον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν] ✕ Christi in remissionem  
peccatorum ✓ 6 <ε>λάλουν δε γλώσσαις καὶ ἐπροφήτεον] *mg* et loquebantur  
linguis aliis et cognoscebant ipsi eas, quas et interpretabantur ipsi sibi;  
quidam autem etiam prophetabant 8 ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ] *mg* in virtute  
magna

δέ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπείθουν κακολογούντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους, ἀποστάς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρτισεν τοὺς μαθητάς, καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου. τοῦτο δὲ 10 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἑτῇ δύο, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας. δυνάμεις τε οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου, 11 ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀποφέρεισθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς 12 αὐτοῦ σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια καὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τὰ τε πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. ἐπεχείρησαν 13 δέ τινες καὶ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες· Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει. 14 ἦσαν δέ τινος Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως ἑπτὰ υἱοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. 15 ἀποκριθὲν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Τὸν μὲν 15

Editors	9 τυραννου] +τινος Soden om μὲν Soden	14 τινος Soden JHR	15 [μὲν] WH
Old Uncial	12 ἀπαλάσσεσθαι B <sup>a</sup> B(+D) τινος NA	13 τὸν BAN <sup>o</sup> (+D) σκενα BN(+D) σκενα A	+κυριον N 15 μὲν BN <sup>o</sup> om NA(+D)
Antiochian	9 τυραννου] +τινος HLPSS <sup>+</sup> (+D) HLPSS <sup>-</sup> 11 ἐποιεῖ ο θεος HLPSS <sup>-</sup> HLPSS <sup>+</sup> (+D) αὐτου] +ἐπιφέρεισθαι L απ αὐτων HLPSS <sup>-</sup> 13 om και L <sup>5</sup> (+D) περιερχομενων HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (cf. D) ορκιζομεν HLPSS <sup>-</sup> 14 τινος HLPSS <sup>-</sup> υιοι σκενα ιουδαιου (ιουδαιοι L) αρχιερευς επτα HLPSS <sup>-</sup> (cf. D) add οι before τουτο HLPSS <sup>-</sup> 15 om αυτοις HLPSS <sup>-</sup> om μὲν HLPSS <sup>+</sup> (+D)	10 δυο ετη L 12 αποφερεσθαι] επιφερεσθαι εκπορευεσθαι] εξερχεσθαι add απο before των ο παυλος L <sup>5</sup>	κυριου] +ιησου επιφερεσθαι εξερχεσθαι add απο before των ο παυλος L <sup>5</sup>

9 των εθνων D d E e pesh hel. x, *poruiz* x, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of του πληθους (which really refers to the synagogue). The glossator has overlooked the clear implication of the following ἀποστάς απ αυτων. 383 614 add των εθνων to τινος at the opening of the verse; the fact that 614 reads τινος των εθνων τότε confirms the suspicion that this is merely a misplacement of the gloss, which belonged after πληθους.

απο ωρας πεμπτῆς εως δεκατῆς D d 383 614 gg vg.codd (cf. Ambrst on 2 Cor. xi 28), hel. x; cf. Wendt ad loc.

14 In the long addition D d hel.mg and Ephr. cat. (in part) agree almost verbatim; w tepl has the same without the sentence (οι) εθες . . . εξορκιζεν. The need of accounting

for εκ του οικου εκεινου, vs. 16, was a part of the glossator's motive.

τινος NA Antiochian vg hel. text is to be preferred to τινος BDE minn vg.codd pesh hel.mg. The sons, not the father, are the persons introduced to the reader. The omission of ιουδαιου seems to have characterized the 'Western' paraphrase (so not only D d hel.mg but also gig x); whether ιουδαιου, vs. 13, caused its addition or omission is hard to say. αρχιερευς is probably original, since sacerdos is a not unusual rendering of the word (cf. Zahn, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 168, 177 f.), and pesh in Acts xxiii. 4, 5, 14 shows that the same possibility existed in Syriac; ιερευς D stands alone in Greek, and is probably due to influence from d.

- 9 βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. τινὲς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ  
 ἠπίθουν κακολογούντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐθνῶν.  
 τότε ἀποστὰς ὁ Παῦλος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρτισεν τοὺς μαθητάς, τὸ  
 10 κατ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυραννίου τινὸς ἀπὸ ὥρας  
 10 ἕως δεκάτης. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο, ἑ[ω]ς πάντες  
 οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Ἀσίαν [ἡ]κουσαν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ κυρίου,  
 11 Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες. δυνάμεις δὲ οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας ὁ θεὸς  
 12 ἐποίει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενούντας  
 ἐπιφέρεισθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ σουδάρια ἢ καὶ σιμικίνθια καὶ  
 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους τὰ τε πνεύματα πονηρὰ  
 13 ἐκπορεύεσθαι. ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ τινες ἐκ τῶν περιερχομένων  
 Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα  
 πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες· Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν  
 14 Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει. ἐν οἷς καὶ υἱοὶ Σκευᾶ τινος ἱερέως  
 ἠθέλησαν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι (ἔθος εἶχαν τοὺς τοιούτους ἐξορκίζειν),  
 καὶ εἰσελθόντες πρὸς τὸν δαμονιζόμενον ἤρξαντο ἐπικαλεῖσθαι  
 τὸ ὄνομα λέγοντες· Παραγγέλλομέν σοι ἐν Ἰησοῦ ὃν Παῦλος  
 15 †ἐξέλθεῖν† κηρύσσει. τότε ἀπεκρίθη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρόν, εἶπεν

persuadens de regno dñi 9 ut vero quidam eorum cum indurarent et non crederent d  
 maledicentes viam in conspectu multitudinis gentiū tunc recessit paulus ab eis  
 segregavit discipulos cotidie disputans in scola tyranni cuiusdam ab hora 5 usque  
 decima 10 hoc autem factum est in annos duos ita ut omnes qui habitant asiam  
 audirent verba dñi iudaeique et graeci 11 virtutes etiam non quasilibet dñs faciebat  
 per manus pauli 12 ita ut et super infirmantes inferentur a corpore ejus sudaria  
 aut simicantia et recedent ab eis infirmitates ut sp̃s malignus exiret 13 adgressi  
 sunt quidam ex circumvenientibus iudaeis exorcistarum nominare super eos qui  
 haberent sp̃s malignos nomen dñi ih̃u dicentes adjuro vos per ih̃m quem paulus  
 praedicat 14 in quo et filii scevae cuiusdam sacerdotis voluerunt similiter facere  
 consuetudinem habebant apud eos exorcizare et introiunt adimplentes coeperunt  
 invocare nomen dicentes praecipimus tibi ih̃u quem paulus praedicat exire 15 tunc

9 τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε] ✕ gentis tunc ✓  
 hora quinta usque ad horam decimam ✓

απο ὥρας ἕως δεκάτης] ✕: ab Haelecan  
 14-15 ἐν οἷς . . . εἶπεν] mg in

quibus erant filii septem Soevae cuiusdam sacerdotis qui voluerunt id ipsum  
 facere; qui soliti erant adjurare super eos qui ita erant. et quum ingressi  
 essent ad daemonicum, coeperunt invocare nomen dicentes: Praecipimus tibi  
 per Jesum quem Paulus praedicat ut ex eas. respondens autem spiritus ille  
 malus dixit

On the difficult *εἶπεν* (cf. vs. 16  
*ἀμφοτέρων*) textual conditions throw  
 no light. Notwithstanding *hcl. mg*  
 it was probably lacking in the  
 'Western' text (D d r); *duo g* is  
 emendation, hardly supposable to

have arisen out of an omitted *ιουδαίου*.  
 That *εἶπεν* should have been added  
 in the face of *ἀμφοτέρων* vs 16 is  
 incredible, even if *ἀμφοτέρων* be ex-  
 plained as here used in the sense of  
 'all'; hence *εἶπεν* is to be retained.

Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες  
 ἐστέ; καὶ ἐφαλόμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα 16  
 τὸ πονηρὸν κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυσεν κατ' αὐτῶν,  
 ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ τετραυματισμένους ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου  
 ἐκείνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο γνωστὸν πᾶσι Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ 17  
 Ἕλλησι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐπέπεσεν φόβος ἐπὶ  
 πάντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.  
 πολλοὶ τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρχοντο ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ 18  
 ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν. ἱκανοὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ περιέργα 19  
 πραξάντων συνενέγκαντες τὰς βίβλους κατέκαιον ἐνώπιον πάντων  
 καὶ συνειρήφισαν τὰς τεμιὰς αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδρον ἀργυρίου μυριάδας  
 πέντε. οὕτως κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ἡῤῥαυεν καὶ 20  
 ἰσχυεν.

Ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα, ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι 21  
 διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαίαν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,  
 εἰπὼν ὅτι Μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν.  
 ἀποστείλας δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ, 22  
 Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἐραστον, αὐτὸς ἐπέσχεν χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.  
 ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς 23  
 ὁδοῦ. Δημήτριος γάρ τις ὀνόματι, ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς 24  
 Ἀρτέμιδος παρείχετο τοῖς τεχνεῖταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν, οὗς 25

Editors 20 ο λόγος του κυριου Soden  
 Soden JHB

24 ναους] +[αργυρους] WH +αργυρους

Old Uncial 16 εφαλομενος B<sup>h</sup>A εφαλλομενος B<sup>h</sup> (cf. D) κατακυριευσας B<sup>h</sup> (+D)  
 κατακυριευσαν A και κατακυριευσας B<sup>h</sup> ισχυσεν B<sup>h</sup> (+D) επισχυσεν B<sup>h</sup>  
 εκφυγειν B<sup>h</sup> (+D) +αυτους A 17 την B<sup>h</sup> (+D) om A επεπεσεν  
 B<sup>h</sup> επεσεν A (+D) φοβος B<sup>h</sup> A<sup>h</sup> (+D) ο φοβος B<sup>h</sup> 20 του  
 κυριου ο λογος B<sup>h</sup> A ο λογος του κυριου B<sup>h</sup> 21 διελθων B<sup>h</sup> διελθειν A (+D)  
 αχαιαν B<sup>h</sup> την αχαιαν A (+D) 22 την 1<sup>o</sup> BA (+D) om B διακονουντων  
 αυτω B<sup>h</sup> (+D) διακονουν αυτων A 24 ναους B +αργυρους A<sup>h</sup> (+D)  
 ναον αργυρου B<sup>h</sup> παρειχετο B<sup>h</sup> A<sup>h</sup> παρειχε A (+D)

Antiochian 16 εφαλλομενος HLPSS (cf. D) επ' αυτους ο ανθρωπος HLPSS (cf. D)  
 πονηρον] +και HLPSS κατακυριευσαν HLPSS αμφοτερων] αυτων  
 HLPSS 17 τοις ιουδαισι P om του P (+D) 18 ηρχοντο]  
 ηρξαντο S 20 ο λογος του κυριου HLPSS 21 διελθειν P (+D)  
 ιερουσαλημ HLPSS 22 αυτω] αυτων H 24 ναους] +αργυρους  
 HLPSS (+D) εργασιαν ουκ ολιγην HLPSS

16 The singular paraphrase of the whole verse in Ephr: *et stridit dentibus daemoneum illud ad rediam et sinistrum et exivit eos a domo*, suggests (so Conybeare) the conjectural

Greek *ακρωτηριασας απ' αμφοτερων* for *κατακυριευσας αμφοτερων*, and thus would relieve the difficulty about *επτα*, vs. 14. But if the paraphrase is significant at all, it seems more prob-

αὐτοῖς· Τὸν Ἰησοῦν γεώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι,  
 16 ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες ἐστέ; καὶ ἐναλλόμενος εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν  
 ᾧ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν κυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων εἰσχυσεν κατ'  
 αὐτῶν, ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ τετραυματισμένους ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ  
 17 οἴκου ἐκείνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο γνωστὸν πᾶσι Ἰουδαίοις καὶ  
 Ἕλλησιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν Ἔφεσον, καὶ φόβος ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ  
 18 πάντας αὐτούς, καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. πολλοὶ  
 δὲ τῶν πιστευόντων ἤρχοντο ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες  
 19 τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν. ἱκανοὶ τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων συν-  
 ἐνέγκαντες καὶ τὰς βίβλους κατέκαιον ἐνώπιον πάντων· καὶ συν-  
 εψήφισαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν· εὖρον ἀργυρίου μυρικᾶδας πέντε.  
 20 οὕτως κατὰ κράτος ἑνίσχυσεν καὶ ἡ πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ ἠξίανε καὶ  
 ἐπλήθυνε†.  
 21 Τότε Παῦλος ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι διελθεῖν τὴν Μακεδονίαν  
 καὶ τὴν Ἀχαίαν καὶ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, εἰπὼν ὅτι  
 22 Μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην εἶδεῖν. καὶ ἀπο-  
 στείλας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ, Τιμόθεον  
 23 καὶ Ἐραστον, αὐτὸς ἐπέσχεν χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. ἐγένετο  
 δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον τάραχος οὐχ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ.  
 24 Δημήτριος γάρ τις ἦν ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέ-  
 25 μιδος, ὃς παρέίχε τοῖς τεχνεῖταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν, οὗτος

15 εσσε] εσται 19 τα περιεργα] περι τα εργα κατεκαιον]  
 καταικεον συνεψηφισον 21 ιεροσολυστολυμα με] μαι

respondens sp̄s malignus dixit ad eos ih̄m adgnosco et paulum scio vos autem qui d  
 estis 16 et insilien in eos homo in quo erat sp̄s nequa dominatus utrisque valuit  
 adversus eos ita ut nudi et vulnerati affugerent de domo illa 17 hoc autem factum  
 est notum omnibus judaëis et grecis his qui habitant in ephesum et incidit timor  
 super omnes eos et magnificabatur nomen dñi ih̄u 18 multique credentium veniebant  
 confitentes et nuntiantes actos suos 19 multi autem ex his qui curiosa gesserunt  
 adtulerunt et libros commurebant coram omnibus et computatis praeiis illorum  
 invenerunt denariorum sesteritia docenta 20 sic potens convalescebat et fides dī  
 crescebat et convalescebat 21 tunc paulus adposuit in sp̄o transire per macedoniam  
 et achaiam et sic ire in hierosolyima dicens quia cum fuero ibi necesse est me roma  
 videre 22 et misit in macedoniam duos qui sibi ministrabant timotheum et erastum  
 ipse vero substitit tempus in asiam 23 factum est autem in illo tempore tumultus  
 non modicus de hac via dñi 24 demetrius enim quidam argentarius faciens tempula  
 argentea dianae qui prestabat artificibus non modicam acquisitionem 25 hic con-

18 ηρχοντο] mg coeperunt—ηρξαντο

23 οδου] via ✕: dei ✓

Harclean

ably due to a misinterpretation of  
 the usual text, perhaps made with  
 εττα, vs. 14, in mind.

proper 'Western' text may have lacked  
 ηξανε. Of sah ('grew and was estab-  
 lished and prevailed'); and pesh  
 ('there was established and multiplied  
 the faith of God').

20 D d is somehow conflata. The

συναθροίσας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ εὐπορία ἡμῶν ἐστίν, | καὶ 26 θεωρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐ μόνον Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος πείσας μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι. οὐ μόνον δὲ 27 τοῦτο κωδυνεύει ἡμῶν τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐθέν λογισθῆναι, ἤμελλεν τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος† αὐτῆς, ἣν ὅλη Ἀσία καὶ οἰκουμένη σέβεται. ἀκούσαντες δὲ καὶ γινόμενοι 28 πλήρεις θυμοῦ ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων. καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἡ πόλις τῆς συγχύσεως, ὥρμησάν τε ὁμοθυμαδὸν 29 εἰς τὸ θέατρον συναρπάσαντες Γαῖον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον Μακεδόνας, συνεκδήμους Παύλου. Παύλου δὲ βουλομένου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν 30 δῆμον οὐκ εἶων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν, 31 ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔκραζον, ἣν γὰρ 32

Editors 27 [η] ασια και [η] οικουμένη WH η ασια και η οικουμένη Soden JHR  
30 παυλου δε] του δε παυλου Soden

Old Uncial 26 αλλα B<sup>N</sup> +και A(+D) πεισας B(+D) πεισαν A om B οι  
BA<sup>N</sup>(+D) om B 27 κωδυνευει (κινδυνευσι B) ημιν το μέρος B<sup>N</sup> (cf. D) το  
μερος κωδυνευει ημιν A αλλα BA<sup>N</sup>(+D) om B λογισθηναι B<sup>N</sup> λογι-  
σθησεται A(+D) μελλειν B<sup>N</sup>A<sup>2</sup> μελλει A (cf. D) ασια B η ασια BA  
(cf. D) οικουμένη B η οικουμένη BA(+D) 28 πληρεις B<sup>N</sup>(+D)  
πληρης A 29 της B<sup>N</sup>A om B<sup>o</sup> 30 παυλου B<sup>N</sup>A του παυλου B<sup>o</sup>  
(cf. D) 31 εαυτον BA<sup>N</sup>(+D) αυτον B

Antiochian 25 ημων HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 26 αλλα] +και L(+D) γενομενοι L(+D)  
27 ιερων αρτεμιδος HPS(+D) τε] δε HLG<sup>c</sup> την μεγαλειότητα  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> η ασια HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) η οικουμένη HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D)  
29 πολεις] +ολη HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D) om της 5 του παυλου 5  
30 παυλου δε] του δε παυλου HLPSS<sup>c</sup> (cf. D)

26 That *tis tote* D d is a mistake for *tis tote* is indicated by *gig* *his pauihus nesoto quom* (cf. xvi. 7).

27 The text of D d, in which after *μελλει* several words have probably fallen out, may be completed by the aid of *gig* vg, *sed et deservit inopiet majestas eius quam*, to read *αλλα καθαιρ(ε)σθαι μελλει (η μεγαλειότης αυτής ηρ)*. This is probably nearer the original than the monstrous sentence of the B-text, of which the Antiochian *την μεγαλειότητα* is a well-meant but only partial amelioration. The B-text probably owes its form to the slight

difficulty in the second *αλλα* ('nay'). Not only, however, is the B-text monstrous, but it has completely destroyed the highly effective rhetorical climax—one quite beyond the range of the 'Western' glossator's usual power. The retention in vg of the Old Latin, without alteration to conform it to Greek standards, is significant.

28 (και) *δραμοντες εις το αμφοδον* (εδφοδον 614) D d 888 614 minn hol. *ηγ* is one of the few intrinsically interesting 'Western' additions.

The omission, vna. 28 and 34, of *η* before *αρτεμις* in D (supported by

συναθροίσας τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τεχνείτας ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς·  
 "Ἄνδρες συντεχνεῖται, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ  
 26 εὐπορία ἡμῶν ἐστίν, καὶ ἀκούετε καὶ θεωρεῖτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον  
 ἕως Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀσίας ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος τίς  
 ποτε πίσας μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον, λέγων ὅτι οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν  
 27 θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γενόμενοι. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἡμῶν κινδυνεύει  
 τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς  
 ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς οὐδὲν λογισθῆσεται· ἀλλὰ καθαιρισθαι μέλλει  
 < . . . . . > ἡ ὅλη Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη  
 28 σέβεται. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι πλήρεις θυμοῦ  
 δραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἀμφοδοῦν ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μεγάλῃ Ἀρτεμῖς  
 29 Ἐφεσίων. καὶ συνεχύθη ὅλη ἡ πόλις [αἰσχύνῃς], ὥρμησαν δὲ  
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ συναρπάσαντες Γαῖον καὶ  
 30 Ἀρίσταρχον Μακεδόνας, συνεκδήμους Παύλου. βουλομένου δὲ  
 31 τοῦ Παύλου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐκώλυνον· τινὲς  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν, ὑπάρχοντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς  
 32 αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. ἄλλοι

25 τεχνείτας] τεχνεταῖς	ἐπιστάσται	26 ἀκουεταί
θεωρεῖται	ἐφεσιου	ποτε] τότε
29 μακεδόνες		27 καθαιρεσθαι

vocavit eos qui circa haec operabantur aut ad eos viri artifices scitis quia ex hac d  
 operationem adquisitio est nobis 26 et audistis et videtis quia non solum ipseus  
 ephesi sed paene omnis asiae paulus hic quidam tunc suadens eduxit plurimam  
 turbam dicens quoniam non sunt dii qui fiunt manibus 27 non solum autem nobis  
 periclitatur pars in redargutionem venire sed etiam magnae deae templum diana  
 in nihilum deputabitur sed destrui incipiet tota asia et orbis terrarum colitur  
 28 haec autem cum audissent et fuissent pleni indignatione currentes in campo  
 clamaverunt dicentes magna est diana ephesiorum 29 et repleta est tota civitas  
 confusionem impetumque fecerunt unanimiter in theatrum et rapuerunt gaudium et  
 aristarchum macedonibus comitibus pauli 30 ipso autem volente paulo introire in  
 turbam discipuli non sinebant 31 quidam vero asiarcharum qui erant amici ejus  
 cum mississent ad eum rogabant eum ne darent se in theatrum 32 alii autem vero

25 συντεχνεῖται] ✕ cooperarii <	28 δραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἀμφοδοῦν] mg et Harleian
currebant in foro	

minn in vs. 28) is probably, but not certainly, accidental. See W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 137-142.

29 αἰσχύνῃς D is superfluous, and is absent in gig sah. It is to be explained as retranslation from *confusionem* in d, which here follows not the 'Western' but the B-text. For the equivalence of the two terms of the Latin vulgate rendering of Lk. ix.

26, xiv. 9, xvi. 3; Jude 13; Phil. iii. 19; Heb. xii. 2; Rev. iii. 13.

The accusative *confusionem* (as in *vg. cod. I*) is probably an instance of the common corruption of terminations in early Latin mss. αἰσχύνῃς may have been translated from a Latin ablative; that it is in the genitive may be due to subsequent conformation to the B-text. But see J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 106 f.

ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη, καὶ οἱ πλείους οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τίνος ἔνεκα  
 συνεληλύθεισαν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄχλου συνεβίβασαν Ἀλέξανδρον προ- 33  
 βαλόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατασεύσας  
 τὴν χεῖρα ᾔθελεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ. ἐπιγνόντες δὲ ὅτι 34  
 Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν φωνῇ ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων ὥσει ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο  
 κραζόντων· Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις  
 Ἐφεσίων. καταστείλας δὲ τὸν ὄχλον ὁ γραμματεὺς φησιν· 35  
 Ἄνδρες Ἐφεσίοι, τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν  
 Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ  
 τοῦ διοπετοῦς; ἀναντιρρήτων οὖν ὄντων τούτων δέον ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς 36  
 κατεσταλμένους ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲν προπετὲς πράσσειν. ἡγάγετε 37  
 γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὔτε ἱεροσύλους οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας  
 τὴν θεὸν ἡμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τεχνεῖται 38  
 ἔχουσι πρὸς τινα λόγον, ἀγοραῖοι ἀγονταὶ καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν,  
 ἐγκαλείτωσαν ἀλλήλους. εἰ δέ τι περαιτέρω ἐπιζητεῖτε, ἐν τῇ 39  
 ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιλυθήσεται. καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι 40  
 στάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος, περὶ οὗ οὐ

Editors	34 ὥσει] <i>ws</i> WHmg Soden JHR αρτεμις εφεσιων 2 <sup>o</sup> WH (but <i>af. mg</i> ) Soden JHR οχλον Soden JHR της σημερον . . . ταυτησ[ WHmg	κραζοντες WHmg 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 39 περαιτερω] <i>περι</i> <i>ετερων</i> Soden mg 40 †περι	οι μεγαλη η 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 40 †περι	
Old Uncial	38 ο δε B <sup>9</sup> (+D) ο ουν A ο δ' ουν B ηθελεν B <sup>9</sup> (+D) ηλθεν B B (+D) κραζοντες B <sup>9</sup> A ( <i>cf.</i> D) 35 τον οχλον ο γραμματευσ B ο γραμματευσ τον οχλον B <sup>9</sup> A (+D) εφεσιοι B <sup>9</sup> (+D) αδελφοι B της B <sup>9</sup> (+D) και της B 36 οτων τουτων B <sup>9</sup> (+D) οτων B τουτων οτων A προπετες B <sup>9</sup> A (+D) +τι B <sup>9</sup> 39 περαιτερω B <i>περι</i> <i>ετερων</i> B <sup>9</sup> A (+D)	την χειρα B <sup>9</sup> A τη χειρι B <sup>9</sup> (+D) 34 ὥσει B <i>ws</i> B <sup>9</sup> A (+D) κραζοντων μεγαλη η αρτεμις εφεσιων twice B, once only B <sup>9</sup> A 35 τον οχλον ο γραμματευσ B ο γραμματευσ τον οχλον B <sup>9</sup> A (+D) της B <sup>9</sup> (+D) και της B 36 οτων τουτων B <sup>9</sup> (+D) οτων B τουτων οτων A προπετες B <sup>9</sup> A (+D) +τι B <sup>9</sup> 39 περαιτερω B <i>περι</i> <i>ετερων</i> B <sup>9</sup> A (+D)	οι μεγαλη η 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 40 †περι	οι μεγαλη η 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 40 †περι
Antiochian	32 συνεληλυθασιν H προβαλλοντων LP (+D) αυτων L HLPSS (+D) ομ μεγαλη η αρτεμις εφεσιων 2 <sup>o</sup> HLPSS (+D) γραμματευσ τον οχλον HLPSS (+D) ανθρωπος HLPSS ( <i>cf.</i> D) μεγαλης] +θεας HLPSS 37 ομ ηγαγετε γαρ τους ανδρας τουτους P θεον] θεαν P <sup>5</sup> (+D) ημων] υμων HLPSS 38 προς τινα λογον εχουσιν 5 39 περαιτερω] <i>περι</i> <i>ετερων</i> (+ <i>ετι</i> S) HLPSS (+D) 40 ου 1 <sup>o</sup> ] ουν L ομ ου 2 <sup>o</sup> 5 (+D)	38 συνεβιβασαν] προσβιβασαν HLPSS 34 επιγνοντων 5 35 ο 36 ο 37 ομ ηγαγετε γαρ τους ανδρας τουτους P 38 προς τινα λογον εχουσιν 5 40 ου 1 <sup>o</sup> ] ουν L	οι μεγαλη η 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 40 †περι	οι μεγαλη η 35 ο γραμματευσ τον 40 †περι

33 συνεβίβασαν B<sup>9</sup>A E; προσβίβασαν Antiochian; κατεβίβασαν D, to which *destrawuni* *gig* vg (*destraw- d, destraw- p*) seems to correspond. The strangeness of *συνεβίβασαν* ('instructed'?) seems to have given rise to the variants.

34 κραζοντες B<sup>9</sup>A is probably derived

from κραζοντων B D Antiochian by assimilation to επιγνοντες.

The repetition of *μεγαλη η αρτεμις εφεσιων* is peculiar to B, and is to be rejected.

35 διοσκετους D. Wordsworth and White suggest that vg *iovisque proles* is derived from a corrupt form του διοσ



μὲν οὖν ἄλλο ἔκραζον, ἥ γὰρ ἐκκλησία ἦν συνεκχυμένη, καὶ  
 33 οἱ πλείστοι οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τίνος ἕνεκεν συνεληλύθεισαν. ἐκ δὲ  
 τοῦ ὄχλου κατεβίβασαν Ἀλέξανδρον προβαλλόντων αὐτὸν τῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ ᾗθελεν  
 34 ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ. ἐπιγινόντες δὲ ὅτι Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν  
 φωνὴ ἐγένετο μία πάντων ὡς ἐπὶ ὕρας δύο κραζόντων· Μεγάλη  
 35 Ἄρτεμις Ἐφέσιων. κατασείσας δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸν ὄχλον  
 φησὶν· Ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, τίς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γει-  
 νώσκει τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ναοκόρον εἶναι τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμι-  
 36δος καὶ τοῦ διωσπετοῦς; ἀναντιρρήτων οὖν ὄντων τούτων δέον  
 ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς κατεσταλμένους ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲν προπετὲς πράσ-  
 37σειν. ἡγάγετε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐνθάδε μήτε ἱεροσύλους  
 38 μήτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεὰν ἡμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος  
 οὗτος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τεχνεῖται ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τινα λόγον,  
 ἀγοραῖοι ἀγονταὶ καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν, ἐγκαλίτωσαν ἀλλήλοις.  
 39 εἰ δέ τι περὶ ἐτέρων ἐπιζητεῖτε, ἐν ᾗτῷ νόμῳ ἔκκλησίᾳ ἐπι-  
 40 λυθήσεται. καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν σήμερον ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως

35 γεινωσγει

38 καὶ οἱ] οἱ καὶ

τεχνεῖτε

alunt clamabant erat enim ecclesia confusa et plures nesciebant cuius rei causa d  
 convenierint 33 de ipsa turba distraxerunt alexandrum propellentibus eum iudeis  
 alexander autem innuens manu volebat rationem reddere populo 34 cognito autem  
 eo quod iudeus esset vox facta est una omnium quasi horis duabus clamantium  
 magna est diana ephesiorum 35 cum conposuisset scriba turba aut viri ephesi quis  
 enim est homo qui ignorat vestram civitatem aeditam esse magnae diana et huius  
 jovis 36 contradictione itaque non capientibus his oportet vos questos esse et nihil  
 temere agere 37 adduxistas enim viros istos hoo neque sacrilegos neque blasphemantes  
 deam nostram 38 si quidem ergo demetrius hic et qui cum eo sunt artifices  
 habent cum aliquos quendam verbum conventus aguntur et proconsules sunt accusant  
 se invicem 39 si quid autem ulterius requiritis in legem ecclesiae discutietur  
 40 nam etiam periclitamur hodie accusari aeditionis nullius causa esse cuius

34 μᾶ] ✕ una <  
 διωσπετοῦ] et diopetous ✕ ejus [i.e. 'her'] <

35 γραμματεῦς] scriba ✕ civitatis < Harclean  
 37 ἐνθάδε] mg huo

παῖδες With the rendering of d huius  
 jovis is to be compared hol ✕.

39 περαιτέρω B minn, ultorius gig d,  
 seems to be the true reading. περὶ  
 στερω N A D Antiochian is due to an  
 error; it does not suit the context.  
 Vg ultorius rei is an attempt to re-  
 present περὶ στερω without departing  
 too far from the Old Latin rendering.

τω νομῷ D can, with existing evi-  
 dence, be explained only as an error  
 for τη νομῷ.

40 The omission of οὐ by DE minn  
 gig vg sah boh seems an unsuccessful  
 emendation of a difficult, and perhaps  
 corrupt, text. The reading of B&A  
 Antiochian pesh hol may contain some  
 very ancient error.

δυνησόμεθα ἀποδοῦναι λόγον περὶ τῆς συστροφῆς ταύτης. καὶ <sup>41</sup> ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον μεταπεμφόμενος ὁ Παῦλος XX τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ παρακάλεσας ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθεν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Μακεδονίαν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καὶ παρακάλεσας 2 αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ποιήσας τε μῆνας 3 τρεῖς γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μέλλοντι ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἐγένετο γνώμης τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν διὰ Μακεδονίας. συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ Σώπατρος Πύρρου Βεροιαῖος, 4 Θεσσαλονικεῶν δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέκουνδος, καὶ Γαῖος Δερβαιοὺς καὶ Τιμόθεος, Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ Τύχικος καὶ Τρόφιμος· οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμῶς ἐν Τρωάδι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν 5, 6

Editors 4 αὐτῶ] +αχρι της ασιας Soden om πυρρου JHR 5 προσελθόντες] προσελθόντες WHmg

Old Uncial 1 μεταπεμφόμενος B<sup>8</sup> προσκαλεσάμενος A(+D) παρακάλεσας BA  
+καὶ B<sup>8</sup> μακεδονίαν B<sup>8</sup>(+D) τὴν μακεδονίαν A 4 αὐτῶ B<sup>8</sup> +αχρι της  
ασιας A (cf. D) δερβαιοὺς B<sup>8</sup> (cf. D) ο δερβαιοὺς A 5 προσελθόντες  
B<sup>8</sup>A προσελθόντες B<sup>8</sup>(B<sup>8</sup> Tsf)(+D) εμενον BA(+D) εμεινον B<sup>8</sup>

Antiochian 40 ἀποδοῦναι] δοῦναι HLP<sup>S</sup> om περὶ 3<sup>o</sup> HLP<sup>S</sup> (+D) 1 μετα-  
πεμφόμενος] προσκαλεσάμενος HLP<sup>S</sup> (+D) om παρακάλεσας HLP<sup>S</sup>  
πορεύεσθαι HLP<sup>S</sup> τὴν μακεδονίαν H(L<sup>W</sup>)P<sup>S</sup> 3 γενομένης] +δε L  
αὐτῶ ἐπιβουλῆς HLP<sup>S</sup> (+D) γνώμη HLP<sup>S</sup> 4 αὐτῶ] +αχρι της  
ασιας HLP<sup>S</sup> (cf. D) om πυρρου HLP<sup>S</sup> 5 om δε HLP<sup>S</sup> (+D)  
προσελθόντες] προσελθόντες 5 (+D)

3-5 The text of B<sup>8</sup> 33 is right in vs. 4 in reading *συνείπετο δε αὐτῶ* and omitting *μεχρι της ασιας*, and in vs 5 in reading *προσελθόντες* (not *προελθόντες*). Although the statement is very condensed, the author clearly meant to say (1) that when Paul had made up his mind to sail (*ἀνάγεσθαι*) from Corinth for Syria, the Jews' plot made a sea voyage dangerous and led him to change his plans so as first to 'return' via Macedonia (i.e. to Asia, for *υποστρέφειν* vs. 3 does not mean 'return to Syria,' but is directly opposed to 'sail for Syria'); (2) that the persons named in vs. 4 were 'associated with Paul' (*συνείπετο δε αὐτῶ* is to be thus translated, the reference is to a general 'association' for the journey to Syria); and (3) that they assembled (from their several places of residence in Greece

and Asia Minor) at Troas (vs. 5), where Paul, who sailed from Philippi instead of Corinth, joined them (vs. 6). The account is consistent and intelligible; but the 'Western' glossator partly misunderstood it. The Jews' plot he understood to have been the occasion of Paul's purpose to sail for Syria, not of his subsequent change of plan from a sea-voyage to a land-journey; the latter change was attributed by the glossator to an intimation of the Spirit. In taking this view the glossator perhaps followed the suggestion of XIX. 21, XX. 22. By *υποστρέφειν* he correctly understood a return to Asia (whence Paul had started in vs. 1), and he has shown this by adding *μεχρι της ασιας* in vs. 4. In D *συνείπετο αὐτῶ* dropped out (but note *comitatus* d), and the

μηδενός αἰτίου ὄντος περὶ οὗ διηγήσμεθα ἀποδοῦναι λόγον τῆς  
41 συστροφῆς ταύτης. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

XX Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον προσκαλεσάμενος Παῦλος  
τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ πολλὰ παρακελε[ύ]σας ἀποστασάμενος ἐξ-  
2 ἦλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. διελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καὶ  
3 χρησ[άμενο]ς λόγῳ πολλῷ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ποιήσας δὲ  
μῆνας ᾗ καὶ γενηθείς<ης> αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
ἠθέλησεν ἀναχθῆναι εἰς Συρίαν, εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ  
4 ὑποστρέφειν διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας. μέλλοντος οὖν ἐξείναι αὐτοῦ  
μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σώπατρος Πύρρου Βεροιαῖος, Θεσσαλονικέων δὲ  
Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέκουνδος, καὶ Γαῖος Δουβ[έ]ριος καὶ Τιμόθεος,  
5 Ἐφέσιοι δὲ Εὐτυχὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος, | οὗτοι προελθόντες ἔμενον

2 ἐκεῖνα] ἐκεῖνη

4 βεροιαῖος] βερναιος

possimus reddere rationem de hoc concurso 41 et haec cum dixisset dissoluit d  
ecclesiam

1 postquam autem cessavit tumultus convocavit paulus discipulos et multo  
exhortatus salutans exiit in macedoniam 2 cum perambulasset omnes partes illas  
et exortatus sermone multo venit in ellada 3 fecit autem menses tres et cum  
fierent ei insidiae a judaeis voluit in syriam perducī dixitque ἄρα ei revertere per  
macedoniam 4 volente autem comitari eum usque ad asiā sopater virri beryensis  
thessalonicensium vero aristarchus et secundus et gaus dovarius et timotheus ephesii  
autem eutychus et trophimus 5 hic cum praecessissent expectabant nos troade

3-4 ἠθέλησεν . . . βεροιαῖος] *mg* volebat ire in Syriam; dixit ei autem Harelean  
spiritus reverti per Macedoniam. quum futurus esset autem exire, comitati  
sunt eum autem usque in Asiam Sopater Barpurus Beroensis 4 ἐφέσιοι] *mg*  
ex Asia Ephesii

purpose of the assembly of friends at Troas is left unexplained, while the resulting connexion of *μέχρι τῆς ασίας* with *μέλλοντος εἶναι* yields but in different sense. In the text underlying *hcl. mg*, however, *συνειπορτο αὐτῷ* was read, with the result that the persons named are represented as associated with Paul from Corinth all the way to (*μέχρι*) Asia: but nevertheless it is implied that they leave him somewhere, for they go to Troas by themselves. This, rather than the defective text of D, is to be taken as the proper 'Western.' The glossator wrongly took *συνειπορτο* (-ορτο) to refer, not, as intended in the B-text, to a general companionship on the journey

to Syria, but to the first event in a series (*συνειπορτο*: *προελθόντες*: *ἔμενον*: *ἐξεπλεύσαμεν*). *προελθόντες* D minn vg pesh *hcl sah* may have originated in an accidental error, but its persistence was due to the mistaken notion of the glossator that the whole party assembled at Corinth. The self-contradiction of the 'Western' text and the historical superiority of the account given by the B-text are plain.

4 The omission of *πύρρου* in Antiochian pesh *hcl. text* arouses suspicion that in the case of Sopater there was originally no exception to the simplicity of form found in the other names, and that ΠΥΡΡΟΣ has somehow arisen out of the preceding ΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

μεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν  
πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὗ διετρεῖψαμεν  
ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων συνηγμένων ἡμῶν 7  
κλάσαι ἄρτον ὁ Παῦλος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξίεναι τῇ  
ἐπαύριον, παρέτευνεν τε τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου. ἦσαν δὲ 8  
λαμπάδες ἱκαναὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ οὗ ἦμεν συνηγμένοι· καθεζόμενος 9  
δὲ τις νεανίας ὀνόματι Εὐτυχὸς ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος, καταφερόμενος  
ὑπνῷ βαθεῖ διαλεγόμενου τοῦ Παύλου ἐπὶ πλεῖον, κατενεχθεὶς  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου κάτω καὶ ἦρθη νεκρός.  
καταβὰς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ συνπεριλαβὼν εἶπεν 10  
μὴ θορυβεῖσθαι, ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν. ἀναβὰς δὲ 11  
κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας ἄχρι  
αὐγῆς οὕτως ἐξήλθεν. ἤγαγον δὲ τὸν παῖδα ζῶντα, καὶ παρ- 12  
εκλήθησαν οὐ μετρίως. ἡμεῖς δὲ προσελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον 13  
ἀνῆχθημεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσσον, ἐκεῖθεν μέλλοντες ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν  
Παῦλον, οὕτως γὰρ διατεταγμένος ἦν μέλλων αὐτὸς πεζεύειν.

## 13 διατεταγμενον

Editors	6 ου] [οκ]ου Soden	10 θορυβεῖσθε WH Soden JHR	θορυβεῖσθαι
WHmg	11 δε] +[καὶ] WH	+καὶ Soden JHR	18 προσελθόντες]
προελθόντες WH (but cf. mg) JHR			
<hr/>			
Old Uncial	6 ἀχρι BA ἀπο 8	ου B οπου 8A	10 συνπεριλαβων B8A(+D)
συνπεριβαλων αὐτου C		θορυβεῖσθαι BO	θορυβεῖσθε 8A 11 δε B
+καὶ 8A O(+D) των B8A C(+D) om 8C		αυγης BAC8C(+D) αυγης 8	
13 προσελθόντες BA προελθόντες 8C		διατεταγμενος B2	εργεταλμενος C
<hr/>			
Antiochian	7 ἡμεῖς] των μαθητων HLP85	add του before κλασαι 5(+D)	
8 ἡμεῖς] ἦσαν R5	9 καθεζόμενος] καθημενος HLP85	ἀπο 10] υπο	
HS(+D)	10 θορυβεῖσθε P (HL not known) 5	αὐτῷ] εαυτῷ L	
11 δε] +καὶ HLP85(+D)	om των HLP85	13 προσελθόντες]	
προελθόντες L5	ἐπὶ 20] εἰς HLP85(+D)	ασσον] θασον LP	
οὕτως] οὗτος S	ἦν διατεταγμενος HLP85(+D)		

7 *μια* D has come in by conflation.

8 The word *υπολαμπαδες* D is found elsewhere only in Athenaeus xii. 9, p. 588 x, from Phylarchus, and in a Delian inscription (Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 1900, p. 344, No. 588, line 219, το κλειθρον της υπολαμπαδος). In both cases it seems to mean 'window,' or 'look-out hole.' If that is the sense here, the word has been adopted by D with *θυρᾶς*, vs. 9, in mind. The rendering of d is *faculae*.

13 *προελθόντες* 8C L minn s (*προσεσῆ*)

suits the context perfectly, and is to be preferred to *προσελθόντες* BA Antiochian, which may have been originally due to accidental error. Confusion of these compounds in transcription frequently occurs. For the 'Western' *κατελθόντες* D *gig* pesh it can be urged that a scribe, missing the point, might have observed that embarkation is by ascent into a ship, not by descent, and therefore substituted a different verb. But the peculiar aptness of *προελθόντες* does not fit the case of so

6 αὐτὸν ἐν Τροάδι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν  
 ἄζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Τρωάδα  
 7 πεμπτῆται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. ἔν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 πρώτη τῶν σαββάτων συνηγμένων ἡμῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον ὁ  
 Παῦλος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξιέναι τῇ ἐπαύριον, παρέτινε  
 8 τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου. ἦσαν δὲ ὑπολαμπάδες ἱκαναὶ ἐν  
 9 τῷ ὑπερώῳ οὗ ἦμεν συνηγμένοι· καθεζόμενος δὲ τις νεανίας  
 ὀνόματι Εὐτυχὸς ἐπὶ τῇ θυρίδι, κατεχόμενος ὑπνῷ βαρεῖ δια-  
 λεγομένου Παύλου ἐπὶ πλεῖον, κατενεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔπεσεν  
 10 ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου κάτω ἵκαί· ὅς ἦρθη νεκρός. καταβὰς δὲ ὁ  
 Παῦλος ἔπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ συνεπιλαβὼν καὶ εἶπεν μὴ θορυ-  
 11 βίσθαι, ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν. ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ κλάσας  
 τὸν ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος ἐφ' ἱκανὸν δὲ ὀμειψάσας ἄχρις ἀνγῆς  
 12 οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἤγαγεν τὸν νεανίσκον  
 13 ζῶντα, καὶ παρεκλήθησαν οὐ μετρίως. ἡμεῖς δὲ κατελθόντες  
 εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀνήχθημεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσον, ἐκεῖθεν μέλλοντες  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν Παῦλον, οὕτως γὰρ ἦν διατεταγμένος ὡς

6 nos vero enavigavimus post dies azymorum a philippis et venimus ad eos troadam d  
 quintani in qua demorati sumus dies septem 7 in una autem sabbati collectis nobis  
 frangere panem paulus disputabat eis incipiens exire post alia die extenditque  
 sermonem usque in media nocte 8 et erant faculae copiosae in superioribus ubi  
 eramus collecti 9 sedens autem quidam jubenis nomine eutychus super fenestram  
 demersu somno gravi disputante paulo prolixius praeceps datus est a somno cecidit  
 de tristego zosum et sublatus est mortuus 10 cum descendisset autem paulus  
 cecidit super eū et circumplexit et dixit nolite turbari anima enim ejus in ipso est  
 11 cum ascendisset et fregisset panem et gustasset satisque fabulatus esset usque  
 ad lucem sic profectus est 12 salutantes aut eos adduxerunt jubenam viventem et  
 consolati sunt non mediocriter 13 nos vero ascendimus in navem devenimus assum  
 inde mox recepturi paulum sic enim disposuerat incipiens ipse iter facere 14 ut

6 nos autem navigavimus post dies azymorum a Philippis, et venimus Irenaeus,  
 Troadem, ubi et commorati sumus diebus septem. II. 14, 1

dull a scribe, and seems equally unlikely to be due to a subsequent happy accident.

13, 14 For *ασσον*, vs. 13, Pap. Wess. 237, some Antiochian codices (LP minn), pesh hol. *teat* read *θασον*. Sah reads in one cod. *θασος*, in the other *θασος*; but "T is the feminine article in Coptic, and before Greek words commencing with a vowel it united with the aspirate of the vowel to form an initial sound which is very frequently written Θ. Thus *θασος*,

*θασος* may be taken to represent Greek *ασος*, *ασος*" (H Thompson).

In vs. 14, *θασον* (*θασων*) P minn pesh hol. *teat* sah (only one cod. extant)

The wide extension and firm hold of this impossible reading with θ is notable. We can hardly refer to a Sahidic scribe's blunder the form in the Antiochian codices and in the Syriac, but a form corrupted under Coptic influence may have been current in Egypt. The conjunction, however,

ὡς δὲ συνέβαλλεν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσον, ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἤλθομεν 14  
εἰς Μιτυλήνην, κακείθεν ἀποπλεύσαντες τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηγνῆ- 15  
σαμεν ἄντικρυς Χίου, τῇ δὲ ἑσπέρᾳ παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον, τῇ  
δὲ ἑχομένην ἤλθομεν εἰς Μελήτον· κεκρίκει γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος 16  
παραπλεύσαι τὴν Ἐφέσον, ὅπως μὴ γένηται αὐτῷ χρονοτριβῆσαι  
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἔσπευδεν γὰρ εἰ δυνατόν εἶναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς  
πεντηκοστῆς γενέσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μελήτου πέμψας εἰς Ἐφέσον μετεκαλέσατο 17  
τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς 18  
αὐτὸν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἂφ'  
ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πῶς μεθ' ὑμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
ἐγενόμην, δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ 19  
δακρύων καὶ πειρασμῶν τῶν συμβάντων μοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ 20  
μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῶν καὶ διδάξαι ὑμᾶς δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' οἴκους,  
διαμαρτυρόμενος Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσιν τὴν εἰς θεὸν μετά- 21  
νοίαν καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ δεδε- 22

Editors 14 συνεβαλεν Soden 15 εσπερα] etera WH Soden JHR εσπερα WHmg  
σαμον] + [καὶ μειναντες εν τρωγυλλιω] Soden + καὶ μειναντες εν τρωγυλλιω JHR  
[δε 2<sup>ο</sup>] Soden om JHR 16 ιεροσολημ Soden 21 ιησουν] +χριστον  
WHmg Soden

Old Uncal 14 δε BNA(+D) om Ona συνεβαλλεν BAN<sup>o</sup> συνεβαλεν O(+D)  
συνεβαλλον N eis 1<sup>ο</sup> BACN<sup>o</sup>(+D) επι N 15 εσπερα B etera  
NAC(+D) 16 κεκρικει B<sup>a</sup> εσπευδεν BNA<sup>o</sup>(+D) εδει Oρεθαρε  
ιεροσολιμα BC(+D) ιεροσολημ NA 18 αυτον BNC +ομου οντων αυτων A  
(cf. D) 19 κυριω BNA(+D) +μεθ υμων C και 1<sup>ο</sup> BNA(+D)  
+πολλων C συμβαντων BNA(+D) συμβαινοντων C 20 υπεστειλαμην  
των συμφεροντων BNA(+D) των συμφεροντων υπεστειλαμην C 21 θεον BNC  
τον θεον A(+D) ιησουν B +χριστον NAC (cf. D)

Antiochian 14 συνεβαλεν HLPSS(+D) ασσον] θασον P ηλθομεν] αηληθομεν L  
15 αντικρυς] αντικρυ HPS εσπερα] etera HLPSS(+D) σαμον] +και  
μειναντες εν τρωγυλλιω HLPSS (cf. D) om δε 2<sup>ο</sup> HLPSS(+D) 16 κεκρικει]  
εκρινε HLPSS αυτω 1<sup>ο</sup>] αυτον H om ει δυνατον ειη αυτω H(+D)  
ειη] ην LPS<sup>o</sup> τη ημερα H 19 και 1<sup>ο</sup>] +πολλων HLPSS<sup>o</sup>  
20 om και 2<sup>ο</sup> S 21 διαμαρτυραμενος II τον θεον HLPSS(+D)  
πιστιν] +την HLPSS ιησουν] +χριστον S (cf. D) 22 εγω δεδεμενος  
HLPSS(+D)

of Antiochian text and Syriac versions is noteworthy, and not without significant parallels (cf. e.g. Lk. ii 14).

In xxvii. 18 the adverb *ασσον* is rendered *celerius* in L; this may point to a variant *θασον*; of vg *thalassa* for *αλασσα* in xxvii. 8.

15 *εσπερα* B nunn for *etera* is inconsistent with the sentence immediately preceding, for that seems intended to cover the whole of the distance traversed on the second day; and it is also geographically improbable. It is doubtless a scribal error.

- 14 μέλλων αὐτὸς πεζεύειν. ὥς δὲ συνέβαλεν ἡμεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσον,  
 15 ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἦλθομεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην, | κακείθεν ἀπο-  
 πλεύσαντες τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηντήσαμεν ἄντικρυς Χείου, τῇ δὲ  
 16 ἐρχομένῃ ἦλθομεν εἰς Μείλητον· κεκρίκει γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος παρα-  
 πλεύσαι τὴν Ἐφεσον, μήποτε γενηθῇ αὐτῷ κατάσχεσίς τις ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀσίᾳ, ἔσπευδε γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς γενέσθαι  
 †ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμα†.  
 17 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μελίτητος πέμψας εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο  
 18 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὥς δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ὁμόσε ὄντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε,  
 ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὥς  
 τριετίαν ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ποταπῶς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἦν παντὸς χρόνου,  
 19 δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ δακρύων  
 καὶ πειρασμῶν τῶν συνβάντων μοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τῶν Ἰου-  
 20 δαίων· ὥς οὐδὲν ὑπεστυλάμην τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι  
 21 ὑμεῖν καὶ διδάξαι κατ' οἴκους καὶ δημοσίᾳ, διαμαρτυρόμενος  
 Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσιν τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν μετάνοιαν καὶ πίστιν  
 22 διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ νῦν εἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δεδεμένος

15 παρεβαλομεν] παρελαβομεν  
 18 ομωσε επιστασθαι

16 κεκρικει] καικρικι  
 21 διαμαρτυρουμενος

autem convenit nos in assum adsumpto eo venimus mitylenen 15 et inde cum d  
 enavigassemus pridie pervenimus contra chium et alia die applicavimus samum et  
 manentes in trogylio sequenti venimus in miletum 16 judicaverat enim paulus  
 praeternavigare ephesum ut non contingeret ei morandi quis in asia festinabat enim  
 in die pentecostes adesse in hierosolymis 17 a mileto autem cum misisset in  
 ephesum transmisit presbyteros de ecclesiam 18 ad ubi venerunt ad eum simulque  
 cum esset ait ad eos vos scitis fratres a prima die in qua ingressus sum asiam quasi  
 triennium et amplius quemadmodum vobiscum fui per omne tempore 19 serviens  
 dño cum omni humilitati sensui et lacrimis et temptationibus quae evenerunt mihi  
 ex insidiis a diudaais 20 quam nihil substraxerimque utilia essent ut adnuntiarem  
 vobis et docerem per domos et publice 21 testificando judaeisquae et graecis quae  
 in dō poenitentiam agent et fidem in dñm nostrum ihm xpm 22 et nunc ecce ego

Probably the words *καὶ μεμωστας ἐν τρωγυλία* (-λιω, -λλιω) D, Pap. Wess. 287, Antiochian *gig pesh hol. isat* (sah) are genuine, and fell out by accident at some very early stage of the text. If added, that could have been only with purpose, and it is as difficult to suggest a motive for adding as for deliberately omitting. The omission

of *δε* before *ερχομένη* (*ερχομένη*) is a part of the reading.

16 The omission of *εἰ δυνατόν εἰη αὐτῷ* in D d H is probably due to accident (16 letters).

18 *ὥς δε παρεγενοντο προς αυτον* may have come in by conflation, but cf. *gig vg*.

μένος ἐγὼ τῷ πνεύματι πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναρτήσονται ἐμοὶ μὴ εἰδώς, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ 23 πόλιν διαμαρτύρεταί μοι λέγον ὅτι δεσμὰ καὶ θλείψεις με μένουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιούμεν τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαντῶ ὥς τελειώσω 24 τὸν δρόμον μου καὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς 25 πάντες ἐν οἷς διηλθον κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν· διότι μαρτύρομαι 26 ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ὅτι καθαρὸς εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων, οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι πᾶσαν τὴν 27 βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῖν. προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, 28 ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.

Editors 24 τελειῶσαι WHmg Soden μου] +[μετα χάρας] Soden 28 θεοῦ]  
κυρίου Soden JHR ἰδίου† WHmg

1d Uncial 22 συναρτήσονται B<sup>N</sup> συναρτήσαντα A(+D) συμβησομενα C 23 δια-  
μαρτύρεται B<sup>N</sup>C(+D) διαμαρτύρατο A<sup>N</sup> 24 λόγου B<sup>N</sup>C λόγον έχω ουδε  
A<sup>N</sup> (cf. D) ως B<sup>N</sup>A εως B<sup>N</sup> ως το C τελειώσω B<sup>N</sup> τελειῶσαι AC  
(cf. D) μου B<sup>N</sup>A(+D) +μετα χάρας C 25 ἐγὼ οἶδα B<sup>N</sup>A(+D)  
οἶδα ἐγὼ C ουκετι BAC(+D) ουκ B 26 διότι B<sup>N</sup>A διο C  
εἰμι B<sup>N</sup>C(+D) ἐγὼ A 27 πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῖν B<sup>N</sup>C(+D)  
ὑμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ A<sup>N</sup> 28 προσέχετε B<sup>N</sup>A(+D) +οὖν C  
θεοῦ B<sup>N</sup> κυρίου AC(+D)

Antiochian 22 συναρτήσαντα H(+D) 23 οὐ μοι HLPSS<sup>5</sup> λεγων HLP(+D)  
με καὶ θλίψεις LPSS<sup>5</sup> 24 λόγου ποιούμεν τὴν ψυχὴν] λόγον ποιούμεν ουδε  
ἐχὼ τὴν ψυχὴν μου (om μου LP) HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (cf. D) τελειῶσαι HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (cf. D)  
δρόμον μου] +μετα χάρας HLPSS<sup>5</sup> 25 βασιλείαν] +τοῦ θεοῦ HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (cf. D)  
26 διότι] διο HLSS<sup>5</sup> εἰμι] ἐγὼ HLPSS<sup>5</sup> 27 πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ  
θεοῦ ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ HLPSS<sup>5</sup> 28 προσέχετε] +οὖν  
HLPSS<sup>5</sup> θεοῦ] κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ HLPSS<sup>5</sup> (cf. D) τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου]  
τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος HLPSS<sup>5</sup>

22 συναρτήσαντα ADEH minn, although strangely persistent, is probably only a careless spelling for -οντα, which alone makes sense. Cf. Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, i. p. 77.

24 In the first clause of this verse, (1) the reading of B<sup>N</sup>C sah (ουδενος λογον ποιουμεν τὴν ψυχὴν τιμῶν ἐμαντῶ) is idiomatic, and is to be followed, with the meaning 'I make of no account my life, as precious to myself' (similarly English R.V.) To avoid the difficulty of the superfluous ουδενος λογον, gig Lucif render these words

warrant. (2) In the 'Western' text (shown in D) the awkwardness of the phrase was avoided by introducing ἐχὼ μοι ουδε, in connexion with which λογον was necessarily changed to λογον. ἐμαντῶ D may at first have been an error for ἐμαντῶ, but vg *quam me* seems to rest on it, and in the unusually free rendering of vg, τιμῶν is taken as equivalent to a comparative, 'pretiosiores'; similarly Orig *utropr.* Ambrose Aug<sup>1</sup>. (3) A<sup>N</sup> agree substantially with D; while Antiochian has made a fresh combination of the 'Western' addition with the original



τῷ πνεύματι πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναντήσαντά  
 23 μοι μὴ γεννώσκων, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν  
 διαμαρτύρεται μοι λέγων ὅτι δεσμὰ καὶ θλείψεις μένουσίν μοι  
 24 ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ἔχω μοι οὐδὲ ποιοῦμαι τὴν  
 ψυχὴν μου τιμίαν ἵεμαυτοῦ† τοῦ τελειῶσαι τὸν δρόμον μου καὶ  
 τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ λόγου ὃν παρέλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ,  
 διαμαρτύρασθαι Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἑλλήσιν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς  
 25 χάριτος θεοῦ. καὶ νῦν εἰδὸς ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ  
 πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐν οἷς διηλθον κηρύσσων τὴν βασι-  
 26 λείαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ἄχρι οὖν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καθαρὸς εἰμι  
 27 ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων, οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι  
 28 πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῖν. προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ  
 τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους,  
 ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν περιποιήσατο ἑαυτῷ

25 οψεσθαι  
 ποιμενεῖν

27 ὑμιν] ἡμιν

28 προσεχεται

ligatus spo vado in hierosolyma quae in ea mihi ventura sunt nesciens 23 tamquam d  
 spm sanctum per singulas civitates protestatur mihi dicens quia vincula et tribula-  
 tiones manent mi in hierosolymis 24 sed nihil horum cura est mihi neque habeo  
 ipsam animam caram mihi quam consummare cursum meum et ministerium verbi  
 quod accepi a dno ihu testificari judaeis et crescere evangelium gratiae dī 25 et nunc  
 ecce ego scio quia non videbitis faciem meam vos omnis inter quos perambulavi  
 praedicans illud regnum ihu 26 propter quod hodierno die mundus sum a sanguine  
 omnium 27 non enim substraxi ut non adnuntiam omnem voluptatem dī vobis  
 28 attendite vos et omni gregi in vobis sps sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam

25 scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam: 26 testificor igitur vobis Irenaeus, III. 14, 2  
 hac die quoniam mundus sum a sanguine omnium. 27 non enim substraxi uti  
 non adnuntiarem vobis omnem sententiam dei. 28 attendite igitur et vobis  
 et omni gregi in quo vos spiritus sanctus praeposuit episcopos, regere ecclesiam

28 ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις] ✕ in Hierosolymis ✓  
 28 κυρίου] *my* domini

28 οὐ] ✕ quapropter ✓ Harelean

The addition *μετὰ χάριτος* after *τοῦ δρόμου μου*, supported by C Antiochian e, sounds like a fragment of the 'Western' paraphrase, but it is not found in D, nor in any convincing 'Western' authority (yet cf. e), and its origin and claim to acceptance must remain doubtful.

26 *Hel* ✕ *quapropter* represents a Syriac phrase used to translate *deo* (C Antiochian).

28 (1) *τοῦ θεοῦ* B<sup>h</sup> minn vg peah *codā* *hel* *teat* boh *one* *cod*, Greek fathers from 4th cent. (incl. Cyril Alex.), Latin fathers later than vx is shown by the

agreement of B<sup>h</sup> to be ancient, and through its adoption by vg Cyril to have been highly regarded in and after the 4th century. (2) *τοῦ κυρίου* D d AOE minn g<sup>g</sup> e *hel my* boh sah Iren<sup>ae</sup> Greek fathers (incl. Athanas[us] Didymus Chrysost<sup>as</sup>), Latin fathers (incl. Proph Lucif Jerome Quaes. vet. et nov. test. [*domini jeru*], Ambrose<sup>ada</sup>) appears to have been the 'Western' reading (Greek, Latin, Syriac), and to have been current as early as the 4th century in circles whose text was in general not 'Western.' It is also indirectly attested by the variants

ὅτι ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι εἰσελεύσονται μετὰ τὴν ἀφείξιν μου λύκοι βαρεῖς 29  
 εἰς ὑμᾶς μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου, καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀναστήσονται 30  
 ἄνδρες λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα τοῦ ἀποσπᾶν τοὺς μαθητὰς  
 ὀπίσω ἑαυτῶν· διὸ γρηγορεῖτε, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα 31  
 καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἓνα ἕκαστον.  
 καὶ τὰ νῦν παρατίθεμαι ὑμᾶς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος 32  
 αὐτοῦ τῷ δυναμένῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν  
 ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν. ἀργυρίου ἢ χρυσοῦ ἢ ἱματισμοῦ 33  
 οὐδενὸς ἐπεθύμησα. αὐτοὶ γευνώσκετε ὅτι ταῖς χρεαίαις μου καὶ 34  
 τοῖς οὖσι μετ' ἐμοῦ ὑπηρέτησαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐταί. πάντα ὑπέδειξα 35  
 ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων,  
 μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν·  
 Μακάριόν ἐστω μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν 36  
 θεὶς τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσεύξατο. ἱκανὸς δὲ 37  
 κλαυθμὸς ἐγένετο πάντων, καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον

Editors 29 om ὅτι 1<sup>o</sup> WH Soden JHR εγω] +[γαρ] Soden οἶδα] +[τούτο]  
 Soden 30 ὑμῶν] +[αὐτῶν] WH +αὐτῶν Soden JHR αὐτῶν]  
 αὐτῶν Soden 32 κυρίῳ] θεῷ WHmg Soden JHR

Old Uncial 29 σι εγω B εγω BAC(+D) εγω δε B<sup>o</sup> 30 ὑμῶν B +αὐτῶν  
 BAC(+D) αὐτῶν BNA αὐτῶν C(+D) 32 ὑμᾶς BA(+D) ὑμῶν B  
 ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὶ C κυρίῳ B θεῷ BAC(+D) δοῦναι BNA(+D) +ὑμῶν C  
 κληρονομίαν BNC(+D) +αὐτοῦ A 34 γευνώσκετε BNC(+D) οἰδατε A  
 35 πάντα BNA (cf D) καὶ πάντα C ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων  
 BNC(+D) τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι A τε BNC om A<sup>vid</sup>(+D)  
 ἰησοῦ BNA(+D) om A<sup>3</sup> 36 αὐτοῖς BNA(+D) om C 37 δε BAC(+D)  
 τε B

Antiochian 29 σι εγω] εγω γαρ HLPSS<sup>c</sup> οἶδα] +τούτο HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 30 ὑμῶν]  
 +αὐτῶν HLPSS(+D) αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν HLPSS(+D) 32 ὑμᾶς] ὑμῶν H  
 +ἀδελφοὶ HLPSS<sup>c</sup> κυρίῳ] θεῷ HLPSS(+D) οἰκοδομῆσαι] ἐποικο-  
 δομῆσαι HLPSS<sup>c</sup> δοῦναι] +ὑμῶν HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om τῇ HLPSS(+D)  
 34 αὐτοὶ] +δε S 35 τῶν λόγων] τὸν λόγον LP διδοῦναι μᾶλλον S  
 37 ἐγένετο κλαυθμὸς HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

του χριστου peah.codd Const. Apost.  
 Athanas. codd; γενη εἰς m. (3)  
 του κυριου και θεου HLPSS is plainly  
 conflated.

From the external evidence it is  
 impossible to affirm of either *θεου* or  
*κυριου* that it was the earlier reading.  
 The unusual nature of the expression  
 'church of the Lord' (paralleled only  
 in Rom. xvi. 16) speaks strongly for  
 the authenticity of *κυριου* on trans-  
 criptional grounds. (With regard to  
 the interchange of *κυριος* and *θεος* see  
 Tischendorf on Acts xvi. 32; B. Weiss,

*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1898, pp. 5-7.)  
 On the other hand it is possible,  
 though less likely, that a second-  
 century scribe might have felt the  
 difficulty of the implied idea 'God's  
 own blood' so strongly that he would  
 have deliberately altered *θεου* into  
*κυριου*.

It must be observed, however, that  
 the peculiar expression *του αιματος του*  
*ιδιου*, instead of *του ιδιου αιματος*  
 (Antiochian has actually improved the  
 text by substituting the latter reading),  
 raises a doubt as to the soundness of

29 διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι εἰσελεύσονται μετὰ τὴν  
 ἀφίξιν μου λύκοι βαρεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνείου,  
 30 καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναστήσονται ἄνδρες λαλοῦντες διεστραμ-  
 31 μένα τοῦ ἀποστρέφειν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· διὸ γρηγο-  
 ρεῖτε, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα ἥδε ἡμέραν οὐκ ἔπαυ-  
 32 σάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἓνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν. καὶ τὰ νῦν  
 παρατίθεμαι ὑμᾶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ τῷ  
 δυναμένῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι ὑμᾶς καὶ δοῦναι κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 33 τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἑστέων πάντων†. ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ ἢ ἐμίαισμοῦ  
 34 οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν ἐπεθύμησα· αὐτοὶ γεινώσκετε ὅτι ἥτις χρεῖας μου†  
 35 πᾶσιν καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ὑπηρέτησαν αἱ χεῖρές μου. πᾶ[σ]ι  
 ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν  
 ἀσθενούντων, μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι  
 36 οὗτος εἶπεν· †Μακάριός† ἐστὶν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν. καὶ  
 37 ταῦτα εἶπας θεὸς τὰ γόνατα σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσεκύματο. ἱκανὸς  
 δὲ κλαυθμὸς ἐγένετο πάντων, καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον

29 ἀφεξίν

τυμνείου

34 γεινωσκεται

domini quam adquisibit sibi per sanguinem suum 29 ego scio quia introibunt post d  
 discessum meum lupi graves in vos non parcentes gregi 30 et ex vobis ipsis  
 exurgent viri loquentes perversa ut abstrahant discipulos post seipsos 31 propter  
 quod vigilate memores estote quia triennio nocte ac die

domini, quam sibi constituit per sanguinem suum. . 29 ego scio quoniam Irenaeus,  
 advenient post discessum meum lupi graves ad vos non parcentes gregi, 30 et ul. 14, 2  
 ex vobis ipsis exurgent viri loquentes perversa, uti convertant discipulos  
 post se.

32 τῶν πάντων] ✕ οὐ gloria in saecula, amen ✕

Hardean

the text at that point Hort conjectured *του ιδιου ζουου*. If some such conjecture could in any way be made probable, the reading of B<sup>1</sup> would stand. On the possibility of reaching the same result by taking *του ιδιου* to mean 'his dear one,' or the like, see J. H. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 90 f. See Hort, 'Appendix,' pp. 98-100, Tischendorf *ad loc.*, and especially the exhaustive investigation by Ezra Abbot in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and other Critical Essays*, Boston, 1888, pp. 294-331 (also published in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. xxxiii, 1876, pp. 313-352).

29 *οτι εγω* B without other support. *οτι* is probably an alleviating addition Antiochian, some Latin texts (*enim*), and perh *hol sal* add *γαρ*.

32 Αἰται τοις ηγιασμένοις πασιν, 614 minn *hol* ✕ add (minor variants) *αυτω η δοξα εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων αμην*. D *των παντων* seems to be a survival of *των αιωνων* from this reading.

34 The text of D is confused, and perhaps conflate, but the means at hand do not suggest a probable explanation of it.

35 On *μακαριος* D (cf. *beatus* *gig* *vg. codd* for *beatius* *vg*) see Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1904, pp 170 f. Pesh and Const. Apost iv. 3, 1 (from some other source than Didascalia) agree in implying the form, 'Blessed is the giver rather than the receiver,' but no clear connexion can be made out between this and the reading of D *gig*.

τοῦ Παύλου κατεφίλουν αὐτόν, ὀδυνώμενοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ 38  
ὃ εἰρήκει ὅτι οὐκέτι μέλλουσιν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖν.  
προέπεμπον δὲ αὐτόν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον.

ᾧς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀναχθῆναι ἡμᾶς, ἀποσπασθέντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν, XXI  
εὐθυδρομήσαντες ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν Κῶ, τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον,  
καθεῖθεν εἰς Πάταρα· καὶ εὐρόντες πλοῖον διαπερῶν εἰς Φοινείκην 2  
ἐπιβάντες ἀνήχθημεν. ἀναφάναντες δὲ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ κατα- 3  
λιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώνυμον ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ κατήλθομεν  
εἰς Τύρον, ἐκεῖσε γὰρ τὸ πλοῖον ἦν ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον.  
ἀνευρόντες δὲ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, 4  
οἷτινες τῷ Παύλῳ ἔλεγαν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν εἰς  
Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐξαρτίσαι ἡμᾶς τὰς ἡμέρας, ἕξ- 5  
ελθόντες ἐπορευόμεθα προπεμποντων ἡμᾶς πάντων σὺν γυναιξὶ  
καὶ τέκνοις ἕως ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, καὶ θέντες τὰ γόνατα ἐπὶ τὸν  
αἰγιαλὸν προσευξάμενοι | ἀπησπασάμεθα ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐνέβημεν 6  
εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν 7  
πλοῦν διανύσαντες ἀπὸ Τύρου κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα, καὶ  
ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἐμείναμεν ἡμέραν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς.  
τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντες ἤλθαμεν εἰς Καισαρείαν, καὶ εἰς- 8  
ελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τῶν

4 after πνευματος MS. repeats ελεγαν

Editions	1 αποσπασθεντας WH Soden		αποσπασθεντες WHmg		παταρα] +και	
	μυρα JHR	3 αναφανεντες Soden	5 ημας εξαρτισαι WHmg Soden	6 ανεβημεν] ανεβημεν Soden JHR		
Old Uncial	1 αναχθηναι B <sup>9</sup> om A <sup>12</sup> (A <sup>2</sup> suppl after ημας)	αναχθιντας B	απο- σπασθεντες B	αποσπασθεντας B <sup>1</sup> AC	την 2 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>1</sup> A om O(+D)	2 δια- περων B <sup>1</sup> AC(+D) διαπερων B <sup>2</sup>
	καὶ 1 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>1</sup> NC om A	καταλιποντες B <sup>1</sup> NC καταλειποντες A	επιλοιμεν B <sup>1</sup> NC om A	κατηλθομεν B <sup>1</sup> A κατηχθημεν O	4 αυτου B <sup>1</sup> !	
Antiochian	αυτου A	5 εξαρτισαι ημας BA	ημας εξαρτισαι B <sup>1</sup> NC	εξελθοντες B <sup>1</sup> NC om A	εως BAC om B	6 απησπασαμεθα B <sup>1</sup> NC
	απησπασαμεθα A	ανεβημεν B <sup>1</sup> NC	ανεβημεν B <sup>1</sup> AC	7 κατηντη- σαμεν B <sup>1</sup> NC	κατεβημεν A <sup>1</sup> NC	εμειναμεν B <sup>1</sup> NC επεμειναμεν A
Antiochian	38 om το before πλοιον P	1 αναχθηναι] αχθηναι P	αποσπασθεντας HPS <sup>5</sup>	3 αναφανεντες HLPB	δε] +εις P	καταλειποντες
	HLS	κατηλθομεν] κατηχθημεν HLPB <sup>5</sup>	εκεισε] εκει H	ην το πλοιον HLPB <sup>5</sup>	4 ανευροντες δε] και ανευροντες HLPB <sup>5</sup>	οια τους HLPB
Antiochian	αυτου] αυτου L	επιβαινειν] αναβαινειν HLPB <sup>5</sup>	ιερουσαλημ HLPB <sup>5</sup>	5 ημας εξαρτισαι HLPB <sup>5</sup>	προσηυξαμεθα HLPB <sup>5</sup>	6 απησπασαμεθα
	αλληλους και] και ασπασαμενοι αλληλους HLPB <sup>5</sup>	ανεβημεν] επεβημεν HLPB <sup>5</sup>	8 εξελθοντες] +οι περι τον παυλον HLPB <sup>5</sup>	ηλθον HLPB <sup>5</sup>	ευαγγελιστου] +του S	

38 τοῦ Παύλου κατεφίλουν αὐτόν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ὀδυνώμενοι  
ὅτι εἶπεν οὐκέτι μέλλει [ . . ] τὸ πρόσωπον θεωρεῖν. προέπεμπον  
δὲ αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον.

- XXI [Κα]ὶ ἐπι[β]άντ[ε]ς ἀνήχθημεν, ἀποσπασθέντων δὲ [ἡμῶ]ν  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐθυδρομήσαντες ἦκομεν εἰς Κῶ, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰς  
2 Ῥόδον, καθεῖθεν εἰς Πάταρα καὶ Μύρα· καὶ εὐρόντες πλοῖον  
διαπερῶν εἰς Φ[.]νείκην  
3 εὐώνυμα 337 242  
4 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῖς A L minn

ascendentes navigavimus 3 videntes autem cyprum et relinquentes eas a sinistro d  
collavimus in syriam enavigavimus in tyro ibi erat enim navis expositura onus  
4 et inventis discipulis manamus apud eos dies septem quidam autem paulo dicebant  
per spm non ingredi hierosolyma 5 sequenti autem die exsunt ambulamus viam  
nostram deducantibus omnibus nos cum uxoribus et filius extra civitatem et postis  
genibus in litore oravimus 6 et cum salutassemus invicem reversi vero quisque ad  
sua 7 nos autem navigatione expedita a tyro venimus ptolemaidem et saluavimus  
fratres [et manamus diem unum apud eos 8 [sequenti cum exissemus venimus  
caesaream et cum introissemus in domum philippi evangelistae qui erat de vii

38 ἐπὶ 2°] ✕ usque ad ✓

Harclean

38 In Oodex Bezae Blass (*Ss. Kr.*, 1898, p. 542) reads *μελλε[τ]μαι* for *μελλει[.]*. This recalls *videbitis faciem meam* *gig ash*, and the omission of *αυτον* in D leaves the way open for this restoration. Scrivener's conjecture was *μελλει[σ]ο[ι]*.

1 The addition *και μυρα* D, Pap. Wess. 237 (l. . . .] *μυρα*), similarly *gig* *vg. cold ash*, is significant because it involves a different point of transshipment (cf. xxvii. 5 *μυρα της λυκίας*); either port would be suitable. The reference to a residence of Paul in Myra in the Acts of Paul and Thecla (C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, pp. 50, 52, 55, 58, 212) ought not to be used as evidence for this reading. The words are probably original, and omitted by accident, perhaps by a simple homoeotelenon (ΠΑΤΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΑ). It is more difficult to suppose them added (by dittography); for then we should have to assume a very active-minded scribe acquainted with the geography of south-west Asia Minor. For deliberate change, either by omission or addition, no sufficient motive is easy to assign.

3 *αναφανεντες* B<sup>1</sup>id N minn 'having brought into sight,' although lacking complete parallel, is intelligible and

probably right, as against *αναφανεντες* AC Antiochian, which seems to be a correction to a more familiar participle, but yields no good natural sense.

With regard to the reading of B, the note of Fabiani-Cozza is: "B<sup>2</sup> in fine . . ΦΑΝΑ, B<sup>3</sup> . . ΦΑΝΕ . . alia manus superp. A fecitque ΦΑΝ<sup>4</sup>." To judge by the photographic facsimile, the reading of B<sup>2</sup> was probably *-φανα*.

The reading *a sinistro d* may represent *ευωνυμα* 337 242, intended as an adverb belonging to *επιερχομεν*; hence *ευωνυμα* was perhaps the reading of D.

6 *επεβημεν* NAC, the less usual word, seems to have been corrected in B<sup>1</sup> to *μινν* to *επεβημεν*, and in Antiochian to *επεβημεν*.

In d words between *invicem* and *reversis*, doubtless constituting one line of the archetype, have been accidentally omitted. This is noted in the margin of the ms. by a small uncial α and γ.

7-10 The restoration of the Latin text of d is derived from the statements of Dickinson, with some confirmation from Ussher, Mill, and Wetstein (see note on vs. 15-18). For *eam*, vs. 10 (Dickinson), no explanation is forthcoming.

ἐπτά ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν θυγατέρες τέσσαρες 9  
 παρθένοι προφητεύουσαι. ἐπιμενόντων δὲ ἡμέρας πλείους κατ- 10  
 ἡλθέν τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἀγαθος, καὶ 11  
 ἔλθων πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄρας τὴν ζώνην τοῦ Παύλου δῆσας ἑαυτοῦ  
 τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν· Τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον·  
 Τὸν ἄνδρα οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ ζώνη αὕτη οὕτως δῆσουσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ 12  
 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ παραδώσουσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν. ὥς δὲ ἤκου-  
 σαμεν ταῦτα, παρεκαλούμεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι τοῦ μὴ ἀνα-  
 βαίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. τότε ἀπεκρίθη Παῦλος· Τί ποιεῖτε 13  
 κλαίοντες καὶ συνθρύπτοντές μου τὴν καρδίαν; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ  
 μόνον δεθῆναι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. μὴ πειθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ 14  
 ἡσυχάσαμεν εἰπόντες· Τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γενέσθω.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἐπισκευασάμενοι ἀνεβαίνομεν 15  
 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· συνήλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας 16

Editors 10 δε] +ημων Soden  
 παυλος] +[καὶ εἶπεν] Soden

13 [ο] παυλος WII ο παυλος Soden JILB

Old Uncial 9 θυγατερες τεσσαρες παρθενοι BMA παρθενοι θυγατερες τεσσαρες U 10 δε  
 BAC +αυτων N +ημων N 11 τους ποδας και τας χειρας BNO(+D) τας  
 χειρας και τους ποδας A εις BACX<sup>1</sup> (+D) +τας N 13 απεκριθη BMA  
 +δε O (cf. D) παυλος B ο παυλος B<sup>2</sup>(B<sup>2</sup>Tu)C (cf. D) ο παυλος και ειπεν  
 NA (cf. D) κλαιοντες και BACX<sup>2</sup>(+D) om N εις ιερουσαλημ  
 ετοιμως εχω BNC(+D) ετοιμως εχω εις ιερουσαλημ A ιησου BMA +χριστου  
 C(+D) 15 επισκευασαμενοι BAM<sup>2</sup> επισκευασαμενοι N παρασκευασαμενοι O  
 ανεβαινομεν BACX<sup>2</sup> (cf. D) om N

Armenian 9 παρθενοι τεσσαρες HLPSS 10 δε] +ημων LPS<sup>2</sup> προφητη απο  
 της ιουδαίας I 11 εαυτου] τε αυτου HLPSS<sup>2</sup> τας χειρας και τους  
 ποδας S 13 τοτε απεκριθη] απεκριθη τε HLPSS απεκριθη δε S (cf. D)  
 ο παυλος HLPSS(+D) 14 το θελημα του κυριου HLPSS (cf. D) γενεσθω  
 HLPSS 15 επισκευασαμενοι] επισκεψαμενοι II αποσκευασαμενοι S  
 ανεβαινομεν L(+D) ιερουσαλημ HLPSS<sup>2</sup>

9 Prophetiae, which uses an ancient African text, reads *sic erant uirgines prophetantes*.

11 For hol ✕ cf. *δησουσιν αυτον minu*; *παραδωσουσιν αυτον* 431.

15-18 The text of D in this passage has been destroyed by three successive mutilations of the folio, the first before the collation made for Ussher (not later than 1650), the second before

that of Mill (published 1707), and the last after the copies made by Wetstein (1716) and Dickinson (about 1733), and before the edition of Kipling (1793); but by the aid of the statements of these scholars, and with the use of the untrustworthy transcript made for Whitgift (1583), the text can be restored with almost complete certainty, and is printed above between brackets. See Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*

- 10 ἐπιμενόντων δὲ] + ἡμῶν <sup>h<sup>c</sup></sup> LP  
 11 προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἀγαθος, ἀνελθὼν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄρας τὴν  
 ζώνην τοῦ Παύλου δῆσας ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας  
 εἶπεν· Τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Τὸν ἄνδρα οὗ ἐστίν ἡ ζώνη  
 αὕτη οὕτως δῆσουσιν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ παραδώσου-  
 12 σιν εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν. ὥς δὲ ἠκούσαμεν ταῦτα, παρακαλοῦμεν  
 ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι τὸν Παῦλον τοῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς  
 13 Ἱερουσαλὴμ. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Παῦλος· Τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες  
 καὶ θορυβοῦντές μου τὴν καρδίαν; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ μόνον δεθῆναι  
 βούλομαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐτοίμως ἔχω  
 14 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. μὴ πειθομένου δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ ἡσυχάσαμεν τοῖς εἰπόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ γενέσθω.  
 15 Μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἀποταξάμενοι ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερ[ο-  
 16 σόλυμα]· < . . . > ἐκ Κεσα[ραίας σὺν

13 ποιεῖται

mansimus ad eum 9 qui erant filiae IIII virgines profetantes 10 et mansimus apud d  
 eam . . . . .  
 profeta nomine agabus 11 cum venisset ad nos et tulisset zonam pauli ligavit suos  
 pedes et manus et dixit haec dicit sp̄s sanctus eum virum cui est zona haec sic  
 ligabunt hierusalem iudaei et tradent in manus gentium 12 et vero audivimus haec  
 depraeceabamur nos et incolae loci illius paulum ut non ascenderet hierusalem  
 13 respondit autem ad nos paulus quid facitis plorantes et conturbantes meum cor  
 ego enim non solum ligari volo sed et mori in hierusalem propositum habeo propter  
 nomen dñi xpi ihu 14 cum non suaderetur ei quiescimus dicentes ad invicem  
 voluntas dñi fiat 15 post hos autem dies refecimus nos et ascendimus hierosolyma

13 quid [inquit] facitis lacrimantes et conturbantes cor meum? ego enim Tertullian,  
 non modo vincula pati optaverim, sed etiam mori Hierosolymis pro nomine <sup>Fug. 8</sup>  
 domini mei Jesu Christi. 14 [atque ita omnes aierunt:] fiat voluntas domini.

13 quid fletis [inquit] et contristatis cor meum? at ego non modo vincula <sup>Scorp. 15</sup>  
 Hierosolymis pati optaverim, verum etiam mori pro nomine domini mei Jesu  
 Christi. 14 [atque ita cesserunt dicendo:] fiat voluntas domini.

10 ἡμῶν] <sup>mg</sup> [quum autem] nos [maneremus]  
 \* eum < παραδωσουσιν] tradent \* eum <

11 δρουντων] vincient Hardlean

*Cantabrigiensis*, 1864, pp. x ff.,  
 446 f. From the collation made for  
 Ussher (which is more full than  
 Scrivener was aware) I have been able  
 to correct and complete Scrivener's  
 data; see J. H. Ropes, 'The Recon-  
 struction of the Torn Leaf of Codex

Bezae,' *Harvard Theological Review*,  
 xvi, 1923, pp. 162-168, and R. P.  
 Casey, *ibid.* pp. 392-394. The omis-  
 sion in vs. 15 (both D and d) of *συνελ-  
 θαν δε και των μαθητων* is due to an  
 oversight of the scribe, not to mutila-  
 tion of the codex.

σὺν ἡμῖν, ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνίῳ τινι Κυπρίῳ, ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. γενομένων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀσμένως 17 ἀπεδέξαντο ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοί. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆι ἐ Ὁ Παῦλος 18 σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, πάντες τε παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐξηγείτο καθ' ἑν ἑκάστον ὧν ἐποίησεν 19 ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν διὰ τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες 20 ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, εἰπόν τε αὐτῷ· Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πεπιστευκότων, καὶ πάντες 21 ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν· κατηχήθησαν δὲ περὶ σοῦ ὅτι 22 ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωυσέως τοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη πάντας Ἰουδαίους, λέγων μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα μηδὲ τοὺς 23 ἔθνεσιν περιπατεῖν. | τί οὖν ἐστίν; πάντως ἀκούσονται ὅτι ἐλή-

Editors	21 om παντας JHR πληθος συνελθειν Soden mg	22 παντως] + [δὲ συνελθειν πληθος] Soden + [δὲ ἀκούσονται] + [γὰρ] Soden	
Old Uncial	16 μνασωνι AC (cf. D) μνασων B ιασωνι N 18 δε BO(+D) τε NA om N om N om N 22 παντως BC +δὲ συνελθειν πληθος NAC <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) +γὰρ AN <sup>2</sup> (+D)	19 αυτους BNA αυτου U 20 εδοξασαν N(+D) 21 εν τοις ιουδαιοις BAC (cf. D) om N om A(+D) om N 22 παντως BC +δὲ συνελθειν πληθος NAC <sup>2</sup> (cf. D) +γὰρ AN <sup>2</sup> (+D)	τινι BNC om A δια BAC(+D) ειπον τε BNA 21 δε BAC(N <sup>2</sup> (+D)) λεγων BAC(N <sup>2</sup> ) λεγων N ακουσονται BNC om N
Antiochian	17 απεδεξαντο] εδεξαντο HLPSS <sup>2</sup> αυτοις L θεον] κυριον HPS <sup>2</sup> (+D) +δὲ πληθος συνελθειν HLPSS(+D)	18 τε] γαρ H εν εκαστον] ενα εκαστον II (cf. I) εν τοις ιουδαιοις] ιουδαιων HLPSS <sup>2</sup> ακουσονται] +γὰρ HLPSS(+D)	19 αυτους] 20 ακουοντες III. 22 παντως] +δὲ πληθος συνελθειν HLPSS(+D)

16 *Hcl. mg.*, as far as it goes, is here in substantial agreement with D d, for an inspection of the Syriac ms. shows (as Zahn had conjectured) that the gloss is marked to be attached after *αγοντες*, not at the point wrongly indicated in White's edition. The chief matter of interest in this 'Western' paraphrase is the transfer of Mnason's residence from Jerusalem to "a certain village." The 'Western' text is inherently highly improbable. Its indefinite reference to the 'village' is futile and over-emphasised, especially in view of the extreme interest and importance of the goal of their journey. As their village-host, Mnason is wholly without significance; whereas as a resident of Jerusalem this 'old disciple' was of real consequence to the narrative. Moreover, the travellers would probably spend as much as two nights on the way (not less than

sixty miles) before reaching Jerusalem. That the party had to stop somewhere over night between Caesarea and Jerusalem is well within the range of the glossator's possible knowledge.

D d have omitted a line, of which *simul* d seems to be a survival, representing the *syn-* of *συνελθων*.

20 The omission of *εν τοις ιουδαιοις* by N is probably an accident. That the omission occurs also in the otherwise unimportant minn 3 4 97 209 is probably due to homoeoteleuton in the Antiochian text (*ιουδαιων, πεπιστευκοτων*). The reading *εν τοις ιουδαιοις* of BAC<sup>2</sup> e vg Ambst is to be preferred to the 'Western' *εν τη ιουδαία* I d *μικρην περὴν σαλ* Jerome (once only; twice *judaeorum*) Aug. *hpr.* 82, 9, in which the awkwardness of the B-text has been avoided. The Antiochian revisers made the sentence run more smoothly by altering to *ιουδαιων*.



ἡμεῖν· οὗτοι δὲ ἡγαγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς οὓς ξενισθώμεν. καὶ παρα-  
 γερόμενοι εἰς τινα κώμην ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ Νάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ  
 17 μαθητῇ ἀρχαίῳ. κακεῖθεν ἐξιόντες ἦλθομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα·  
 18 ὑπεδέξαντο δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀσμένως οἱ ἀδελφοί. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆι  
 ὁ Παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰάκωβον·] ἦσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ οἱ πρε-  
 19 σβύτεροι συνηγμένοι. οὓς ἀσπασάμενος διηγεῖτο ἐν ἑκάστον  
 20 ὡς ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν διὰ τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ. οἱ  
 δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐδόξασαν τὸν κύριον εἰπόντες· Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφέ,  
 πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τῶν πεπιστευκότων, καὶ  
 21 πάντες οὗτοι ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν· κατήχησαν δὲ  
 περὶ σοῦ ὅτι ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωσέως τοὺς κατὰ  
 ἔθνη† εἰσὼν† Ἰουδαίους μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα μήτε  
 22 ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ περιπατεῖν. | τί οὖν ἐστίν; πάντως δεῖ  
 23 πληθεὺς συνελθεῖν, ἀκούσονται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλήλυθας. τοῦτο οὖν

19 εν] ενα	20 εἰσιν] εἰεἰσιν	οὗτοι] τοῖτοι
21 κατήχησαν] κατήκησαν	περὶ] περεῖ	ιουδαίους
εἰσεῖν] εἰνεσιν		

16 de caenarea nobiscum simul quae adluxerunt nos apud quem hospitaremur et d  
 cum venimus in quendam civitatem fuimus ad nasouem quendam cyprium discipulum  
 antiquum 17 et inde exeuntes venimus hierosolyma suscepimus autem nos cum  
 iohanna fratre 18 sequenti autem die introitū paulus noluerunt ad iacobum erant  
 autem cum eo presbyteri conventi 19 cum salutasset eos narrabat per singula quae  
 fecit dñs in gentibus per ministerium ejus 20 ad illi cum audissent clarificaverunt  
 dum dicentes vidēs frater quanta milia sint in judaea qui crediderunt et omnes isti  
 benivolentiores legēs sunt 21 diffinaverunt autem de te quia abscissionem docēs a  
 moysen qui in gentibus sunt judaeos ne circumcidat filios neque gentes ejus ambulant  
 22 quid ergo est utique oportet multitudinem convenire audire enim quia venisti

16-17 *prosous xenisthomen . . . eis ierosolyma*] *ing* apud quem hospitaremur. *Hatclean*  
 et quum venissemus in pagura, fuimus apud Nasouem quendam, Cyprium,  
 ex discipulis primis. et inde exeuntes fuimus in Hierosolymis 19 δι-  
 ηγησας] narrabat \*· un < 21 αὐτοῦ] *my* ejus

21 *εἰσιν* I) is explicable only as imi-  
 tated from d *συνεῖ*.

In omitting *συνεῖ* D d are sup-  
 ported by A 33 boh o (H) vg and  
 all other Latin witnesses, and it  
 may be inferred that in the Greek  
 text on which the 'Western' para-  
 phrase was based the word was lacking.  
 The word is so awkwardly placed that  
 it is hard to believe it original; especially  
 since the improving touch  
 of a copyist would have been more  
 likely to remove it to its appropriate  
 position before *τοῦτο* than to delete it  
 altogether.

On the other hand *λεγων*, itself not  
 superfluous, is omitted by I) d only,  
 without other support, and is to be  
 accepted as genuine.

22 The additional sentence *δεῖ πλη-  
 θεος συνελθεῖν*, with the consequent  
 insertion of *γὰρ* in the following  
 sentence, is probably a 'Western'  
 expansion (I) d o *gig* vg). It  
 must, however, have gained wide  
 acceptance, for it has found its way  
 into NA and was adopted by the  
 Antiochian revisers. It is not found  
 in BO 614 *peah hel. f. x. x. x. x. x.*



- ποίησον ὃ σοι λέγομεν· εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες εὐχὴν  
 24 ἔχοντες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν. τούτους παραλαβὼν ἀγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ δαπάνησον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἵνα ξυρῶνται τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ  
 γνώσκονται πάντες ὅτι ὦν κατήχηνται περὶ <σ>οῦ οὐδὲν ἔστιν,  
 25 ἀλλ' ὅτι πορεύῃ αὐτὸς φυλάσσων τὸν νόμον. περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 πεπιστευκότων ἔθνων οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν πρὸς σέ, ἡμεῖς γὰρ  
 ἀπεστείλαμεν κρείνοντες μηδὲν τοιοῦτον τηρεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ  
 φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐκιδωλόθυτον καὶ αἷμα καὶ πορνείαν.  
 26 τότε Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀγνισθεὶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκ-  
 πλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ ἥ ὅπως† προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ  
 ἑνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν προσφορά.  
 27 Συντελουμένης δὲ τῆς ἑβδομῆς ἡμέρας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ > τῆς  
 Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι ἐληλυθότες θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συν-  
 ἔχον πάντα τὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας,  
 28 | κρᾶζοντες· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλείται, βοηθεῖτε· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος ὁ κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ τόπου τούτου  
 πάντας πανταχῇ διδάσκων, ἔτι καὶ Ἑλλήνας εἰσῆγεν <εἰς ἱερόν  
 29 καὶ ἐκοίνωσεν τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τούτον. ἦσαν γὰρ προεωρα-  
 κότες Τρόφιμον τὸν Ἐφέσιον ἐν τῇ πόλει σὺν αὐτῷ, ὃν ἐνόμισαν

24 πορευη] πορευοι  
 σκωινωησεν

29 ενομισμαμεν

28 βοηθεται

εκοινωσεν]

23 hoc ergo fac quod tibi diximus sunt nobis viri quatuor votum habentes super se d  
 24 hos aliumque purificavit cum illis et erexit in eos ut radant caput et cognoscant  
 omnes quia quae audierunt de te nihil est sed ambulans ipse custodians legem  
 25 de illis vero qui excoliderunt gentibus nihil habent quod dicere in te nos enim  
 scripsimus iudicantes nihil tale observare eos nisi custodirent se a sacrificio et  
 sanguine et fornicatione 26 tunc paulus suscepit viros sequenti die cum ipsis  
 purificatus introivit in templum alimulianus expeditionem alterum purificationis  
 donec oblata est pro uno quoque eorum oblato 27 cum repleret autem eis  
 septimus dies qui ab asia erant iudei venerant videntes eum in templo confuderunt  
 omnem turbam et miserunt super eum manus 28 clamantes viri israhelitarum adiuvate  
 hic est homo qui adversus populum et legem et locum hunc omnes ubique docet  
 insuper et grecos introduxit in templum et communicavit sanctum locum hunc  
 29 erant autem providentes trophimum et ephesium in civitate cum eo quem

25 ἀπεστείλαμεν B1) minn boh hel.  
 ἐπέ, used absolutely, without an  
 object, is common in LXX, but has  
 been altered to the more elegant  
 Greek ἀπεστείλαμεν in the other wit-  
 nesses here; cf. also ἀπεστείλαι, Acts  
 xv. 20.

The 'Western' explanatory ex-  
 pansion of this verse is given with

substantial completeness by D d, and  
 much of it has survived in various  
 other documents. It was founded on  
 a text in which καὶ πνικτον was lacking  
 (so D d sig Aug Ap. 82, 9); but no  
 witness to this verse introduces the  
 (negative) (Golden Rule. The variants  
 of K are due, as usual, to reaction  
 from e.

τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Παῦλος. ἐκεινήθη τε ἡ πόλις ὅλη καὶ 30  
 ἐγένετο συνδρομή τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Παύλου ἐλκον  
 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι. ζητούν- 31  
 των τε αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀνέβη φάσις τῷ χειλιάρχῳ τῆς σπείρης  
 ὅτι ὅλη συγχύνεται Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὃς ἑξαυτῆς λαβὼν στρατιώτας 32  
 καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας κατέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες τὸν  
 χειλιάρχον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπαύσαντο τύπτοντες τὸν  
 Παῦλον. τότε ἐγγίσας ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευσε 33  
 δεθῆναι ἀλύσει διυσί, καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί ἐστὶν πεποι-  
 κώς· | ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλο τι ἐπεφώνουν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ· μὴ δυναμένου δὲ 34  
 αὐτοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὸν θόρυβον ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι  
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, 35  
 συνέβη βασιτάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν βίαν  
 τοῦ ὄχλου, | ἠκολούθει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ κράζοντες· Λίρε 36  
 αὐτόν. μέλλων τε εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν ὁ Παῦλος 37  
 λέγει τῷ χειλιάρχῳ· Εἰ ἔξεστίν μοι εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς σέ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη·  
 Ἑλληνιστὶ γενώσκεις; οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων 38  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἑξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς  
 τετρακισχειλούς ἄνδρας τῶν σεικαρίων; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος· 39  
 Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας, οὐκ  
 ἀσῆμου πόλεως πολίτης· δέομαι δέ σου, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι λαλήσαι  
 πρὸς τὸν λαόν. ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Παῦλος ἐστῶς ἐπὶ 40

Editors 31 συγκεχυνται Soden mg 32 λαβων] παραλαβων WH Soden JHR  
 λαβων WHmg εκατονταρχους Soden

Old Unocal 30 καὶ εὐθεως ἐκλεισθησαν αἱ θυραὶ BACN<sup>o</sup>(+D) ἐκλεισθη (ἐκλεισθησαν N<sup>o</sup>opt)  
 εὐθεως N 31 συγχύνεται BN<sup>o</sup>A(+D) συγκεχυνται N<sup>o</sup> 32 λαβων B  
 παραλαβων NA(+D) 39 εἰμι BAN<sup>o</sup>(+D) om N μοι BAN<sup>o</sup>(+I)  
 +λογον N

Anthoachian 31 τε] δε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> αυτον] αυτων S συγχύνεται] συγκεχυνται  
 HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 32 λαβων] παραλαβων HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) εκατονταρχους HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 33 τότε ἐγγίσας] ἐγγίσας δε HLPSS αυτου] αυτον L τις] +αν HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 34 ἐπεφώνουν] ἐφώνω HLPSS<sup>c</sup> δυναμένου δε αυτου] δυναμένου δε HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 36 κραζον HLPSS<sup>c</sup>(+D) 37 om τι HLPSS(+D) 39 om δε 2<sup>o</sup> L

36 *αὐρε αυτον* is intensified in *εἰς* (*εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ποδῶν*) and *αὐρε* ("take our enemy from the midst"); cf. xxiv. 18 *vg. cod. A.*

39 The omission in D of *οὐκ ἀσῆμου πόλεως πολίτης* is probably due to the

accidental omission of a line in the archetype; cf. d, which has the Latin corresponding to those words, and in which it has consequently been necessary to protract the line to an unusual length.

30 ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσήγαγεν Παῦλος. ἐκενήθη τε ἡ πόλις ὅλη  
καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Παύλου  
31 εἰλκον ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι. [καὶ]  
ζητούντων αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀνέβη φάσις τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τῆς  
32 σπείρης ὅτι ὅλη συνχύννεται Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὃς ἔξαντῆς παραλαβὼν  
στρατιώτας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας κατέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ  
εἰδόντες τὸν χιλιάρχον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπαύσαντο τύ-  
33 πτοντες τὸν Παῦλον. τότε ἐγγίσας ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἐκέλευσεν δεθῆναι ἀλύσειν δυσίν, καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη  
34 καὶ τί ἐστὶν πεποικηκώς· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλα ἐπεφώνουν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ·  
καὶ μὴ δυναμένου αὐτοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὸν θόρυβον  
35 ἐκέλευσε ἄγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο εἰς  
τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, συνέβη τὸν Παῦλον βαστάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν  
36 στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν βίαν τοῦ λαοῦ, ἡκολούθει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος  
37 κρᾶζον ἀναιρεῖσθαι αὐτόν. μέλλων τε εἰσαίεσθαι εἰς τὴν πα-  
ρεμβολήν τῷ χιλιάρχῳ ἀποκρεῖθεις εἶπεν· Εἰ ἔξεστίν μοι λαλήσαι  
38 πρὸς σέ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ἑλληνιστὶ γενώσκεις; | οὐ σὺ εἶ ὁ Ἑγύ-  
πτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς  
39 τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχειλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων; εἶπεν  
δὲ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος ἐν Ταρσῷ δὲ  
τῆς Κιλικίας γεγεννημένος· δέομαι δέ σου, συνχωρήσαι μοι λαλή-  
40σαι πρὸς τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἐστῶς

30 ειλκων 33 τι] τις 34 εκυλευσε 39 δεομαι]  
δαιωμε

pertraxerunt quia in templum induxit paulus 30 et commota est civitas tota et d  
facta est concursio populi et cum adprehenderissent paulum traherant extra templum  
et continuo clusae sunt ianuae 31 et cum quererent eum occidere constitutum est  
tribuno cohortis quia tota confusa est in hierosalem 32 qui statim sumptis militibus  
et centurionibus praevenit ad eos ad illi cum viderent tribunal et milites conve-  
nerunt percontantes paulum 33 tunc cum adprehensisset tribunas conprehendit  
eum et iussit ligari centenis funibus et interrogavit quis sit et quid fecisset 34 alii  
autem illud clamabant in turba et cum non posset scire quid certum esset propter  
tumultum iussit adduci eum in castra 35 cum autem aditus esset in gradibus obligit  
paulum iaculari a militibus propter vim populi 36 sequebatur enim multitudo  
clamans tollite eum 37 et cum iam induceretur in castris tribunus respondens dixit  
ad hos mihi loqui et tu ad ille ait grece novit 38 nomen tu es ille aegyptius qui  
anti hos dies sollicitus et solutus in aerium quatuor milia virorum sicariorum  
39 dixit autem paulus ego homo quidem sum iudeus tarvensis ex cilicia non  
ignotus civitati cuius rogo obsecro autem mihi loqui ad populum 40 et cum

29 εισήγαγε] introduxit \* cum ✓  
igitur ne faciant insurrexionem ✓

31 ιερουσαλημ] + \* vido Hierosolan  
36 το πλῆθος] mg populum



ὁ Παῦλος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν καὶ σείσας τῇ χειρὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, πολλῆς τε ἡσυχείας γενομένης, προσεφώνησεν τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ  
 .XII διαλέκτῳ λέγων· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατέ μου  
 2 τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς νυνεὶ ἀπολογίας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ὅτι τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ  
 3 διαλέκτῳ προσφωνεῖ μάλλον ἡσύχασαν. καὶ φησιν· | Ἐγὼ εἰμι  
 Ἰουδαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας γεγεννημένος, ἀνα-  
 τεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ,  
 παιδευόμενος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου, ζηλωτῆς τοῦ  
 4 θεοῦ καθὼς ἔστε ὑμεῖς πάντες σήμερον, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν  
 ἐδίωξα μέχρι θανάτου, δεσμεύων καὶ παραδιδούς εἰς φυλακὴν ἁν-  
 5 δρας τε καὶ γυναικας, ὡς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρήσει μοι καὶ ὅλον  
 τὸ πρεσβυτέριον· παρ' ὧν ἐπιστολὰς δεξάμενος παρὰ τῶν ἀδελ-  
 6 φῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐπορευόμην ἄξων καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὶ ὄντας δεδεμέ-  
 νους ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἵνα τεμνωρῇθωσιν. ἐγγίζοντι δ[έ] μοι μεσ-  
 7 σσημβρίας Δαμασκῷ ἐξέφνης ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιηστραψέ με[ε]  
 8 φῶς ἱκανὸν ἥπερ ἐμέ, καὶ ἔπεσον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἤκουσα  
 9 ὁ Ναζοραῖος ὃν σὺ διώκεις. οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες τὸ μὲν φῶς  
 εἶδεάσαντο καὶ ἔνφοβοι ἐγένοντο τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ  
 10 λαλοῦντός μοι. | εἶπα δέ· Τί ποιήσω, κύριε; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς  
 με· Ἀναστὰς πορεύου εἰς Δαμασκόν, κακεῖ σοι λαληθήσεται  
 περὶ πάντων

3 εστε] εστι

6 περιστρωψα

portantibus ei tribunus stans paulus in gradibus et movit manum ad eos magnosque d  
 silentio facto allocutus est hebraica lingua dicens

1 viri fratres et patres audite me nunc apud vos recito rationem 2 cum audissent  
 autem quia hebraica lingua alloquitur

3 του θεου] ✕ traditionum paternarum mearum ✕

5 αρχιερεως] Hieroleon

priscorum sacerdotum ✕ Ananias ✕

7 λεγουσης μοι σαυλε σαυλε

τι με διωκεις] my dialecto Hebraea loquentem mihi: Saul, Saul, quid me  
 persequeris? durum est tibi contra stimulos calcitrare

μαρτυριαι B has only the support of  
 ενδιιδιit v.g. του εστας, and is not to  
 be accepted. Zahn suggests as a  
 cause for it the variant επιμαρτυριαι  
 214 223 2147.

6 In D περι με is superfluous after  
 με, and may well be due to con-  
 tamination from the B-text. A text  
 (in several respects similar to D) with  
 με but without περι με is actually  
 found in Athanasius, *Serm. maj. de*

*slide 30*, and is implied by giv v.g.  
*ειρανην* fideit me.

7 For *hol. my* of. *lingua hebraica* giv  
 (nom xxi. 14). The further addition  
 from xxvi. 14 of *σκληρον σοι προς*  
*κεντρα λατεις* is found with minor  
 variation in 255 giv o R v.g. *condit*  
*hol. my* Athanasius (*ut supra*).

10 From vs. 10 to vs. 20 one leaf  
 of D is lacking. In d the lacuna runs  
 from vs. 2 to vs. 10.

λαληθήσεται περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐντέτακταί σοι ποιῆσαι. ὥς δὲ 11  
οὐδὲν ἔβλεπον ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου, χειραγωγού-  
μενος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων μοι ἦλθον εἰς Δαμασκόν. Ἀνανίας 12  
δὲ τις ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, μαρτυρούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων  
τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, ἔλθων πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐπιστὰς εἶπέν 13  
μοι· Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, ἀνάβλεψον· καὶ γὰρ αὕτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀνέβλεψα  
εἰς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν προεχειρίσατό 14  
σε γνῶναι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀκοῦσαι  
φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μάρτυς αὐτῷ πρὸς πάντας 15  
ἀνθρώπους ἔση ὧν ἐώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας. καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; 16  
ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐπικαλεσά-  
μενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ἐγένετο δὲ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἱερου- 17  
σαλήμ καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει  
| καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν λέγοντά μοι· Σπεῦσον καὶ ἔξελθε ἐν τάχει ἐξ 18  
Ἱερουσαλήμ, διότι οὐ παραδέχονται σου μαρτυρίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ.  
καὶ γὰρ εἶπον· Κύριε, αὐτοὶ ἐπίστανται ὅτι ἐγὼ ἡμῃ φυλακίζων 19  
καὶ δέρων κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ 20  
ὅτε ἐξεχύνητο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἡμῖν ἐφесτώσας καὶ συνευδοκῶν καὶ φυλάσσων τὰ ἱμάτια τῶν  
ἀναιρούντων αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Πορεύου, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰς 21  
ἔθνη μακρὰν ἀποστελῶ σε. ἤκουον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ 22  
λόγου καὶ ἐπήραν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν λέγοντες· Λῖρε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς  
τὸν τοιοῦτον, οὐ γὰρ καθῆκεν αὐτὸν ζῆν. κραυγάζοντων τε 23

Editors	10 ἐντέτακται] τετακται WH Soden JHR	11 οὐδὲν ἐβλεπον] οὐκ ἐνεβλεπον
	WH Soden JHR οὐδὲν ἐβλεπον WHing	15 ἐση before μαρτυς instead of after
Old Uncial	20 ἐξεχύνετο] ἐξεχειτο Soden	21 απο-
	στελῶ] ἐξαποστελῶ WH Soden JHR	αποστελῶ WHing
23 τε] δε Soden	23 τε] δε Soden	
	23 τε] δε Soden	
10 ἐντέτακται B	10 ἐντέτακται B	11 οὐδὲν ἐβλεπον B
	οὐκ ἐνεβλεπον B	οὐκ ἐνεβλεπον B
12 εὐλαβῆς B	12 εὐλαβῆς B	13 ἀνέβλεψα B
	ἀνέβλεψα B	ἀνέβλεψα B
14 καὶ 1 <sup>ο</sup> B	14 καὶ 1 <sup>ο</sup> B	15 ἐση after ἀνθρώπων B
	before μαρτυς B	before μαρτυς B
18 ἰδεν B	18 ἰδεν B	20 στεφανου B
	20 στεφανου B	21 αποστελῶ B
22 κραυγάζοντων B	22 κραυγάζοντων B	23 τε] δε B
	23 τε] δε B	23 τε] δε B
10 περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐντέτακται σοι] τι σε δεῖ	10 περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐντέτακται σοι] τι σε δεῖ	11 οὐδὲν ἐβλεπον] οὐκ ἐνεβλεπον
	11 οὐδὲν ἐβλεπον] οὐκ ἐνεβλεπον	12 εὐλαβῆς]
15 ἐση	15 ἐση	16 αὐτον] του κυριου
	16 αὐτον] του κυριου	17 μου] μοι S
18 την μαρτυριαν	18 την μαρτυριαν	20 ἐξεχύν-
	20 ἐξεχύν-	21 συνευδοκων] + τη
22 καθῆκεν]	22 καθῆκεν]	23 τε] δε
	23 τε] δε	



περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐντέτακταί σοι ποιῆσαι] τί σε δεῖ ποιῆσαι  
(οὐ ποιεῖν) 1765 minn

11 ὥς δέ] ἀναστὰς δὲ οὐκ ἐνέβλεπον· ὥς δὲ 1611

13 om εἰς αὐτόν 5

18 ἰδεῖν] <ε>ἰδον & minn

20 μάρτυρος] πρωτομάρτυρος L 614 minn

21 καὶ φυλάσσω τὰ εἰμάρτια τῶν ἀναιρούντων αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν  
πρὸς με· Ἰορεϋόου, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστέλλω σε.

22 ἤκουσαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐπῆραν τὴν φωνὴν  
αὐτ[ῶ]ν λέγοντες· Ἀλρε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὸν τοιοῦτ[ο]ν, οὐ γὰρ

23 καθῆκεν αὐτόν ζῆν. κραυγαζόντων<ν> δὲ καὶ ρειπτόντων<ν> τὰ

quae te oportet facere 11 ut autem surrexit non videbam a claritate lucis illius et d  
ad manum ductus qui mecum erant veni in damascum 12 ananias quidam vir  
timoratus secundum legem et testimonio ab omnibus iudeis 13 cum venisset mi me  
dix[it] mihi sanle saule frater aspi[ce] et ego ipse hora aspexi 14 et dixit mihi de  
patrum nostrorum praecordiuavit te ut cognosceris voluntatem ejus et videre iustum  
et audire vocari ex ore ejus 15 qui eris testis ejus apud omnes homines eorum quae  
vidisti et audisti 16 et nunc quid exoptas surge baptizare et abluere peccata tua  
invocans nomen ejus 17 factum est autem mihi reverso hierusalem orante me in  
templo fieri me in soporem 18 et vidi eum dicentem mihi festina et exi cito de  
hierusalem quia non recipiunt testimonium meum 19 et dixi dñe ipse sciunt quia  
ego eram in carcere includens et caedens per synagogas eos qui credebant in te  
20 et cum affunderetur sanguis stephani martyrís ego eram assistans et consentiens

11 ἀναστὰς] mg [quasi] surrexissim

Harclean

11 οὐδεν ἐβλεπον B (cf. οὐκ ἐβλεπον  
E minn) seems to be a skilful correc-  
tion for οὐκ ἐβλεπον, which is strange  
in the sense of 'was without sight.'

For the 'Western' text with ἀναστὰς  
1611 d gig hol. mg, cf. Ephraim,  
*Hymns et sermones*, ed. Lamy, i.  
p. 203.

αὐτῶν καὶ ρειπτούντων τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ κοινορτὸν βαλλόντων εἰς  
τὸν αέρα | ἐκέλευσεν ὁ χεiliάρχος εἰσαγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμ- 24  
βολήν, εἶπας μάλιστα ἀνετάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐπιγνῶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν  
οὕτως ἐπεφώνουν αὐτῷ. ὥς δὲ προέτειναν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱμαῖον 25  
εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἐστῶτα ἐκατόνταρχον ὁ Παῦλος· Εἰ ἄνθρωπον  
Ῥωμαῖον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν μαστίζειν; ἀκούσας δὲ 26  
ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος προσελθὼν τῷ χεiliάρχῳ ἀπήγγειλεν λέγων·  
Τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν; ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν. | προσ- 27  
ελθὼν δὲ ὁ χεiliάρχος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Λέγε μοι, σὺ Ῥωμαῖός εἰ;  
ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ναί. | ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ χεiliάρχος· Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κε- 28  
φαλαίου τὴν πολειτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη·  
Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι. εὐθέως οὖν ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ 29  
μέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἀνετάζειν· καὶ ὁ χεiliάρχος δὲ ἐφοβήθη ἐπιγνοῦς  
ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἦν δεδεκώς.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον βουλόμενος γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές τὸ τί κατηγο- 30  
ρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν συνελθεῖν  
τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ καταγαγὼν τὸν Παῦλον  
ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς. ἀπενίσας δὲ Παῦλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶπεν· XXXI  
Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ  
θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας ἐπέταξεν 2  
τοῖς παρεστῶσιν αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα. τότε ὁ Παῦλος 3  
πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός, τοῖχε κεκονιανμένη·  
καὶ σὺ κἀπὶ κρέινων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις  
με τύπτεσθαι; | οἱ δὲ παρεστῶτες εἶπαν· Τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ 4

Editors 26 εκατονταρχης WH JHR

1 τω συνεδριω ο παυλος Wiling Noden

Old Uncial 24 επιγνω BNC(+D) γνω A 26 εξεστιν BA(N<sup>o</sup>(+I)) ιστιν N  
26 εκατονταρχος B<sup>o</sup> εκατονταρχης NAC(+D) 27 μοι BA(N<sup>o</sup>(+I)) ομι N  
28 δε 1<sup>o</sup> BNC om A την BNA(+D) om (I) δε 3<sup>o</sup> BAN<sup>o</sup>(+I) om NU  
γεγεννημαι BNC(+D) γεγενημαι A 29 δε BACN<sup>o</sup> om N 1 παυλος  
τω συνεδριω B τω συνεδριω ο παυλος NAO 2 επιταξεν BNA εκελισεν (I)  
αυτω BACN<sup>o</sup> om N 3 προς αυτον before ειπεν BA after ειπεν U  
before ο παυλος N

Anthochoian 23 ρειπτουντων] ριπτωντων HLS(+D) 24 ο χεiliάρχος εισαγεσθαι αυτον]  
αυτον ο χιλιάρχος αγεσθαι HLPSS 25 προστειναν] προστινεν I<sup>o</sup> προστινεν  
HS μαστιζειν υμιν H 26 απηγγειλεν τω χιλιάρχω HLLH<sup>o</sup>  
λογων] +ορα HLPSS(+D) 27 αυτω] τω παυλω L μοι] +ει IL<sup>o</sup>  
28 δε 1<sup>o</sup> τη HLPSS om L om ο δε παυλος ιφη H 29 ην αυτον HLLH<sup>o</sup>  
30 υπο] παρα HLPSS αυτον] +απο των δεσμων HLPSS συνελθεν]  
ελθειν HPLSS παν] ολον HLPSS συνεδριον] +αυτων HLLH<sup>o</sup>  
1 ο παυλος HLPSS

24 εἰμάτια καὶ κονιορτὸν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν | ἐκέλευσεν ὁ  
 χειλιάρχος εἰσάγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, εἰπας μάλιστα  
 ἀνετάξω αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐπιγνῶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως κατεφώνουν περὶ  
 25 αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ προσέτιωαν αὐτὸν τοῖς εἰμᾶσιν εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν  
 ἐστῶτα ἑκατοντάρχην· Εἰ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπον Ῥωμαίων  
 26 καὶ ἀκατάκριτον μαστίζειν; τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης ὅτι  
 Ῥωμαῖον ἑαυτὸν λέγει προσελθὼν τῷ χειλιάρχῳ [...] πῆγγειλεν  
 αὐτῷ· Ὅρα τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν· [ὁ] ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός  
 27 ἐστίν. τότε προσελθὼν ὁ χειλιάρχος ἐπρώτησεν αὐτόν· Λέγε  
 28 μοι, σὺ Ῥωμαῖός εἓ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Εἰμί. | καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ  
 χειλιάρχος [καὶ] εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ οἶδα πύσου κεφαλαίου τὴν  
 πολειτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην. Παῦλος δὲ ἔφη· Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ  
 29 γεγέννημαι. τότε ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

δεδεκώς] + καὶ παραχρήμα ἔλυσεν αὐτόν 614 1611  
 30 τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον] τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ 1518 2138 (614)  
 Ἰουδαίων] + πέμψας 614 1611 minn

26 ἐπῆγγειλεν Weistain, Kipling

4 sic insulis in nasariorum dei malachismo?

4 dei om. R<sup>h</sup> 46, most codd.

Cyprian,  
 Ep. 3, 2;  
 50, 4; 60, 8

26 αὐτῷ] \* εἰ ✓ 28 δε καὶ αὐτὸν οἶον] \* in ea ✓ 29 καὶ Hirsolan  
 παραχρήμα ἔλυεν αὐτὸν] \* et statim solvit eum ✓ 30 πέμψας] \* misit ✓

26 ἑκατοντάρχος D<sup>h</sup> K<sup>h</sup> Antiochian. The value of the confirmation of B by the Antiochian text is here diminished by the fact that the latter shows in Acts a certain tendency to adopt the second-declension form of this word.

The reading ἐπῆγγειλεν in D is attested by Weistain (1716) and Kipling (before 1798). These collators may have been able to read more than is possible to-day; in any case ἐπῆγγειλεν is out of the question for the text of Acts.

28 Bede, *Kermathia*, supported in part and with minor variation by vg. coad<sup>h</sup> and Bohemian version, knew the following text of the first half of this verse: *domi trinitatis, tam facile dico esse romani esse? ego enim scio quanto pretio constitutum istam murem.* This may be a 'Western' survival,

otherwise unattested (except for οἶδα πύσου D), or may be a Latin expansion. For *hel. sup. of. us vs. vg. cod. 12.*

29 From this point on, to the end of Acts, Codex Bezae is lacking. The Latin note stops in the middle of vs. 20.

29, 30 The 'Western' addition in vs. 29 of καὶ παραχρήμα ἔλυεν αὐτόν makes ἔλυεν αὐτόν καὶ in vs. 30 otiose, and that phrase is omitted by B<sup>h</sup>. The insertion before ἔλυεν, vs. 30, of πέμψας 614 1611 minn, 'misit' *hel* \*, suggests that the 'Western' text here substituted πέμψας for ἔλυεν.

4 The translation used by Cyprian, *sic insulis in nasariorum dei malachismo*, perhaps shows that the 'Western' text offered here some kind of intensifying expression, but Zahn's rendering *unter waspadas eis ton iera tou theou laidaron* is not convincing.

λοιδορεῖς· | ἔφη τε ὁ Παῦλος· Οὐκ ᾔδew, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν 5  
 Ex. xxii. 28 ἀρχιερεὺς· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἔρεῖς  
 κακῶς. γνούς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐστὶν Σαδδουκαίων 6  
 τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Φαρισαίων ἐκραζεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,  
 ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι, υἱὸς Φαρισαίων· περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀνα-  
 στάσεως νεκρῶν κρείνομαι. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἐπέπεσε 7  
 στάσις τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων, καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος.  
 Σαδδουκαῖοι γὰρ λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε 8  
 πνεῦμα, Φαρισαῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν τὰ ἀμφότερα. ἐγένετο δὲ 9  
 κραυγὴ μεγάλη, καὶ ἀναστάντες τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων τοῦ  
 μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων διεμάχοντο λέγοντες· Οὐδὲν κακὸν εὗρί-  
 σκομεν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ  
 ἄγγελος· πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης στάσεως φοβηθεὶς ὁ χειλιάρχος 10  
 μὴ διασπασθῇ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν τὸ στράτευμα  
 καταβὰν ἀρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, ἄγειν εἰς τὴν παρεμβο-  
 λήν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν· Θάρσει, 11  
 ὥς γὰρ διεμαρτύρω τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ οὕτω σε δεῖ  
 καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι. γενομένης τε ἡμέρας ποιήσαντες 12  
 συστροφήν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες μήτε

Editors	6 νεκρῶν] +εγω WHmg JHR	7 λαλοῦντος] εἰπαυτος WHmg Soden
	ἐπέπεσε] ἐγενετο WH Soden JHR	ἐπέπεσεν WHmg
	+μεν WHmg Soden JHR	10 γενομένης Soden
	Soden JHR	12 τε] δε WH Soden JHR
		τε WHmg
		8 σαδδουκαῖοι] αγειν] +τε WHmg

Old Unal	5 οτι 2 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>NA</sup> om C	6 ἐκραζεν B <sup>NO</sup> ἐκραζεν A	νεκρῶν B
	+εγω B <sup>AC</sup> ( <sup>1</sup> )C <sup>a</sup>	7 λαλοῦντος B λαλησαντος C εἰπαυτος B εἰπαυτος A <sup>NO</sup>	
	ἐπέπεσε B ἐπέπεσε B <sup>a</sup> n <sup>d</sup> ἐγενετο B <sup>AC</sup>	φαρισαίων καὶ σαδδουκαίων B <sup>AC</sup>	
	σαδδουκαίων καὶ φαρισαίων B	8 σαδδουκαῖοι B +μεν B <sup>AC</sup>	
	9 τινες τῶν γραμματέων B <sup>h</sup> τινες ἐκ τῶν γραμματέων C τινες A	του	
	μερους B <sup>NO</sup> om A	διεμάχοντο B <sup>AC</sup> +προς ἀλλήλους B	en B <sup>AC</sup> 81
	om B	10 γενομένης στάσεως B <sup>h</sup> στασεως γενομένης A <sup>C</sup> 81	υτ
	B <sup>NA</sup> 81 a <sup>p</sup> C	ἐκ μεσου αὐτῶν B <sup>AC</sup> 81 om B	αγειν B αγειν τε
	B <sup>NO</sup> αγειν δε 81 απαγειν τε A	11 θαρσει B <sup>NA</sup> C +παυλε 81	διεμαρτυρω
	B <sup>NA</sup> 81 διεμαρτυρου C	12 τε B δε B <sup>AC</sup> 81	λεγοντες B <sup>NA</sup> 81 om
	C <sup>h</sup>		

Antiochian	5 om οτι 2 <sup>ο</sup> HLP <sup>SS</sup>	6 ἕτερον] +των L	ἐκραζεν HLP <sup>SS</sup>
	φαρισαίων 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] φαρισαῖοι HLP <sup>SS</sup>	νεκρῶν] +εγω HLP <sup>SS</sup>	7 λαλησαντος
	HLP <sup>SS</sup>	ἐπέπεσε] ἐγενετο HLP <sup>SS</sup>	των σαδδουκαίων HLP <sup>SS</sup>
	om καὶ σαδδουκαίων P	8 σαδδουκαῖοι] +μεν HLP <sup>SS</sup>	μητε 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] μηδε
	HLP <sup>SS</sup>	9 τινες τῶν γραμματέων] γραμματεῖς HLP	οι γραμματεῖς B <sup>S</sup>
	ἄγγελος] +μη θεομαχῶμεν HLP <sup>SS</sup>	10 γενομένης HLP <sup>SS</sup>	φοβηθεῖς]
	εὐλαβηθεῖς HLP <sup>SS</sup>	καταβαν] καταβηναι καὶ HLP <sup>SS</sup>	αγειν] +τε HLP <sup>SS</sup>
	11 θαρσει] +παυλε HLP <sup>SS</sup>	12 τε] δε HLP <sup>SS</sup>	συστροφην οι ιουδαιοι]
	τινες τῶν ιουδαίων συστροφήν HLP <sup>SS</sup>	συστροφὴν τινες τῶν ιουδαίων L	

XXIII 6 om νεκρῶν 1898 minn

10 ἀγειν] + τε NAC HLPS

11 θάρσει] + Παύλε HLPS

12 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων HLPS

8 confitentur esse resurrectionem et angelum et] spm̄. 9 et cum clamor ortus h  
esset inter eos, divi[debantur]: et quidam de scribis et parte Phariseorum  
co[n]tradice[bant], dicentes: quid autem mali in hoc homine [inveni]mus?  
sarp[us] locutus est ad eum vel angelus? 10 [et cū] e[s]set inter illos magna  
dissensio, timens t[ri]bunus] ne carperetur ab eis Paulus, jussit numerum  
[militū] venire, et rapere eum de medio ipsorum, et ad[ducere] in castra.  
11 sequenti autem nocte adstitit ei d[omi]n[us], et ait]: bono animo esto, Paule:  
quomodo enim testi[monium] perhibebas Hierosolymis, ita oportet et Rom[ae]  
testi[monium] dicere 12 et cum dies factus est, congregaverunt se quidam  
ex Judeis, et devoverunt se, di[centes] neque edere neque vivere donec occi-

6 viri [inquit] fratres, ego Phariseus sum, filius Phariseorum, de spe nunc Tertullian,  
et de resurrectione judicor apud vos. Res. carn. 39

9 [non te terremus, qui nec timemus, sed velim ut omnes salvos facere Scap. 4  
possimus monendo μὴ θεομαχεῖν.]

5 nesciebam, fratres, quia pontifex est. scriptum est enim: principem tuae Cyprian,  
plebis non maledices. Ep. 8, 2;

5 principi Ep. 59

plebis tuae Ep. 8

6 περὶ ἐλπίδος] ✕ et ✓ de spe

12 λεγομεν] mg dicentes

Harelean

6 The omission of *ἐγώ* before *κρυσσομαι*  
by B is supported only by *gag* (and  
the free rendering of Tert, cf. Acts

xxiv. 21), and is not to be accepted.

10 The omission of *τε* B 69 is prob-  
ably an accidental error.

φαγεῖν μήτε πεῖν ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸν Παῦλον. ἦσαν δὲ 13  
 πλείους τεσσαράκοντα οἱ ταύτην τὴν συνωμοσίαν ποιησάμενοι·  
 οἷτινες προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις 14  
 εἶπαν· Ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἑαυτοὺς μηδεὶς γεύσασθαι  
 ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωμεν τὸν Παῦλον. νῦν οὖν ὑμεῖς ἐμφανίσατε 15  
 τῷ χειλιάρχῳ σὺν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὅπως καταγάγῃ αὐτὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 ὥς μέλλοντας διαγινώσκειν ἀκρειβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγίσει αὐτὸν ἑτοιμοὶ ἐσμεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. ἀκού- 16  
 σας δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς Παύλου τὴν ἐνέδραν παραγενάμενος  
 καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπήγγελεν τῷ Παύλῳ. προσ- 17  
 καλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἕνα τῶν ἑκατονταρχῶν ἔφη· Τὸν νεα-  
 νίαν τοῦτον ἄπαγε πρὸς τὸν χειλιάρχον, ἔχει γὰρ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι  
 αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν πρὸς τὸν χειλιάρχον 18  
 καὶ φησιν· Ὁ δέσμιος Παῦλος προσκαλεσάμενός με ἠρώτησεν  
 τοῦτον τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς σέ, ἔχοντά τι λαλήσαι. ἐπι- 19  
 λαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ χειλιάρχος καὶ ἀναχωρήσας  
 κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπυνθάνετο· Τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἔχεις ἀπαγγεῖλαι μοι; | εἶπεν 20  
 δὲ ὅτι Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέθεντο τοῦ ἐρωτήσαί σε ὅπως αὖριον  
 τὸν Παῦλον καταγάγῃς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὥς μέλλων τι ἀκρει-  
 βέστερον πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· σὺ οὖν μὴ πεισθῇς αὐτοῖς, 21

Editors	15 eis] pros Soden WHmg Soden	17 ἀπαγαγε Soden λαλήσαι] +σοι WH Soden JHR	18 νεανίαν] νεανισκον 20 μελλον JHR
Old Uncial	12 ἀποκτείνωσιν B <sup>90</sup> 81 ἀνελωσιν A διαγινώσκειν ἀκρειβέστερον B <sup>90</sup> A 81 ακριβεστερον γινωσκειν O του 2 <sup>o</sup> BAC <sup>90</sup> 81 om S 16 παρεμβολην B <sup>90</sup> 81 συναγωγην A 17 εφη B <sup>90</sup> A ειπεν O 81 απαγε B <sup>90</sup> 81 απαγαγε AC απαγγελται τι BA 81 τι απαγγελται NC 18 νεανίαν B νεανισκον NA 81 λαλήσαι B +σοι B <sup>90</sup> NA 81 19 επι- λαβομενος BA <sup>90</sup> 81 επιλαβομενου S κατ ιδιαν επυνθανετο B <sup>90</sup> 81 επυν- θανετο κατ ιδιαν A 20 μελλων BA 81 μελλον S μελλοντων S <sup>90</sup>		
Antiochian	13 πεποιηκοτες HPS <sup>5</sup> ποιησαντες L αυτον καταγαγη HPS <sup>5</sup> eis] pros HLPSS <sup>5</sup> HLPSS <sup>5</sup> 17 απαγαγε HLPSS <sup>5</sup> 18 λαλήσαι] +σοι HLPSS <sup>5</sup> 20 eis το συνεδριον καταγαγης τον παυλον HPS <sup>5</sup> καταγαγης τον παυλον eis το συνεδριον L μελλοντα HLPSS <sup>5</sup> μελλοντες S ακριβεστερον] +τι S πυνθανεσθαι] +τι H		15 οπως] +αυριον HLPSS <sup>5</sup> 16 την ενεδραν] το ενεδρον τι απαγγελται HLPSS <sup>5</sup>

15 Comparison of *h gig Lucifer* hol. *mg sah* points to a Greek 'Western' text approximately as follows (partly taken from Zahn). νυν ουν ερωτωμεν υμας τουτο ημιν παρεχειν συναγαγοντες το συνεδριον εμφανισατε τω χειλαρχω οπως καταγαγη αυτον εις υμας. The substitution here of συναγαγοντες το

συνεδριον for συν τω συνεδριω is a distinct improvement on the part of the 'Western' paraphrast, and probably does justice to the meaning of the somewhat obscure original. Other details require mention as follows: (1) *peite a* [ἐνέδρῳ] *h* is probably only a free translation of the usual

- 15 om σύν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (1829)  
om τὰ 614 2138  
ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν] + ἐὰν δέη καὶ ἀποθανεῖν 614 2147  
19 ἐπυνθάνετο] + παρ' αὐτοῦ 1838  
20 μέλλων] μέλλοντες minn  
περὶ] παρ' 1838

der[ent Paulū]. 13 erut autem plus xl qui se devoverant: 14 acces[erunt] h itaque ad sacerdotes et majores natu, et dix[erunt]: (devobimus nos ne quid gustemus in totum, d[on]ec o[mn]i[us]damus Paulum. 15 nunc itaque rogamus vos ho[c]: nobis] praestetis; congregate concilium, et petite a [tribuno] uti deducant eum ad vos, tamquam certius al[iquid] in[qu]isitur de eo nos autem parati erimus ad ne[cand]um] eum, licet oporteat ad nos mori 16 sed cum aud[ivisset] juvenis filius sororis Pauli conventionem eo[rum], venit in cas[tra], et intravit ad Paulum, et indicavit ei. 17 [et voca]vit Paulus unum ex centurionib[us], et dixit ei: juve[nem] ist[um] duc ad tribunal. habet enim quod illi in[dicet]. 18 qu[ia] confestim adduxit juvenem ad tribunal, t[ame]n habet e[um] quod illi inducit qui confestim adduxit ju[venem] ad tribunal] dicens: victus me Paulus vocavit [ad se, rog]ans uti istum perducerem ad te: quia habet quod [indicet]. t[ame]n. 19 adprehensa autem manu ejus, tribunus [. . .]nes et secersit eum eo et inquirebat ab eo, quid [esset] q[uo]d haberet illi dicere. 20 qui ait. Judaeis conven[it] roga[ret] te crastina die, ut deducas Paulum in concil[ium], t[ame]nquam volentes certius ab eo aliquid inquire[re]: 21 ergo tu ne suadaris:

13 τεσσαρεκοντα] quadraginta \* viri ✓ 15 υμεις . . . εις υμας] mg Haroldan  
rogamus vos ut hoc nobis faciatis, ut quum congregaveritis congregationem,  
inducetis tribuno ut producat eum ad nos ean δεη και αποθανειν] mg etiamsi  
necesse sit mori εγγισαι αυτον] appropinquet \* ad vos ✓ 16 την  
εφεδραν] insidias \* has ✓ 17 εφη] dixit \* ei ✓ 18 ηρωτησεν]  
petuit \* a me ✓

Greek text, (2) *deducant* h is an error; (3) *eis* (or *pros*) *umas* minn hol. mg sah. dest. odd. is due to accidental or thoughtless error; (4) *inquisitur* h perhaps points to a Greek reading *meλλοντες*, which may be intended by the contraction in 81 (cf. Tregelles, *Greek New Testament* ad loc.); but the variation does not affect the sense.

The point of attachment for the addition *etiamsi necesse sit mori* hol. mg is wrongly stated in White's edition. In the ms. the indication follows the words which represent *του ανελεν αυτον*.

19 The reconstruction of h proposed by Buchanan [*apud omnes*] is very doubtful. Berger proposed [*ante homi- nes*]; Zahn suggests [*ejusdem omnes*], recommended by the following *et*.

20 *μελλον* N 83 is probably the

original reading here, as the sense requires that the ostensible motive be ascribed to the sanhedrim or to the Jews, *μελλον* BA 81 minn is a not unusual error of spelling; the Antiochian *μελλοντα* is peculiarly unfortunate *μελλοντες* minn h pesh hol. text sah, and *μελλοντων* B<sup>o</sup> minn, one or the other of which underlies *gig* vg, are secondary, but yield the correct meaning. *e* has *volens*, which is ambiguous; E, interpreting this as nominative masculine, has derived therefrom the reading *μελλον*, and must not be taken as supporting BA 81, although it happens to agree with them. It is barely possible that h *e* pesh point to a 'Western' reading with some form of *θελω*.

The reading of h was *convers[us]*, a blunder for *convenit*, to which the diorthotas corrected it.

ἐνεδρεύουσιν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες πλείους τεσσεράκοντα, οἷτινες ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτοὺς μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πίνειν ἕως οὐ ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν, καὶ νῦν ἐκὶδὸν ἔτοιμοι προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν χειλιάρχος ἀπέλυσε τὸν νεανίσκον 22 παραγγείλας μηδενὶ ἐκλαλῆσαι ὅτι ταῦτα ἐνεφάνισας πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενός τιςας δύο τῶν ἑκατονταρχῶν εἶπεν· Ἔτοι- 23 μάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους ὅπως πορευθῶσιν ἕως Καισαρείας, καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δεξιολάβους διακοσίους, ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός, κτήνη τε παραστήσαι ἵνα ἐπιβιβάσαν- 24 τες τὸν Παῦλον διασῶσι πρὸς Φήλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα, γράψας 25 ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον· Κλαῦδιος Λυσίας τῷ 26 κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι χαίρειν. τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον συλλημ- 27 φθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ μέλλοντα ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιστὰς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξελάμην, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν, βουλόμενός τε ἐπιγινῶναι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ· 28 | ὃν εὖρον ἐγκαλούμενον περὶ ζητημάτων τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν, μηδὲν 29

27 ἀναιρεῖσθαι

Editors	28 δυο τιςας Soden mg	24 διασωσι] διασωσωσι WH Soden JHR
	28 τε] δε Soden mg	αὐτω] + [κατηγαγον εις το συνεδριον αυτων] WH + κατηγαγον αυτος εις το συνεδριον αυτων Soden + κατηγαγον εις το συνεδριον αυτων JHR
Old Uncial	21 ειςιν B <sup>a</sup> vid	22 νεανισκον BNA νεανιαν 81 παραγγειλας BNA
	+αυτον 81	28 τιςας δυο B <sup>a</sup> 81 δυο τιςας A δεξιολαβους B <sup>a</sup> 81
	δεξιολαβους A	24 διασωσι B διασωσωσι B <sup>3</sup> (?) (B <sup>3</sup> Tdi) NA 81 25 εχουσιν B <sup>a</sup> 81 περιεχουσιν A 28 τε BNA δε 81 αὐτω B 81 +κατηγαγον (+αυτον B <sup>3</sup> ) εις το συνεδριον αυτων BNA
Antiochian	21 om πλείους S	ετοιμοι εισι HLPSS
	HLPSS	22 νεανισκον] νεανιαν HLPSS
	28 δυο τιςας HLPSS	24 om τε H
	25 εχουσιν] περιεχουσιν HLPSS	διασωσι] διασωσωσι
	supplied in mg, apparently by H*)	26 om φηλικι H (bu
	28 τε] δε HLPSS	27 εξελαμην] +αυτον HLPSS
	επιγινωμαι] γινωμαι HLPSS	αὐτω] +κατηγαγον
	αυτος εις το συνεδριον αυτων HLPSS	

23 (1) The reconstruction [*armati*] h is supported by seven minuscules (von Soden) and possibly by the language of Cassiodorus, *Completiones* ad loc.

(2) Corresponding to the closing words of vs. 23 and the opening words of vs. 24 in h, we read in vg.codex colbertinus (after απο τριτης ωρας της νυκτος): *ἐντὶ παρατί σῶντε ἐπὶ συντιοντιβου πραιοσφί σῶντε*, and in cod. wernigerod.: *ἐπὶ παρατί ἐντὶ σῶντε*. The reading of hcl.mg is wrongly attached

and is mistranslated by White. It is also wrongly attached (after *ειπεν* [αὐτῶν]) in the Hardelean ms. itself, for it plainly belongs at the close of the verse, the main body of which is shown by neighbouring marginal notes to have been present in the text from which these notes are taken. The meaning of hcl.mg is probably, as given above, *ἀπαιρῶντι*: *παρατί σῶντι σῶντε*; although the copula may in itself be rendered equally well *σιντ*



- 22 om ταῦτα 88 915  
 23 om τινας 1881 1888  
 om διακοσίους 1° 920  
 στρατιώτας] + ἐνόπλους 88 915 minn  
 ἐβδομήκοντα] ἑκατὸν 614 1611  
 24 Παῦλον] + νυκτὸς 614 1611  
 διασῶσι] + εἰς Καισαρείαν 614 1611 2147  
 25 γράψας . . . τοῦτον] ἐφοβήθη γὰρ μήποτε ἀρπάσαντες αὐτὸν  
 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτείνωσι, καὶ αὐτὸς μεταξὺ ἔγκλησιν ἔχη ὡς  
 ἀργύριον εἰληφώς· ἔγραψε δὲ ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν τάδε 614  
 (2147)  
 29 εὐρον] εὐρῶν 614  
 αὐτῶν] + Μωυσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τινος 614 2147

sunt enim ex eis plures homin[um] XL parati qui eum interficiant. qui et devo-  
 verunt [se null]am rem gustatuos, quoadusq. hoc agant [et nunc] parati sunt,  
 sperantes pollicitationem tuam. 22 et [tribun]us quidam juvenem illum di-  
 misit, praecipiens [ne quis] sciret quod sibi nuntiasset. 23 et vocavit duos [ex  
 centurionibus, et dixit: praeparate milites qui eant [armati] usq. in Caesarea,  
 equites centum et pedites du[centos]. e]t ad hora novis tertiam impeiat ut  
 parati [essent ad] eundem: 24 et centurionib[us] praecepit uti jumenta [praepara-  
 rent et inponerent Paulum, et deducerent per noc[tem]

23 ειπεν] dixit ✕ us ✓ εκατον] mg centum 24 κτηνη τε Harclean  
 παρασῆσαι] mg dixerunt: Parati erunt exire. et centurionibus jussit ut etiam  
 jumentum pararent νυκτὸς] mg per noctem εἰς καισαρειαν] ✕ in  
 Caesaream ✓ 25 ἐφοβήθη γὰρ . . . ἀργύριον εἰληφώς] ✕ timebat enim  
 ne forte raperent eum Judaei, occiderent eum, et ipse postea calumnias sustineret  
 tanquam qui pecuniam acceperasset ✓ ἐγραψε δὲ ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν τάδε]  
 mg scripsit autem epistolam in qua erant haec 29 μωυσεως και ιησου τινος]  
 mg Moses et Jesu cujusdam

or *sunt* or *estote*. In any case *hol. mg* attests a genuine 'Western' expansion, which also underlies the Latin of h.

(3) *ἐβδομήκοντα* B<sup>75</sup>A 81 Antiochian, *εκατον* 614 1611 h *hol. mg* sah.

(4) The internal difficulty of the verse is avoided by h, which, if a literal rendering, implies, as the Greek original, *στρατιώτας* without *διακοσίους* and the omission of *και* before *ιππεις*. But whether this thoroughly intelligible text, which treats *στρατιώτας* as including the *ιππεις* and *δεξιόδμοι*, is really due to the Greek or to improvement by a translator remains hard to say. The apparently isolated

reading of 920, which omits *διακοσίους* after *δεξιόδμοις*, is not of sufficient weight to give any help.

25 The additional sentences of the 'Western' text constitute a substitute for *γράψας ἐπιστολὴν εχουσιν τον τυπον τουτον*, and should follow *ηγεμωνα*, vs. 24, as they do in 2147 *perp gig* *hol. ✕* and *mg*, *vg. codd*; cf. Cassiodorus. In the conflate text of 614 the gloss is inserted inappropriately after *τουτον*, vs. 25.

28 The omission of *κατηγαγον εἰς το συνεδριον αυτων* B 81 is by homoeoteleuton. Were the words written in the margin of B before the *ms.* was issued from the scriptorium?

δὲ ἄξιον θανάτου ἢ δεσμῶν ἔχοντα ἔγκλημα. μηνυθείσης δὲ 30  
μοι ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔσεσθαι ἐξαυτῆς ἔπεμψα πρὸς σέ,  
παραγγείλας καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοῦ.  
οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται κατὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες 31  
τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα· τῇ δὲ 32  
ἐπαύριον ἑάσαντες τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀπέρχεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπέστρεψαν  
εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν· οἷτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Καισαρείαν καὶ 33  
ἀναδόντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ ἡγεμόνι παρέστησαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον  
αὐτῷ. ἀναγνούς δὲ καὶ ἐπερωτήσας ἐκ ποίας ἐπαρχείας ἐστὶν 34  
καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, | Διακούσομαί σου, ἔφη, ὅταν 35  
καὶ οἱ κατήγοροί σου παραγένωνται· κελεύσας ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ  
τῷ Ἡρώδου φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτόν.

Μετὰ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας μετὰ XXIV  
πρεσβυτέρων τινῶν καὶ ῥήτορος Τερτύλλου τινός, οἷτινες ἐν-  
εφάνισαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου. κληθέντος δὲ ἡρᾶτο 2  
κατηγορεῖν ὁ Τέρτυλλος λέγων· Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες  
διὰ σοῦ καὶ διορθωμάτων γενομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς  
σῆς προνοίας | πάντῃ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα, κράτιστε 3  
Φῆλιξ, μετὰ πάσης εὐχαριστίας. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλεόν σου ἐν- 4  
κόπτω, παρακαλῶ ἀκοῦσαί σε ἡμῶν συντόμως τῇ σῇ ἐπεικέῃα.  
εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτον λοιμὸν καὶ κεινοῦντα στάσεις 5  
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πρωτοστάτην τε

Editions	90 εξαυτης] εξ αυτων Soden	τα προς αυτον Soden JHR	σου]
	+ερρωσο Soden	35 τω ηρωδου] του ηρωδου WH JHR	τω ηρωδου WHmg
	om τω Soden	2 δε] +[αυτου] WH	+αυτου Soden JHR
Old Uncial	29 δε B <sup>9</sup> A om 81	30 εξαυτης B εξ αυτων B <sup>9</sup> A 81	προς αυτον B
	τα προς αυτον 81 αυτους B <sup>9</sup> A	επι σου B <sup>9</sup> A om 81	σου BA
	+ερρωσο B <sup>9</sup> 81	32 υπεστρεψαν BA 81 επεστρεψαν B	34 κιλικιας
	B <sup>9</sup> A vid 81 +εστω B <sup>9</sup> A	35 κελευσας B <sup>9</sup> A <sup>9</sup> 81 κελευσαντος B	τω
	ηρωδου B του ηρωδου B <sup>9</sup> A 81	1 πεντε B <sup>9</sup> 81 +τινας A	2 δε B
	+αυτου B <sup>9</sup> A 81	4 εκκοπτω B <sup>9</sup> A <sup>9</sup> 81 κοπτω A <sup>9</sup> vid	συντομως B <sup>9</sup> 81
	om A <sup>9</sup> vid		
Antiochian	29 om δε LPS	εγκλημα εχοντα LPS	30 ανδρα] +μελλεν
	HLPSS	εσεσθαι] +υπο των ιουδαιων HLPSS	εξαυτης] +ουν L
	προς αυτον] τα προς αυτον HLPSS	τα προς αυτους L	σου] +ερρωσθε HPS
	+ερρωσο L	81 αυτους] +εποιουν L	της νυκτος HLPSS
	32 απερχεσθαι] παρεσεσθαι HLPSS	38 τω ηγεμονι την επιστολην L	
	34 δε] +ο ηγεμων HLPSS	επερωτησας] ερωτησας L	της κιλικιας L
	35 παραγωνται P	κελευσας] εκλειυσε τε αυτον HLPSS	τω ηρωδου]
	om τω HLPSS του ηρωδου S	om αυτον after φυλασσεσθαι HLPSS	
	1 πρεσβυτερων τινων] των πρεσβυτερων HLPSS	2 δε] +αυτου HLPSS	
	διορθωματος] κατορθωματος HLPSS	γενομενων L	4 εκκοπτω]
	εκκοπτω L	om σε 2 <sup>o</sup> L	om ημων B
			5 στασω HLPSS

ἔχοντα ἔγκλημα] + ἐξήγαγον αὐτὸν μόλις τῇ βίᾳ 614 2147

30 om εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα 36<sup>a</sup> 481

34. 35 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ . . . Διακούσομαί σου] ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπηρώτησε τὸν Παῦλον· Ἐκ ποίας ἐπαρχίας εἶ; ἔφη· Κίλικ. καὶ πυθόμενος ἔφη· Ἀκούσομαί σου 614 2147

35 om καὶ 614 2138 minn

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29 ἐξήγαγον αὐτὸν μόλις τῇ βίᾳ] ✕: abduci cum vix violentia ✓ 34-35 τὴν <sup>Barclay</sup> ἐπιστολὴν . . . παραγενώτα] <sup>mg</sup> epistolam, interrogavit Paulum: Ex quali provincia es? et dixit: Cilicia. et quum cognovisset, dixit: Audiam quum accusatores tui venerint

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30 The omission by B of *τα* before *προς αὐτον* is an accidental corruption. *προς αὐτον* B 81 Antiochian sah is to be preferred to the weaker phrase with *αὐτους* NA.

3 B unsupported omits *αὐτον* after *κληθέντος δε*; for grammatical parallels cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 74, Blass-

Debrunner, *Grammatical*, § 423. 6. Doubtless an accidental error.

5 For *πασι τοις ιουδαισι τοις κατα την οικουμενην*, *gig* reads *non tantum generi nostro sed fere universo orbe terrarum et omnibus iudeis*, doubtless the 'Western' rewriting, and wholly in accord with the glossator's method elsewhere.

τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως, ὃς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπέειρασεν βεβη- 6  
 λῶσαι, ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν, | παρ' οὗ δυνήσῃ αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνας 8  
 περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐπιγνῶναι ὧν ἡμεῖς κατηγοροῦμεν αὐτοῦ.  
 συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι φάσκοντες ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν. 9  
 ἀπεκρίθη τε ὁ Παῦλος νεύσας αὐτῷ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λέγων· 10  
 Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος  
 εὐθύμως τὰ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπολογοῦμαι, δυναμένου σου ἐπιγνῶναι, 11  
 ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν μοι ἡμέραι δώδεκα ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσ-  
 κυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐρόν με πρὸς 12  
 τινα διαλεγόμενον ἢ ἐπίστασιν ποιοῦντα ὄχλου οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συν-  
 αγωγαῖς οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ παραστήσαι δύνανταί σοι περὶ 13  
 ὧν νυνεὶ κατηγοροῦσίν μου. ὁμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι ὅτι κατὰ 14  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἰρεσιν οὕτως λατρεύω τῷ πατρὶ ὡς θεῷ,  
 πιστεύων τοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις γεγραμ-  
 μένοις, | ἐλπὶδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσ- 15  
 δέχονται, ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων· ἐν 16  
 τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσκῶ ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν  
 θεόν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ παντός. δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων 17  
 ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου παρεγνομῆν καὶ προσ-  
 φοράς, | ἐν αἷς εὐρόν με ἡγνισμένον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, οὐ μετὰ ὄχλου 18  
 οὐδὲ μετὰ θορύβου, τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι, | οὓς ἔδει 19  
 ἐπὶ σοῦ παρῆναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν εἰ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ,—ἣ αὐτοὶ 20

Editors 14 πιστευων] +παισι WH Soden JHR

τον νομον WH Soden JHR

Old Unal 8 αὐτος BN 81 om A 11 σου BN 81 om A προσκυνησων BN A  
 προσκυνησῶ 81 12 ἐπιστασιν BN A ἐποστασιν 81 οὐτε 8ο BN A  
 οὐδε 81 18 οὐδε BN 81 οὐτε A σοι BN 81 σου A  
 14 πιστευων B +παισι NA 81 νομον B τον νομον NA 81 τοις εν BN 81  
 om AN<sup>o</sup> 15 εις τον BA 81 προς τον N προς O ουτοι BAC 81 om N  
 17 παρεγνομην και προσφοράς BN C 81 και προσφοράς παρεγνομην N<sup>o</sup> om παρ-  
 εγνομην A 18 δε BN A 81 +των C

Antiochian 6-8 ἐκρατήσαμεν] +και κατα τον ημετερον νομον ηθελησαμεν κρνειν. παρελθον  
 δε λυσιας ο χιλιάρχος μετα πολλης βιας εκ των χειρων ημων απηγαγε, κελευσας τους  
 κατηγορους αυτου ερχεσθαι επι σε 5 9 συνεπεθεντο] συνεθεντο 5 om οι  
 before ιουδαιοι L 10 τε] δε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ευθυμω] ευθυμωτερον HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 11 επιγνωνα] γνωνα HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ημεραι] +η 5 δωδεκα] δεκαδυο HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 ανεβη L εις] εν LPSS<sup>c</sup> 12 επιστασιν] επισυστασιν HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 om την S 18 οὐδε] οὐτε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> παραστησαι] +με 5 +με νυν HPS  
 om σοι HLPSS<sup>c</sup> νυν] νυν HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 14 πιστευων] πιστευων (πιστευω S)  
 παισι HLPSS<sup>c</sup> τον νομον HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om τοις εν HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 15 εχω S  
 εσεσθαι] +νεκρων HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 16 και 1ο] δε HPS<sup>c</sup> εχειν] εχων HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 προς] +τε LS 17 παρεγνομην ελεημοσυνας ποιησων εις το εθνος μου HLPSS<sup>c</sup>  
 18 αις] οις HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om δε HLPSS 19 δει HLPSS<sup>c</sup>

- XXIV 6 ἐκρατήσαμεν] + καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἡβελήσαμεν  
 7 κρίνειν. παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλίαρχος μετὰ πολλῆς βίας  
 8 ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγε, κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ  
 ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σοῦ (with minor variants) Ψ 614 minn  
 9 συνεπέθεντο δὲ] εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνεπέθεντο 614  
 (2147)  
 10 κριτήν] + δίκαιον 614 minn  
 11 προσκυνησαι Ψ 614
- 14 λέγουσιν] + καὶ 1611  
 πατρώῳ] + μου 614

9 εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα] \* quum dixisset autem ille haec ✓ 10 λεγειν] Harcleus  
 mg defensionem habere pro se, statum autem assumens divinum dixit: Ex  
 multis annis es iudeus 12 κατὰ τὴν πολλὴν] mg in foro 14 λεγουσιν]  
 + mg et 17 δι] mg per

6-8 The long 'Western' expansion is preserved in Ψ 614, many minn (hence in 5), and passed into e (E) gig many codd. of vg, pesh *hel. text*, but is omitted in older uncials, and in sah boh. Note Lysias's *μολις τη βια* xxiii. 29 and Tertullus's *μετα πολλης βιας* xxiv. 7, both 'Western.' Minn show variants in minor details.

The chief effect of the addition is to cause *παρ ου*, vs. 8, to refer apparently to Lysias, cf. vs. 22, instead of Paul.

10 To the strange gloss of *hel. mg* no other known text contains any parallel. The last words of the gloss (*es iudeus*) seem to show that *επισταμενος* was omitted in this text. For a similar gloss of xxvi. 1 *hel. mg*.

14 *Gig secundum sectam quam dicunt* *iesu* and pesh 'in that doctrine (or

heresy) in which they say' suggest that the 'Western' text had a variant in which *την οδον* did not appear. From the text of *gig* the rendering of *vg secundum sectam quam dicunt heresim* is somehow to be explained. See Wordsworth and White's note.

18 The reading *εως* B<sup>5</sup>AC 81 might seem a correction of *εως* Antiochian, but the latter is not attested earlier than the 8th-9th century uncials, and the reading of the older and usually better witnesses is to be retained, although with some hesitation.

The addition following *θουρσιν* found in *perp*<sup>a</sup> *vg. odd* (with slight minor variation), *et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes, tolle inimicum nostrum*, seems to be proved ancient by the reference in Ephrem's commentary; cf. also xxi. 36 *gig sah*.

οὗτοι εἰπάτωσαν τί εἶδρον ἀδίκημα σπάντος μου ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 | ἡ περὶ μιᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς ἧς ἐκέκραξα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὼς ὅτι Περὶ 21  
 ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρείνομαι σήμερον ἐφ' ὑμῶν. ἀν- 22  
 εβάλετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Φῆλιξ, ἀκρειβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ, εἶπας· Ὅταν Λυσίας ὁ χειλιάρχος καταβῇ διαγνώσομαι  
 τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς· διαταξάμενος τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ τηρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν 23  
 ἔχειν τε ἄνεσιν καὶ μηδὲνα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν  
 αὐτῷ. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγενόμενος ὁ Φῆλιξ σὺν Δρου- 24  
 σίλλῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ οὔσῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ μετεπέμψατο τὸν Παῦλον  
 καὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστεως.  
 διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ 25  
 κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔμφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Φῆλιξ ἀπεκρίθη·  
 Τὸ νῦν ἔχον πορεύου, καιρὸν δὲ μεταλαβὼν μετακαλέσομαι σε·  
 ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίζων ὅτι χρήματα δοθήσεται σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου· 26  
 διὸ καὶ πυκνότερον αὐτὸν μεταπεμπόμενος ὠμείλει αὐτῷ. διετίας 27  
 δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβεν διάδοχον ὁ Φῆλιξ Πόρκιον Φῆστον·  
 θέλων τε χάριτα καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Φῆλιξ κατέλυπε  
 τὸν Παῦλον δεδεμένον.

Φῆστος οὖν ἐπιβὰς τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέβη εἰς XXV

Editors 22 εἰπας] εἰπων Soden 26 δοθήσεται] +[αὐτῷ] WH +αὐτῷ Soden JHR  
 27 χάριτας Soden 1 ἐπαρχεῖῳ WHmg

Old Uncial 20 ευρον B<sup>7</sup>A 81 + εν μοι C 21 εγω B<sup>7</sup>A 81 om C εφ  
 BAC 81 υφ N 24 ημερας τινας B<sup>7</sup>C 81 τινας ημερας A ιδι  
 γυναικι B<sup>7</sup>C ιδια γυναικι αυτου N<sup>7</sup>A 81 γυναικι αυτου N γυναικι C ιουδαια  
 BAC<sup>7</sup> 81 +και N ηκουσεν B<sup>7</sup>A 81 ηκουσεν C ηκουεν C<sup>7</sup> vid  
 αυτου B<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>C<sup>7</sup> 81 om C ιησουν (ιησου B) B<sup>7</sup>N 81 om N<sup>7</sup>A vid AC<sup>7</sup> vid  
 25 δικαιοσυνης και εγκρατειας BAC 81 εγκρατειας και δικαιοσυνης N κριματος  
 του μελλοντος B<sup>7</sup>A 81 μελλοντος κριματος C εμφοβος B<sup>7</sup>C 81 +δε A  
 μεταλαβων B<sup>7</sup>C παραλαβων A λαβων 81 26 δοθησεται B<sup>7</sup> +αὐτῷ N<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>C 81  
 ωμειλει B<sup>7</sup>A 81 διελεγετο C 27 τε B<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>C 81 δε N<sup>7</sup>ο χαριτα  
 B<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>C 81 χαριν N<sup>7</sup>ο κατελιπε B<sup>7</sup>C κατελειπεν A 81 1 τη  
 επαρχεῖα B<sup>7</sup>C<sup>7</sup> τη επαρχεῖῳ N<sup>7</sup>A την επαρχίαν 81

Antiochian 20 εἰπατωσαν] +ει 5 ευρον] +εν μοι HLPSS<sup>7</sup> 21 εκεκραξα]  
 εκραξα HLPSS<sup>7</sup> εστως εν αυτοις HLPSS<sup>7</sup> εφ] υφ HLPSS<sup>7</sup>  
 22 add ακουσας δε ταυτα at opening of verse HLPSS<sup>7</sup> ανεβαλετο δε αυτους  
 ο φηλιξ] ο φηλιξ ανεβαλετο (ανελαβετο B) αυτους 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup> εἰπας] εἰπων  
 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup> 28 διαταξαμενος] +τε 093 HSS<sup>7</sup> +δε L αυτων] του  
 παυλου 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup> υπηρετεω] +τη προσερχεσθαι 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup>  
 24 om ιδια 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup> γυναικι] +αυτου 5 om ιησουν HPS<sup>7</sup>  
 26 μελλοντος] +εσεσθαι 098 HLPSS<sup>7</sup> εμφοβος] +δε H μεταλαβων]  
 λαβων 098 28 αμα] +δε 5 δοθησεται] +αὐτῷ HLPSS<sup>7</sup> παυλου]  
 +πως λυση αυτου HLPSS<sup>7</sup> 27 χαριτας HPS<sup>7</sup> κατελειπεν HL

27 Φῆστον] + τὸν δὲ Παῦλον εἶασεν ἐν τηρήσει διὰ Δρούσιλλαν  
614 2147

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24 συν δρούσιλλη . . . παῦλον] *mg* cum Drusilla uxore ejus quae erat Judaea, *Hardelean*  
quae rogabat ut videret Paulum et audiret verbum. volens igitur satisfacere ei  
accersivit Paulum 27 τον δε παυλον ειασεν εν τηρησει δια δρουσιλλαν] *mg*  
Paulum autem reliquit in carceris propter Drusillam

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24 The gloss of *hol mg* implies a text in which a finite verb took the place of παραγενομενος. The language of Cassiodorus, *Post aliquot autem dies Drusilla uxor Felicias, quae erat Judaea. Post aliquot dies rogatus Felicia a Drusilla conjuge sua coram ea Paulum fecit adduci*, seems to show acquaintance with a text like *hol mg*. The Bohemian version (Tischendorf) gives in part this 'Western' text. Pesh renders: 'And after a few days Felix sent, and Drusilla his wife, who was a Jewess, and summoned Paul, and they heard from him concerning faith in Christ.' The purpose of the expansion is to justify the mention of Drusilla by ascribing to her a part in the action. Note the corresponding paraphrase of

the 'Western' text of vs. 27b in 614 *hol mg*.

1 Against the evidence of *MA* for *επαρχειω*, the reading *επαρχεια* B (and all others) is to be retained. The same variation is found in mss. of Josephus and Eusebius; we do not know what habits and tendencies, perhaps changing with succeeding centuries, may have led to the preference in a given case for the one or the other declension of this adjective. Cf. G. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae et Siciliae* (Inscr. Graecae xiv), No. 911, *επιτροπευσαρτι επαρχειου βριττανειας* (third century after Christ, sarcophagus from Velletri).

For *μετα τρεις ημερας* *gig* has *post biduum*, a *post duos dies*; Lucifer omits.

Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ Καισαρείας, ἐνεφάνισάν τε αὐτῷ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς 2  
καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ παρεκάλουν  
αὐτὸν | αἰτοῦμενοι χάριν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως μεταπέμψῃται αὐτὸν 3  
εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐνέδραν ποιῶντες ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν δδόν.  
ὁ μὲν οὖν Φῆστος ἀπεκρίθη τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον εἰς Καισαρείαν, 4  
ἑαυτὸν δὲ μέλλειν ἐν τάχει ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Οἱ οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν, φησὶν, 5  
δυνατοὶ συνκαταβάντες εἴ τί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἄτοπον κατηγο-  
ρεῖτωσαν αὐτοῦ. διατρεύσας δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας οὐ πλείονας 6  
ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα, καταβὰς εἰς Καισαρείαν, τῇ ἐπαύριον καθίσας ἐπὶ  
τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι. παραγενομένου δὲ 7  
αὐτοῦ περιέστησαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβεβηκότες  
Ἰουδαῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα αἰτιώματα καταφέροντες ἃ οὐκ  
ἴσχυον ἀποδεῖξαι, τοῦ Παύλου ἀπολογουμένου ὅτι Οὔτε εἰς τὸν 8  
νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὔτε εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οὔτε εἰς Καίσαρά τι ἤμαρτον.  
ὁ Φῆστος δὲ θέλων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χάριν καταθέσθαι ἀποκριθεὶς 9  
τῷ Παύλῳ εἶπεν· Θέλεις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀναβὰς ἐκεῖ περὶ  
τούτων κριθῆναι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ 10  
βήματος Καίσαρος, ἐστὼς εἰμι οὐ με δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. Ἰουδαίους  
οὐδὲν ἡδίκηκα, ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις. εἰ μὲν οὖν 11  
ἄδικῶ καὶ ἄξιον θανάτου πέπραχά τι, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀπο-  
θανεῖν· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὧν οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσίν μου, οὐδεὶς με

## 11 παραιτοῦμαι

Editors	6 πλειονας] πλειους WH Soden JHR εστως 2 <sup>ο</sup> WH JHR	ηδικησα Soden	10 om εστως 1 <sup>ο</sup> Soden	om
Old Uncial	2 των ιουδαιων B <sup>9</sup> AC αυτου C B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 συνκαταβαυτες BAC 81 BAC 81 BAC <sup>9</sup> 81 BAC <sup>9</sup> 81 χαριτα A om 2 <sup>ο</sup> N <sup>ο</sup> γινωσκεεις C	της πολεις 81 αυτου 1 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>9</sup> A 81 εκπορευεσθαι εν ταχει N <sup>ο</sup> καταβαυτες N <sup>ο</sup> ου πλειους ημερας N <sup>ο</sup> προαχθηναι N <sup>ο</sup> ισχυσαν N <sup>ο</sup> 10 ο B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 ηδικηκα B <sup>9</sup> 81	αυτου C αυτου B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 καισαρειαν B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 +και A 7 αυτου B <sup>9</sup> AC αυτω 81 9 δε B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 om A ηδικησα AC	3 κατ αυτου B <sup>9</sup> A 81 4 εν ταχει εκπορευεσθαι 5 υμιν BAC 81 6 ημερας ου πλειονας (πλειους AC) 7 και A αχθηναι ισχυον B <sup>9</sup> AC 81 om 1 <sup>ο</sup> AC <sup>9</sup> 81 επιγινωσκεις B <sup>9</sup> A 81
Anthochian	2 τε] δε HLPSS <sup>+</sup> καισαρεια HLPSS <sup>+</sup> αποσιν] τουτω HLPSS <sup>+</sup> αχθηναι τον παυλον L καταφεροντες] φεροντες κατα του παυλου HPS <sup>+</sup> 8 του παυλου απολογουμενου] απολογουμενου αυτου HPS <sup>+</sup> απολογουμενου αυτου L HLPSS <sup>+</sup> γαρ HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	ο αρχιερευς HPS <sup>+</sup> 5 οι] ει L 6 om ου HLPSS <sup>+</sup> 7 om αυτων HPS <sup>+</sup> 9 τοις ιουδαιοις θελων HLPSS <sup>+</sup> 10 om εστως 1 <sup>ο</sup> HLPSS <sup>+</sup> τον H	οι] ει L om ου HLPSS <sup>+</sup> HPS <sup>+</sup> αυτω 81 om A ηδικησα HLPSS <sup>+</sup> μου] μοι L	3 εεδρα S δυνατοι εν υμιν φησω HLPSS <sup>+</sup> om οκτω HLPSS <sup>+</sup> αιτιωματα] αιτιαματα S φεροντες κατ αυτου L του παυλου κρωεσθαι 11 ουν]



XXV 3 κατ' αὐτοῦ] παρ' αὐτοῦ C 481 minn

11 καὶ ἡ 328

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3 ἐνεδραν . . . οὐδὲν] *mg* illi qui votum fecerant quomodo obtinerent ut in Harelas  
 manibus suis esset 6 ἐν αὐτοῖς] *mg* in us. apud eos 10 οὐδὲν]  
 ✕ aliquid ✓ non

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8 The Greek translated in the gloss of *hel.mg* may have run somewhat as follows: αἱ εὐχῆν ποιήσαντες οὕτως ἐπιτυχῶσι τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν. But the paraphrase probably involved other changes, no

longer recoverable, from the B-text, and the Syriac is perhaps not a perfectly literal rendering. No other trace of the gloss is known. The paraphrast seems to have overlooked the lapse of two years since xxiv. 12.



16 ἀνθρωπον] + εἰς ἀπώλειαν HLPS

19 ἐφασκεν] ἔλεγεν 614 1518 minn

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16 εἰς ἀπώλειαν] ✕ in perditionem ✓

ο κατηγορουμενος] *mg* judicatus Harleian

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13 ἀσπασμενοι Ψ 81 minn seems clearly a correction of ἀσπασαμενοι. The agreement of BNA minn Antiochian in support of the aorist is in itself strong proof that the latter does not make nonsense, although many modern critics have thought otherwise.

18 πονηραν BN<sup>o</sup> 81 minn (and, still more, πονηρα AC, πονηρα N) is not necessary for the sense; but the

omission in the Antiochian text, supported by no version, is probably not a case of 'non-interpolation.'

21 The rendering found in *gig* may well represent with fair accuracy the 'Western' paraphrase: *tunc paulus appellavit cesarem et petiit ut reservetur ad augusti cognitionem; cumque eum non possem judicare jussi eum reservari ut remitterem eum cesari.*

Ἀγρίππας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Φῆστον· Ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ 22  
 ἀνθρώπου ἀκούσαι. Αὔριον, φησίν, ἀκούσῃ αὐτοῦ. | τῇ οὖν 23  
 ἐπαύριον ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῆς Βερνίκης μετὰ πολλῆς  
 φαντασίας καὶ εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον σὺν τε χειλιάρχοις  
 καὶ ἀνδράσιν τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ κελεύσαντος τοῦ  
 Φῆστου ἦρχῃ ὁ Παῦλος. καὶ φησιν ὁ Φῆστος· Ἀγρίππα βασιλεῦ 24  
 καὶ πάντες οἱ συνπαρόντες ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, θεωρεῖτε τοῦτον περὶ  
 οὗ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέτυχέν μοι ἔν τε Ἱεροσολύ-  
 μοις καὶ ἐνθάδε, βοῶντες μὴ δεῖν αὐτὸν <ζῆν> μηκέτι. ἐγὼ δὲ 25  
 καταλαβόμεν μὴδὲν ἄξιον αὐτὸν θανάτου πεπραχέναι, αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 τοῦ Παύλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἔκρεια πέμπειν. περὶ 26  
 οὗ ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω· διὸ προήγαγον αὐτὸν  
 ἐφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, ὅπως τῆς  
 ἀνακρίσεως γενομένης σχῶ τί γράψω· ἄλογον γάρ μοι δοκεῖ 27  
 πέμποντα δέσμιον μὴ καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰτίας σημῶναι.  
 Ἀγρίππας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἔφη· Ἐπιτρέπεται σοι ὑπὲρ XXVI  
 σεαυτοῦ λέγειν. τότε ὁ Παῦλος ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἀπελογεῖτο·  
 Περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, 2  
 ἡγῆμαι ἑμαυτὸν μακάριον ἐπὶ σοῦ μέλλων σήμερον ἀπολογεῖσθαι,  
 μάλιστα γνώστην ὄντα σε πάντων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐθνῶν τε 3

Editors	22 φηστον	+ [εφη] Soden	ακουσαι	+ [ο δε] Soden	24 ενετυχον WHmg
	Soden	βοωντες	επιβοωντες Soden		25 του παυλου] τουτου WH
	Soden JHR	1 υπερ]	περι WHmg Soden		8 σε ορτα Soden mg

ld Uncial	22 φηστον B <sup>7</sup> A	+ εφη C 81	ακουσαι B <sup>7</sup> A	+ ο δε C 81	23 και
	8 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>7</sup> A 81	om C	και 4 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>7</sup> A C	om 81	24 ενετυχεν B
	ενετυχον B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	βοωντες B <sup>7</sup> A 81	επιβοωντες C		αυτον] + ζην B <sup>2</sup>
	25 καταλαβομεν B <sup>7</sup> A C <sup>8</sup> 81	καταλαβομενος N	αυτον θανατου B <sup>7</sup> A C	θανατου	
	αυτον N	om αυτον 81	του παυλου B	τουτου B <sup>2</sup> (B <sup>3</sup> Td) B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	
	26 ασφαλει B <sup>7</sup> A 81	ασφαλως C	προηγαγον B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	επηγαγον A	
	επι σου B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	om σου N	σχω B <sup>7</sup> A C	εχω A 81	1 επιτρεπεται
	B <sup>7</sup> A C	επιτετραπται 81	υπερ B	περι B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	8 ορτα σε B <sup>7</sup> A N <sup>o</sup> 81
	σε ορτα N <sup>o</sup>	παντων B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	om A	ιουδαιους B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	ιουδαιων A
	εθων B <sup>7</sup> A C 81	εθων A			

n <sup>o</sup> thoian	22 φηστον	+ εφη HLP <sup>8</sup>	ακουσαι]	+ ο δε HLP <sup>8</sup>	23 τοις
	χλιαρχοις HLP <sup>8</sup>	εξοχη]	+ ουσι HLP <sup>8</sup>		24 απαν] παν HLP <sup>8</sup>
	ενετυχον LP <sup>8</sup>	βοωντες]	επιβοωντες HLP <sup>8</sup>		ζην αυτον HLP <sup>8</sup>
	25 καταλαβομενος HLP <sup>8</sup>	θανατου αυτον HLP <sup>8</sup>		πεπραχεναι]	
	+ και HLP <sup>8</sup>	του παυλου] τουτου HLP <sup>8</sup>	πεμπειν]	+ αυτον HLP <sup>8</sup>	
	26 προηγαγον]	προσηγαγον S	γνωμενης S	γραφω]	γραφαι HLP <sup>8</sup>
	27 πεμποντι L	1 επιτετραπται L	υπερ σεαυτου λογειν]	λογειν περι	
	σεαυτου H	απελογετο εκτεινας την χειρα HLP <sup>8</sup>		2 επι σου μελλων	
	απολογεσθαι σημερον HLP <sup>8</sup>	μελλων απολογεσθαι επι σου σημερον S		8 εθων]	
	ηθων HLP				

26 τῷ κυρίῳ] + μου 431 minn

23 τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν . . . παύλος] *mg* qui descendissent de provincia, praecepit Harclean Festus ut adduceretur Paulus

24-26 ἐν τε ἱεροσολυμοῖς . . . οὐκ ἔχω] *mg* et in Hierosolymis et hic, ut traderem eum eis ad tormentum sine defensione. non potui autem tradere eum, propter mandata quae habemus ab Augusto. si autem quis eum accusaturus esset, dicebam ut sequeretur me in Caesaream, ubi custodiebatur: qui quum venissent, clamaverunt ut tolleretur e vita. quum autem hanc et alteram partem audivissem, comperi quod in nullo reus esset mortis. quum autem dicerem: Vis iudicari cum eis in Hierosolyma? Caesarem appellavit de quo aliquid certum scribere domino meo non habeo 26 τῷ κυρίῳ μου] domino ✕ meo ✓

1 τότε ο παύλος ἐκτεινας τὴν χεῖρα] *mg* tunc ipse Paulus, confidens et in spiritu sancto consolatus, extendit manum

23 The gloss of *hol. mg*, otherwise unattested, seems to represent τοῖς κατελθουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, and probably took the place of τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῆς πόλεως. The usual discritical mark indicating point of attachment has been omitted in *hol. text*. To the latter part of the gloss corresponds *jussit festus adduci paulum* *gig* s.

24-26 Of the 'Western' paraphrase preserved in full in *hol. mg*, the earlier part, ending with the words corresponding to *tolleretur e vita* of the Latin translation of *hol. mg*, is contained also in *vg. cod. ardmach* and the Bohemian version (Tischendorf). Apart from minor variants in these two witnesses the following points deserve mention. At the opening of

the gloss in *hol. mg* the words *et* (before *in Hierosolymis*) and *et hic* (following) are plainly part of *hol. text* carried into the marginal gloss for purposes of identification. They are impossible in view of what follows, and are lacking in *cod. ardmach*. In the gloss to vs. 24, both *cod. ardmach* and Bohemian have 'Caesar' instead of 'Augustus' (*hol. mg*). In vs. 25 *hol. mg* alone gives the 'Western' paraphrase, and reads therein 'Caesar' (of vs. 11) instead of 'Augustus' of the usual text.

1-2 In addition to *hol. mg* the readings *permittitur enim rationem reddere* (ἀπολογεῖσθαι) *de te* *gig* and *cepit rationem reddere* (ἤρξετο ἀπολογεῖσθαι) *dicens* *gig* (*vg*) may represent fragments of the 'Western' text.

καὶ ζητημάτων· διὸ δέομαι μακροθύμως ἀκοῦσαί μου. τὴν μὲν 4  
οὖν βίωσάν μου ἐκ νεότητος τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει  
μου ἔν τε Ἱεροσολύμοις ἴσασι πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι, προγενώσκοντές 5  
με ἄνωθεν, ἐὰν θέλωσιν μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀκρεβεστάτην  
αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος. καὶ νῦν ἐπ' 6  
ἐλπίδι τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ ἔσθηκα κρεινόμενος, εἰς τὴν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενεῖα 7  
νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῖον ἐλπίζει καταστήσειν· περὶ ἧς ἐλπίδος  
ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, βασιλεῦ· τί ἄπιστον κρείνεται παρ' 8  
ὑμῶν εἰ ὁ θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει; ἐγὼ οὖν ἔδοξα ἐμαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ 9  
ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου δεῖν πολλὰ ἐναντία πρᾶξαι· διὸ καὶ 10  
ἐποίησα ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγὼ ἐν φυλα-  
καῖς κατέκλεισα τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐξουσίαν λαβών, ἀν-  
αιρουμένων τε αὐτῶν κατήνεγκα ψῆφον, καὶ κατὰ πάσας τὰς 11  
συναγωγὰς πολλάκις τειμαρῶν αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν·  
περισσῶς ἐμμαινόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐδίωκον ἕως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἔξω  
πόλεις. ἐν οἷς πορευόμενος εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν μετ' ἐξουσίας 12  
καὶ ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων | ἡμέρας μέσης κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν 13  
εἶδον, βασιλεῦς, οὐρανόθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου  
περιλάμψαν με φῶς καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ πορευομένους· πάντων 14

Editors	4 μου 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] +[τῇ] Soden	7 καταστήσαι WHSoden JHR	καταστήσειν
	WHmg	9 ἐγὼ] +μεν WH (but af. mg) Soden JHR	10 δια]
	ο WH Soden JHR	πολλοὺς] +τε WH Soden	11 περισσῶς]
	+τε WH Soden JHR	13 βασιλεῦ WH Soden JHR	

Uncial	8 ζητημάτων B <sup>8</sup> 81 +επισταμενος A <sup>8</sup> C <sup>8</sup>	δεομαι B <sup>8</sup> A 81	+σου O
	4 μου 1 <sup>ο</sup> BC +τῇ B <sup>8</sup> A <sup>8</sup> 81	τε B <sup>8</sup> A om C 81(?)	ιουδαῖοι
	BC 81 οἱ ιουδαῖοι B <sup>8</sup> A <sup>8</sup> C <sup>8</sup>	προγενώσκοντες B <sup>8</sup> A 81	προσγινώσκοντες O
	6 eis B <sup>8</sup> A 81	προς O	7 καταστήσειν B καταστήσαι B <sup>8</sup> A C 81
	B <sup>8</sup> C 096 81 om A	9 ἐγὼ B +μεν B <sup>8</sup> A C 096 81	ιησου B <sup>8</sup> A C <sup>8</sup> 096 81
	του ιησου B	10 δια B ο B <sup>8</sup> A C 096 81	ἐποίησα B <sup>8</sup> A C <sup>8</sup> 096 81
	ἐποίησαν B	πολλοὺς B +τε B <sup>8</sup> A C 096 81	κατήνεγκα B <sup>8</sup> A C 096 81
	κατήνεγκαν B	11 περισσῶς B +τε B <sup>8</sup> A C 096 81	αὐτοῖς B <sup>8</sup> A C 81
	αὐτοὺς 096	12 τῇ 1 <sup>ο</sup> B <sup>8</sup> C 096 81 om A	τῇ B <sup>8</sup> C 81 om A 096
	των B <sup>8</sup> A 096 81	παρα των C	13 ἡμερας B <sup>8</sup> A C <sup>8</sup> 81 om B
	βασιλεῦ B <sup>8</sup> A C 81	περιλάμψαν B <sup>8</sup> A C 096	περιλάμψαντα 81

ochian	3 δεομαι] +σου HLPSS	4 μου 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] +τῇ LPS	om τε HLPSS
	οἱ ιουδαῖοι HLPSS	6 eis] προς HLPSS	om ἡμων HLPSS
	7 καταστήσαι HLPSS	υπο ιουδαίων βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ ἀγριππα υπο [+των S]	
	ιουδαίων HLPSS	9 ἐγὼ] +μεν HLPSS	10 δια] ο HLPSS
	om εν before φυλακας HPS	τε 2 <sup>ο</sup> δε H	11 περισσῶς] +τε HLPSS
	12 οἱς] +καὶ HLPSS	των] παρα των HLPSS	13 βασιλεῦ HLPSS
	με] μοι L		

xxvi 7 τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἑκτε[νία νύκτ[α καὶ ἡμέραν λα-  
τρεύει ἐν (?)] ἐλπίδι κ[αταντῆσαι· περὶ ἧς νῦν (?)] ἐνκαλοῦμαι  
8 ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων· εἰ (?)] ὁ θεὸς νεκρ[οὺς ἐγείρει] Pap.29 .

9 πρᾶξαι] ✕ me ✓ facere  
13 βασιλεὺς] ✕ o ✓ rex

11 ἐδιώκον] persequer *✕* eos ✓ Hardean

7-8, 20 The fragment Pap. 29 (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1597), third or fourth century, here printed with Grenfell's conjectural reconstruction of the lacunae, can fairly be regarded as a piece of 'Western' text. In vs. 7 ἐλπίδι (which may or may not have been preceded by *en*) in any case implies *λατρεύει*, not *λατρευνον*. This corresponds to *gig deservunt in spe*. Instead of *νῦν* (*gig nunc*) there is perhaps space in the lacuna for *ἐλπίδος*. In vs. 8, instead of *en*, it is barely possible to find space for *βασιλεὺς*, as in the usual text. *Gig*, however,

omits *rex*, in agreement with A minn.

In vs. 20, instead of the restoration *τε καὶ* (B<sup>N</sup> 81), *καὶ εν* (cf. Δ) is equally possible. *καὶ τοῖς εν* (814 minn) would correspond to *gig et his qui in*, but seems to be too long for the space. The reading of *h cunctis* for *ethrasin*, together with the obviously short text of the papyrus in the lacuna, leads to the suspicion that a 'Western' paraphrase, beyond the reach of our conjecture, was found here. *ἐκρυξα* corresponds to *h prae dicant*.

τε καταπεσόντων εἰς τὴν γῆν ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγουσαν πρὸς με  
τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ· Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις; σκληρόν  
σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίξεν. | ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· Τίς εἶ, κύριε; ὁ δὲ 15  
κύριος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις· ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι 16  
ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὥφθην σοι, προχειρίσασθαι  
σε ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα ὧν τε εἶδές με ὧν τε ὀφθήσομαι σοι,  
| ἐξαιρούμενός σε ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς ἐγὼ 17  
ἀποστέλλω σε | ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμούς αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστρέφειν ἀπὸ 18  
σκοτόους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, τοῦ  
λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ κληρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις  
πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ. ὅθεν, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, οὐκ ἐγενόμην 19  
ἀπειθὴς τῇ οὐρανίῳ ὁπτασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῷ πρῶτόν 20  
τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις, πᾶσάν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ  
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν,  
ἅξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας. ἕνεκα τούτων με Ἰουδαῖοι 21  
συνλαβόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπειρώντο διαχειρίσασθαι. ἐπικουρίας 22  
οὖν τυχὼν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔσθηκα  
μαρτυρόμενος μεικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν τε  
οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γέινεσθαι καὶ Μωσῆς, εἰ παθη- 23  
τὸς ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει

Editors 14 καταπεσόντων] +ημων WH Soden JHR λεγουσαν] λαλουσαν Soden  
με 1<sup>o</sup>] +και λεγουσαν Soien 16 αναστηθι.] +και στηθι WH Soden JHR  
om με Soden 20 ιεροσολυμοις] +εις Soden 21 συλλαβομεναι] +οντα  
Soden

Old Uncial 14 τε B<sup>7</sup>AC 096 81 δε C καταπεσόντων B +ημων B<sup>7</sup>AC 096 81  
eis B<sup>7</sup>AC εκ 81 15 δε 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>7</sup>AC 81 om 096 (?) 16 αναστηθι B  
+ και στηθι B<sup>7</sup>AC 096 81 σε BAC<sup>8</sup> 096 81 σοι B με BC<sup>9</sup> d  
om B<sup>7</sup>AC 096 81 17 εκ 2<sup>o</sup> B<sup>7</sup>A 096 81 om C αποστέλλω B<sup>7</sup>A  
αποστέλλω 096 εξαποστέλλω C εξαποστέλλω 81 18 αυτων B<sup>7</sup>AC 81 τυφλων  
096 επιστρεφει B<sup>7</sup>C 096 αποστρεφει A 81 και 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>7</sup>A 81 +απο C  
20 και 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>7</sup> 81 +εν A ιεροσολυμοις B<sup>7</sup>A +εις 81 21 με (+τοι B<sup>7</sup>)  
ιουδαιοι συλλαβομενοι B<sup>7</sup> οι ιουδαιοι συλλαβομενοι με A ιουδαιοι με συλλαβομενοι 81  
εν BA οντα με εν B οντα εν B<sup>7</sup> 81 διαχειρισσασθαι BAC<sup>8</sup> 81 διαχρισσα-  
σθαι B 23 μελλει BAC<sup>8</sup> d μελλειν B 81

Antiochian 14 τε] δε HLPSS<sup>c</sup> καταπεσόντων] +ημων HLPSS<sup>c</sup> λεγουσαν]  
λαλουσαν HLPSS<sup>c</sup> με 1<sup>o</sup>] +και λεγουσαν LP<sup>c</sup> 16 om κυριος HPSS<sup>c</sup>  
16 αναστηθι.] +και στηθι HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om με HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 17 om εκ 2<sup>o</sup>  
HLPSS<sup>c</sup> εγω] νυν 5 αποστέλλω σε] σε αποστέλλω L<sup>c</sup> σε αποστέλλω  
HP<sup>c</sup> 18 επιστρεφει] αποστρεφει H υποστρεφει PS και 1<sup>o</sup>] +απο L  
20 om τε 1<sup>o</sup> HLPSS<sup>c</sup> ιεροσολυμοις] +εις HLPSS<sup>c</sup> om τε 2<sup>o</sup> L  
om την H απαγγελων HLPSS<sup>c</sup> 21 οι ιουδαιοι HPSS<sup>c</sup> ιουδαιοι  
με L συλλαμβανομενοι P 22 απο] παρα HLPSS<sup>c</sup> μαρτυρομενος]  
μαρτυρομενος 5 28 μελλειν HP



- 14 γῆν] + διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐγὼ μόνος 614 1611 2147  
 15 Ἰησοῦς] + ὁ Ναζωραῖος 614 minn  
 19, 20 [ἀπειθῆς τῇ οὐρανίῳ ὀπτασίᾳ, ἀ]λλὰ τοῖς ἐ[ν Δαμασκῷ  
 πρῶτον τε καὶ Ἱερο]σολόμοις κα[ὶ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]  
 ἐκήρυξα [ . . . μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐ]πὶ τὸν θεόν, [ . . .  
 ἀξία τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πρ]άσσοντας Pap. 29  
 τοῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις 614 1518 minn  
 θεόν] + ζῶντα 481 minn  
 21 με Ἰουδαῖοι συλλαβόμενοι] Ἰουδαῖοι συλλαβόμενοί με ὄντα  
 614 (N) (81) minn  
 22 om τε after ὧν 337 460

20 civitatibus praedicabi peniteri et reverti [ad dm], digna opera penitentiae h  
 agentes. 21 horum cau[sae] me] Judaei, cum essem in templo, conpraehenderunt,  
 et ne]gare conati sunt. 22 cum ergo auxilium dñi sum co[n]secutus, esto indicans  
 majori ac minori, nihil amplius d[icens] quā] quae profetae dixerunt futura esse.  
 scriptum [est enim] in Moyse: 23 si passivus xps, ex resurrectione mo[r]tuorum]

22 [prouinde et apud Agrippam nihil se ait proferre oitra quam prophetae Tertulian,  
 annuntiasent . . . . . nam et de resurrectione mortuorum apud Moysen  
 scriptum commemorans corporalem eam norat, in qua scilicet sanguis hominis  
 exquiri habebit.] Res. carn. 82

14 eis την γην δια τον φοβον εγω μονος ηκουσα] mg piae timore in terram, ego Herculian  
 tantum audiui 15 ο ναζωραιος] ✕ Nazareneus ✓

16 The evidence for με from B<sup>0</sup> and  
 614 minn peah hol. text Ambrose  
 Augustine must be taken as decisive  
 in support of this perplexing 'lectio  
 ardua.'

20 Before πᾶσαν τε τὴν χώραν the  
 Antiochian text adds eis, which is  
 lacking in BNA vg. *codd.* As Greek,  
 the text without eis is hardly tolerable.  
 The omission may be a very ancient  
 accidental error (-ΟΙΣΕΙΣ), but with  
 so firmly attested a text the theory  
 of a Semitism suggests itself, in view  
 of the strikingly Semitic cast and  
 grammatical difficulties of vs. 16-18.  
 Cf. Deut. i. 19 ἐπορεύθημεν πᾶσαν τὴν  
 ἔρημον τὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν φοβερὰν.

On the text of Pap. 29 see Textual  
 Note on p. 285, above.

22 In the text of h Souter's con-  
 jecture (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, xi,  
 1909-10, pp. 563 f.) co[n]secutus] (for  
 νυχας) has been adopted, instead of  
 Buchanan's co[n]fessus].

The words ἀχρι της ημερας ταυτης  
 are not represented in h.

Buchanan's conjecture in h d[icens]  
 quā] quas gives the reading of gg.

The 'Western' paraphrase of e,  
*scriptum est enim in Moyse*, coincides  
 exactly (except for one letter) with  
 the text of h. Probably the para-  
 phrast explained the difficulty of e,  
 vs 23, by assuming the verse to be  
 a quotation, cf. Ambrosiaster on  
 1 Cor. xv. 23, *sicut in Actibus Aposto-*  
*lorum testatur scriptum esse in Moyse:*  
*Si passivus Christus, si prior surgens*  
*ex mortuis; vgl. eod. ardmach, quas*  
*profetae vni locuti futura esse. Et*  
*Moisees dicit: Si passivus, etc.*  
 Corssen (*Gottingische gelehrte An-*  
*zeigen*, 1896, pp. 429 f.) points out  
 that Tertullian, *De resurr. carnis* 39,  
 used the 'Western' text here, and  
 understood the O.T. reference to  
 allude to Gen. ix. 6.

καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ 24  
 ἀπολογουμένου ὁ Φῆστος μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ φησί· Μαῖνη, Παῦλε·  
 τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα εἰς manían περιτρέπει. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος· 25  
 Οὐ maínomai, φησί, κράτιστε Φῆστε, ἀλλὰ ἀληθείας καὶ σωφρο-  
 σύνης ῥήματα ἀποφθέγγομαι. ἐπίσταται γὰρ περὶ τούτων ὁ 26  
 βασιλεὺς, πρὸς ὃν παρρησιαζόμενος λαλῶ· λανθάνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 τούτων οὐ πείθομαι οὐθέν, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον  
 τοῦτο. | πιστεύεις, βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς προφήταις; οἶδα ὅτι 27  
 πιστεύεις. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον· Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με 28  
 πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος· Εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ 29  
 θεῷ καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ οὐ μόνον σέ ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας  
 τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον γενέσθαι τοιοῦτους ὅποιος καὶ ἐγώ  
 εἰμι παρεκτός τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων. ἀνέστη τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ 30  
 ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἡ τε Βερνίκη καὶ οἱ συνκαθήμενοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀνα- 31  
 χωρήσαντες ἐλάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες ὅτι Οὐδὲν θανάτου  
 ἡ δεσμῶν ἄξιον πράσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ 32  
 Φῆστῳ ἔφη· Ἀπολεύσθαι ἐδύνατο ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος εἰ μὴ  
 ἐπεκέκλητο Καίσαρα.

Editors	25 om paulos JHR	26 ov] +και WHmg Soden JHR	αυτον] +τι
	WHmg Soden 27 βασιλευ WH Soden JHR	28 †με πειθεις χριστιανον ποιησαι† WHmg	31 αξιον] +τι WHmg Soden
Old Uncial	28 καταγγελλειν B <sup>NA</sup> καταγγελειν 81	24 γραμματα B <sup>NA</sup> 81 +επι-στασε A	26 ov B +και NA 81 αυτον B +τι NA 81
	ου πειθομαι ουθεν B <sup>N</sup> ου πειθομαι A <sup>N</sup> ουθεν πειθομαι 81	27 βασιλευς B	28 πειθεις B <sup>N</sup> 81 πειθη A
Antiochian	23 καταγγελειν H	om τε LPS <sup>+</sup>	24 απολογουμένου αυτου H
	εφη HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	25 om paulos HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	26 ov] +και HLPSS <sup>+</sup>
Antiochian	αυτων] +τι HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	om εστιν HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	27 βασιλευ HLPSS <sup>+</sup>
	28 παυλων] +εφη HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	χριστιανον HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	ποιησαι] γενεσθαι
Antiochian	HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	29 παυλος] +ειπεν HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	ευξαμην HLPSS <sup>+</sup>
	μεγαλω] πολλω HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	30 ανεστη τε] και ταυτα ειποτος αυτου ανεστη HLPSS <sup>+</sup>	31 αξιον η δεσμων HLPSS <sup>+</sup>

24 For the Greek rendered by *oranti* h, 'asked' pesh, no satisfactory suggestion can be made. Possibly *oranti* *exclamant* . . . *et dicunt* merely represents *μεγαλη τη φωνη* with a single verb. On the use of two words in the African Latin for one Greek word see J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 254-258; cf. h in Acts iii. 4.

In the preceding clause, vg *haec loquente eo et rationem reddente* (nearly so, gig) is a conflation of a text like that of h *et cum haec loqueretur* with a rendering of the Greek *ταυτα δε αυτου απολογουμένου*. It has this conflation by reaction from the Latin.

There seems to be no reason for assuming in h any form longer than

- 25 om Παῦλος HLPS  
 26 οὐ γάρ] οὐδὲ γάρ 481 minn  
 28 Παῦλον] + ἔφη HLPS  
 29 Παῦλος] + εἶπεν HLPS + ἔφη Ψ minn  
 om σήμερον 328  
 om καὶ before ἐγώ 808  
 30 ἀνέστη τε] καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἀνέστη HLPS  
 οἱ συνκαθήμενοι] πάντες οἱ συνκαθήμενοι minn  
 31 om ὅτι 69 328

lux annuntiabit plebi et gentib. 24 et cum haec lo[quere]tur oravit exclamavit h Festus, et dixit: insanis[ti, Paule], insanisti: multe te littere in insaniam conv[ertunt]. 25 qui respondit ei: non insano, optime legate, s[ed] veritatis et sapientiae verba emitto: 26 scit aute[m] de istis rex, apud quem loquor: nihil enim hor[um eum] latet. 27 credis, rex Agrippa, profetis? scio quia cr[edia]. 28 qui] ita ad eum ait: modico suades mihi, Paule, xpian[um . . .]. 29 ad quem sic ait: orarem dñm et in modico et in m[agno non] solum te sed et istos qui me audiunt omnes f[er]i tales: qualis ego sum, exceptis vinculis istis. 30 et cum [haec dixi]set, exurrexit rex et legatus, et omnes assen[. . .]. 31 et secesserunt, praefantes inter se de eo, dic[entes: nihil] mortem dignum vel vinculorum homo iste [. . . 32 respon]dit autem rex Agrippa: dimitti poterat hom[o iste, si non] appellavit Caesarem.

28 ποιῆσαι] mg facere  
 ipse dixisset ✓

30 καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ] ✕ et quum haec Harclean

conferunt], although Berger and Buchanan both give *conferunt*].

25 The 'Western' text (h gig) probably lacked *παῦλος*, as does the Antiochian; and the presence of the word in the B-text is perhaps due to interpolation.

25, 26 In h, vs. 25, after s[ed] Buchanan conjectures [*magne*]; and vs. 26, after aute[m] similarly [*omnibus*]. But these words are unsupported by any other witness, and are introduced solely to fill up a space which may have been left vacant in the ms.

26 Whether the abbreviated form in which h gives this verse (especially in the second half) was found in any Greek text or is due to the translator must remain uncertain. Cf. the abridgements of chap. xxvii in h.

The omission of *καὶ* before *παρησιαζομενος*, although found in B minn boh, as well as in h perp vg.codd., is probably not to be followed, since it is

the 'easier' reading, and diminishes the vigour of the phrase.

26 The reading *με πειθεὶς χρι(ε)στιανον ποιῆσαι* of B<sup>h</sup> 81 minn boh hcl mg and apparently Cassiodorus (Migne, vol. lxx. 1403 *respondit quod eum sub celeritate vellet facere christianum*), although difficult, yields an intelligible sense ('play the Christian') and must be accepted. The variants of A (*πειθῶ*) and of the Antiochian and vg (*γενοσθαι*) are two different attempts to improve the meaning. The reading of h may have been either *fieri* or *facere*; that of sah is not known.

30 In h, although Buchanan reads *assen* and hence conjectures *assen[si]ebant eis*, the earlier conjecture, [*assidentes eis*], of Berger (who was not able to make out so many letters) is commended by vg *qui adsedebant eis*. Even with Buchanan's reading, *assen[sistentes eis]* is at least equally possible, and would have to be taken (so Zahn) as a copyist's corruption of *assidentes eis*. In h, then, we find merely the omission of *η τε βεβαιη*.

Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, παρεδίδουν XXVII  
τόν τε Παῦλον καὶ τινες ἑτέρους δεσμώτας ἑκατοντάρχη ὀνόματι  
Ἰουλίῳ σπείρης Σεβαστῆς. ἐπιβάντες δὲ πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυντηνῷ 2  
μέλλοντι πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους ἀντήχθημεν,  
ὄντος σὺν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνας Θεσσαλονικεῶς· τῇ τε 3  
ἐτέρᾳ κατήχθημεν εἰς Σειδῶνα, φιλανθρώπως τε ὁ Ἰούλιος τῷ  
Παύλῳ χρησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πορευθέντι ἐπι-  
μελείας τυχεῖν. κἀκεῖθεν ἀναχθέντες ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον 4  
διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους, τό τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν 5  
Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες κατήλθαμεν εἰς Μύρρα  
τῆς Λυκίας. κἀκεῖ εὗρον ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρεῶν 6

Editors 2 αδραμυντηνῷ Soden 5 διαπλευσαντες] +δι. ημερων δεκαπεντε JHR  
μυρα Soden JHR

Old Uncial 1 παρεδιδουν B<sup>8</sup> 81 παρεδιδου A ετερους B<sup>8</sup> A om 81 εκατον-  
αρχη B<sup>8</sup> 81 +ιουλιω S 2 αρισταρχου B<sup>8</sup> 81 αρισταρχος S  
3 τε 1<sup>o</sup> B<sup>8</sup> A δε S<sup>o</sup> 81 ιουλιος B<sup>8</sup> 81 ιουλιανος A 5 μυρα B  
μυραν 81 λυστραν S λυστρα A 6 κακει B<sup>8</sup> 81 κακειθεν A

Antiochian 1 ημας] τους περι τον παυλον P δεσμωτας ετερους L 2 μελλοντες  
HLPSS<sup>o</sup> om eis HLPSS<sup>o</sup> 3 τε 1<sup>o</sup>] δε L om τους S<sup>o</sup>  
πορευθεντα HLPSS<sup>o</sup> 5 μυρα LPSS<sup>o</sup> μυραν S 6 εκατονταρχης]  
εκατονταρχος LPSS<sup>o</sup>

1-13 The text of h in vs. 1-13 shows a considerable number of omissions as compared with the B-text. Of these two only (vs. 2 *θεσσαλονικεως*; vs. 7 *κατα σαλμωνα*) appear to be supported by other extant witnesses, and in view of the general character of h elsewhere it must be concluded that, as in chap. xxvi., either the underlying Greek text or this Latin translation has been abridged in all or nearly all of these omissions. See above, pp. cccxxvi-cccxxviii.

1 Partly guided by the wish to relieve the abruptness of the B-text, the 'Western' text substituted a paraphrase which is preserved with substantial completeness and correctness in *hol mg* and h. The Greek text of the earlier part survives in *κα οντως εκρωσεν αυτον* (om *αυτον* 421) *ο ηγγειον ανατεμπεσθαι* (*ανατεμψαι* 421) *καιωται* 97 421, and this fragment is rendered in *pesh* and, in whole or in part, in several Latin and Provençal mss. Apart from *hol mg* and h, all these witnesses present combinations with the B-text, hardly any two ex-

hibiting the same combination. The omission in h of *ex cohorte augustia* (found in *hol mg*) is probably an accident.

2 *Cum coepissemus navigare* h (of *pesh*), *incipientes autem navigare in Italiam* *gig*, imply a paraphrastic 'Western' Greek text with *μελλοντες*. This may underlie the (differently placed) Antiochian *μελλοντες* for *μελλοντι*.

*Conscendissent* *hol mg* seems to point to a following text different from that of B, but no further indication of it is provided in the Harclean ms.

In h nothing corresponds to *eis τους κατα την ασιαν τοπους*, but the Greek text with the words is probably sound. It is to be further noted that the omission of *eis* from this phrase belongs to the Antiochian recension, and must have been deemed good Greek in the fourth and following centuries, although only in Greek poetry are parallels found to this usage. It seems unlikely that the omission was made by the Antiochian revisers. Cf. *vg circa*.

Likewise the word *θεσσαλονικεως*

- XVII Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν] καὶ οὕτως  
 ἔκρινεν αὐτὸν (om αὐτὸν 421) ὃ ἡγεμὼν ἀναπέμπεσθαι (ἀνα-  
 πέμψαι 421) Καίσαρι 97 421  
 παρεδίδουν] παρέδωκεν 1175  
 2 μέλλοντι] μέλλοντες HLPS  
 Θεσσαλονικέως] Θεσσαλονικέων δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέκουν-  
 dos 614 minn  
 5 διαπλεύσαντες] + δι' ἡμερῶν δεκάπεντε 614 2147 (minn)  
 Μύρρα] Λύστραν NA  
 6 κάκει] καὶ 255

et ita legatus mitti eum Ca[esari] iudicavit]. 1 [et in] crastinum vocabit h  
 centurionem quendam, [nomi]ne Julum, et tradidit ei Paulum cum ceteris  
 eius[todius]. 2 cum coepissemus navigare, ascendimus in navē [Adru]metinam :  
 ascendit autem noviscom et Aristar[chus] Ma[cedo]. 3 venimus autem Sidonae :  
 et humanae attrad[ans] Pa[ju]lum, ille centurio permisit amicus, qui veniebant  
 [ad eum], uti curam ejus agerent. 4 inde autem navigantes [legim]s Cyprium,  
 eo quod contrari erant venti. 5 et post [haec, na]vigantes sinum Cilium et  
 Pamphilum pelagū, [diebus] xv devenimus Myra Lyciae, 6 et invenit navē  
 [Alexan]drinam centurio ille navigantem in Italiā.

1-2 *ws de ekriqh* . . *πλωι*] *mg* sic igitur iudicavit praeses mittere eum ad Harclean  
 Caesarem. quum die postero vocasset centurionem quendam cuius nomen  
 Julianus ex cohorte Augusta, tradidit ei Paulum cum et ceteris vinctis quum  
 conscendissent autem navem 1 *τινι*] × cuidam ✓ 2 *θεσσαλονικεων* *de*  
*αρισταρχος και σεκουνδος*] *tezt* ex Thessalonicensibus autem Aristarchus et Secundus  
 5 *δι ημερων δεκαπεντε*] × per dies quindecim ✓

fails to appear in any form in h, probably by abridgement, while in 614 minn *hol.tezt θεσσαλονικεων de αρισταρχος και σεκουνδος* is substituted for it, always in addition to the preceding *αρισταρχου μακεδονος*. The addition is plainly derived from xx. 4, and may have belonged to the original 'Western' text, at least in the form current in the East. This may be (so White) a case where our Harclean ms. has neglected to insert the due ✕. The nominative *αρισταρχος* in N\* is noteworthy; *pesh* reads 'and there went on board the ship with us Aristarchus a Macedonian who was from the city of Thessalonica.'

5 *Et post* [haec] h, 'then' *hol.tezt*, are perhaps due to *ro re* of the Greek text (misunderstood as *rōre*)

*Sinum* h is doubtless (so Wordsworth and White) a corruption of *secundum* (gig s for *kara*).

Unless in the 'Western' text the

additional words *de ημερων δεκαπεντε* 614 minn h *vg.cod ardmach hol.✕* are regarded as genuine and accidentally omitted from the B-text, no explanation is at hand.

*μύρρα* B minn *hol Greek marginal note* [*eis μύρραν*] (cf. also Jer. *Nom. hebr.* p 102; sah) is not attested as a possible spelling for *μύρα* (so, correctly, Antiochian and h; S 81 *μύρα*), and is to be rejected, with other strange spellings of Codex Vaticanus for proper names in both O.T. and N.T.; see O. O. Torrey, *Exra Studies*, Chicago, 1910, pp. 98-95. The substitution of *συμραν* 69 E (by testimony of Bede; the reading of s is not known), Pa-Jer. (ed. Migne, vol. xxiii. 1864) is easily accounted for from the equivalence of meaning (remarked by Bede) between *μύρρα* and *σύνωρα* (see Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.vv.; cf. Rev. xviii. 18 v.1) *λυστρα(ν)* NA *vg boh* is a mere corruption. See Wordsworth and White's full note.



- 7 om κατὰ Σαλμώνην 614 minn  
 8 om τινὰ A 611  
 Λασέα] \*Αλασσα A minn  
 9 om ἤδη 2° 489 920  
 10 om φορτίου καὶ τοῦ 255  
 12 καταντήσαντες] καταντήσαι 2147  
 15 ἐπιδόντες] + τῷ πλέοντι καὶ συστειλάντες τὰ ἱστία 614 1518

[imposu]it nos, 7 et cum tarde navigaremus per aliquod [tempus, v]enimus h Gnidum: 8 et inde cum tulissemus, legē[tes Cret]en, devenimus in portum bonum, ubi Anchis [v]itas ex[er]at: 9 et cum plures dies illic fecissemus, et jam es[set per]iculosa navigatio, eo quod et jejuniū trans[sisset], accessit Paulus, 10 dicens: viri, video nos cum iniuria [multa e]t jactura, non tantum navis, sed et animarū [nostrar]um navigare incipere. 11 gubernator autem [et magis] ter navis cogitabant navigare, 12 si forte possent [venire P]hoenicem in portum, qui est Cretae. consē[tebat] illis magis centurio quam Pauli verbis: 13 et [dum fiat] auster, tulimus celerius et sublegebamus

7 κατὰ σαλμωνην] ✕ contra Salmonem ✓ 8 αλασσα] mg Alasa Harclean  
 15 τῷ πλεοντι καὶ συστειλάντες τὰ ἱστία] ✕ flanti et collegimus artemonem ✓ et juxta id quod contingebat

a case of abridgement in the Greek 'Western' text.

7-8 μη προσειπὼν ἡμᾶς τὸν ἀνέμου is omitted in the present text of h, but the Latin text is plainly an abridgement, as well as in disorder, and it is impossible to say what Greek h originally translated. The words *inde cum tulissemus* (of. vs. 4 *inde cum sustulissemus* vg) show that the editor who formed this text thought that Paul's ship put in at Gnidos.

8 *Anchis* h as the name of the town is commonly supposed to be due to a misunderstanding of ἀγκι, which might have stood in the 'Western' text for ἐργυρ. Of vs. 18 *de Asson* vg for *Asson*, the comparative of this same word.

For *λασσα* (*lassa*) the vg rendering *thalassa* is a corruption which seems near to *αλασσα* A minn hol. mg, but the precise origin of which cannot be traced.

9 The rendering *illic fecissemus* h is in some measure supported by pesh 'and we were there,' but the following sentence in pesh is a very free translation.

13 *Celerius* h represents *ασσον*, and may be due to a variant *θασσον*, which Vg took as the name of a place and

renders *de asson* (cod D *de assole*); so sah 'from Alasos,' boh 'from Assos.'

The first person, *tulimus*, *sublegedimus* h, is supported by pesh 'we sailed.'

14 *ευρακυλων* BNA is supported (with minor variations of spelling) by vg (no substantial variant known) sah boh, the Antiochian *ευρακυλων* (*ευρακυλων*) by pesh hol. text.

15 The 'Western' expansion seems to be given in full by hol. ✕ (note that ✓ is misplaced in the ms.; it should come after *contingebat*). In 614 1528 *πλεοντι* is a mistake for *πνεοντι* (sc. *ανεμου*). Cassiodorus and Bede, but no other known Latin witnesses, clearly refer to that part of the 'Western' text found in 614.

17 Like the Greek mss., the versions are divided as to the name of the island; *καυθα* (mod. Gozzo, i.e. Gavdhonis) vg pesh, *κλυθα* vg. cod. hol. text sah boh.

For *χαλασantes το σκευος*, vg *diminuerunt vase*, various interpretative substitutes are found: *χαλασantes τα ιστια* (το ιστιον) minn pesh; *deposuerunt vela* s; for the whole phrase *χαλασantes το σκευος ουτως εφεροντο*, g1g has *vas quoddam dimiserunt quod traheret*.

ἐφέροντο. σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβολὴν 18  
ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἔρριψαν. 19  
μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρων ἐπιφαινόντων ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας, 20  
χειμῶνός τε οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένου, περιηρέϊτο ἐλπίς πᾶσα τοῦ  
σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς. πολλῆς τε ἀσιτείας ὑπαρχούσης τότε σταθεῖς 21  
ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν εἶπεν· Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πειθ-  
αρχήσαντάς μοι μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κερδῆσαί τε τὴν 22  
ὑβρίν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν. καὶ τὰ νῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν, 23  
ἀποβολὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν πλην τοῦ πλοίου·  
παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ εἰμί, ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω, 24  
ἄγγελος | λέγων· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Παῦλε· Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστήναι, 24  
καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισται σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ.  
διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες· πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι οὕτως ἔσται 25  
καθ' ὃν τρόπον λελάληταί μοι. εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐκπεσεῖν. 26  
ὥς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ νύξ ἐγένετο διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν 27  
τῷ Ἀδρία, κατὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται προσαχεῖν  
τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν. καὶ βολίσαντες εὗρον ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσι, βραχὺ 28  
δὲ διαστήσαντες καὶ πάλιν βολίσαντες εὗρον ὀργυιὰς δεκαπέντε·  
φοβούμενοί τε μή πού κατὰ τραχεῖς τόπους ἐκπέσωμεν ἐκ πρύμνης 29  
ῥεῖψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας εὗχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι. τῶν δὲ 30  
ναυτῶν ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου καὶ χαλασάντων τὴν  
σκάφην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν προφάσει ὥς ἐκ πύργου ἀγκύρας μελ-

Editors 20 επικειμενου] +λοιπον WH Soden JHR 26 δει ημας WH Soden JHR  
27 προσαχειν] προσαγειν WH Soden JHR προσαχειν WHmg 29 τε] δε  
Soden

Old Uncial 18 δε BNO 81 τε A 20 επικειμενου B +λοιπον NAO 81 ελπις  
πασα BA 81 πασα ελπις NC 21 τοτε BNO 81 om A 22 ψυχης  
ουδεμα BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 ουδεμα ψυχης N 23 ταυτη BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 τηδε N θεου  
BNAO κυριου 81 εμμ BO 81 +εγω NAO<sup>o</sup> αγγελος after λατρευω  
BNAO before του θεου 81 26 ημας δει B δει ημας NAO 81 27 εγενετο  
BNO επεγενετο A 81 προσαχειν B προσαγειν B<sup>o</sup> B<sup>o</sup> Tdf<sup>o</sup> προσαγειν  
ACN<sup>o</sup> 81 προαγειν N 28 και 1<sup>o</sup> BACN<sup>o</sup> 81 οιτινες N ευρον  
2<sup>o</sup> BNA 81 ευρομεν C 29 τε BA δε NC 81 μη που (μη N<sup>o</sup> ?)  
BNO 81 μη πω A εκπεσωμεν BAO εκπεσωσιν 81 εμπεσωμεν N  
τεσσαρας BAO 81 τεσσαρες N 30 φυγειν BNO 81 εκφυγειν A  
αγκυρας μελλοντων BAO 81 μελλοντων αγκυρας N

Antiochian 19 ερειψαν] ερριψαμεν LPBS<sup>o</sup> 20 επικειμενου] +λοιπον LPBS<sup>o</sup> πασα  
ελπις PBS<sup>o</sup> πασα η ελπις L 21 τε 1<sup>o</sup> δε LPBS<sup>o</sup> 23 τη νυκτι ταυτη S  
αγγελος before του θεου, instead of after λατρευω LPBS<sup>o</sup> 26 δει ημας LPBS<sup>o</sup>  
27 om διαφερομενων ημων εν τω Αδρια κατα S μεσον] μεσου S προσαχειν]  
προσαγειν LPBS<sup>o</sup> 29 μη που] μηπως LPBS<sup>o</sup> κατα] εις LPBS<sup>o</sup>  
εκπεσωσιν S 30 μελλοντων αγκυρας LPBS<sup>o</sup>



19 ἔρευφαν] + εἰς τὴν (some codd. om τὴν) θάλασσαν 614  
minn

22 οὐδεμιᾶς 1518 minn

28 καὶ 1<sup>o</sup>] οἴτνες &  
om καὶ πάλιν βολίσαντες 1898 minn

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19 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν] ✕ in mare ✓

Haroldson

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19 + εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν 614 minn  
hcl ✕ gig vg.codd sah.

27 προσαχεῖν B (which might be Doric for προσηχεῖν) is supported by gig s resonare sibi aliquam (quandam s) regionem, but the use is strange and

the form unattested elsewhere. προσ-αχεῖν, although itself difficult, is to be preferred. Vg apparere is a substitute, not a translation.

28 At the close of this verse gig vg.codd add ut sciremus an salvi esse possimus (possemus vg.codd).

λόντων ἐκτείνειν, εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς 31  
στρατιώταις· Ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι  
οὐ δύνασθε. τότε ἀπέκοψαν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ σχοινία τῆς σκάφης 32  
καὶ εἴασαν αὐτὴν ἐκτεσεῖν. ἄχρι δὲ οὐ ἡμέρα ἡμελλεν γένεσθαι 33  
παρεκάλει ὁ Παῦλος ἅπαντας μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς λέγων· Τεσ-  
σαρεσκαυδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἄσειτοι δια-  
τελεῖτε, μὴθὲν προσλαβόμενοι· διὸ καὶ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν 34  
τροφῆς, τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει· οὐδενὸς  
γὰρ ὑμῶν θρῖξ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολείται. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ 35  
λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ κλάσας  
ἤρξατο ἐσθεῖν. εὐθυμοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι πάντες καὶ αὐτοὶ προσ- 36  
ελάβοντο τροφῆς. ἡμεθα δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ὡς 37  
ἐβδομήκοντα ἑξ. κορεσθέντες δὲ τροφῆς ἐκούφιζον τὸ πλοῖον 38  
ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σείτον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, 39  
τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐγείνωσκον, κόλπον δὲ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλὸν  
εἰς ὃν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ δύναντο ἐκώσσαι τὸ πλοῖον. καὶ τὰς 40  
ἀγκύρας περιελόντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἅμα ἀνέντες τὰς  
ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων, καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν ἄρτέμωνα τῇ  
40 αἰτομῶνα

Editors	84 om και WH Soden JHR	προ] προς WH Soden JHR	35 ειπας]
	ειπων Soden	37 ημεν Soden	ως] διακοσαι WHmg Soden JHR
	39 εγεινωσκον] επεγεινωσκον WH Soden JHR		εκωσαι] εξωσαι WHmg Soden JHR
Old Uncial	81 ειπεν B <sup>9</sup> AC +de 81	μεινωσιν εν τω πλοιω BAC <sup>9</sup> 81	εν τω πλοιω μεινωσιν B
	82 οι στρατιωται B <sup>9</sup> AC om 81	33 προσλαβομενοι BNC 81	προσλαμβανομενοι A
	84 και B om NAC 81	μεταλαβειν BAC <sup>9</sup> 81	+τι N
	προ B	προς NAC 81	υμετερας BNC 81
	ημετερας A	απο BAC 81 εκ N	35 ειπας] B <sup>9</sup> AC
	ευχαριστησεν BAC 81	ευχαριστησας N	ειπων 81
	προσelaβοντο BO 81	προσελαβον A	μεταλαβαν N
	ημεν C	αι BNC om A 81	37 ημεθα BNA 81
	εβδομηκοντα εξ NC 81	διακοσαι εβδομηκοντα πεντε A	38 την BAC <sup>9</sup> 81
	om N	39 εγεινωσκον B	επεγεινωσκον NAC 81
	εβουλευοντο BNC	εβουλωτο A 81	δυναντο BNA 81
	εξωσαι BNA 81	40 περιελοντες BAC <sup>9</sup> 81	προελοντες N
			αρτεμωνα B <sup>a</sup>
Antiochian	32 οι στρατιωται απεκοψαν LPSS	38 εμελλεν ημερα LPSS	γενεσθαι
S	προσλαμβανομενοι (ω) P	34 om και LPSS	μεταλαβειν]
	προσλαβειν LPSS	προ] προς LPSS	υμετερας] ημετερας LP
	απο] εκ LPSS	απολειται] πεσειται LPSS	35 ειπας] ειπων LPSS
	37 ημεν LPSS	εν τω πλοιω αι πασαι ψυχαι LPSS	ως] διακοσαι
	LPSS	38 της τροφης LPSS	εκβαλομενοι L
	επεγεινωσκον LPSS	εβουλευσαντο LPSS	39 εγεινωσκον]
	εκωσαι] εξωσαι LPSS	εξωσαι S	δυναντο] δυνατων LPSS

31 δυνάμεθα 467 1838

35 ἐσθίειν] + ἐπιδιδούς καὶ ἡμῶν 614 1611 2147

39 ἐβουλεύοντο] + οἱ ναῦται 920

35 ἐπιδιδούς καὶ ἡμῶν] ✕ et dedit etiam nobis ✓

Harclean

30 At the end of this verse gig  
vg.codd add *ut tuus natus staret*.

33 *μηθεν προσλαβόμενοι* om gig.

34 *προ* B Ψ minn is to be deemed an  
error, which may have arisen independ-  
ently in more than one ms. *προ* does  
not seem to have been commonly used  
in Greek in quite this sense.

*ουθενος γαρ] ερεο ενιμ εν δο μοο*  
*γνισα nullius* gig.

36 *προσελαβοντο] μεταλαμβανον* 614  
minn (-οντο, προσ-), *percepirebant* gig.

37 Against *διακοσαι εβδομηκοντα εζ*  
(*πεντε* Δ) NAC 81 Antiochian gig vg  
pesh hol boh stands *ως εβδομηκοντα εζ*  
B sah. 522 omits *διακοσαι* but does  
not insert *ως*; Eriphanian (*ως εβδο-*

*μηκοντα*) seems to be using the text  
of B. B is probably in error, for  
ΠΛΟΙΩΝΟΣ could easily have  
arisen out of ΠΛΟΙΩΝΟΣ, and *ως*  
is inappropriate with an exact state-  
ment of number. *πεντε* A seems a  
mere mistake. 69 Ephr.cod read 270.

39 The gloss *οι ναυται*, which in 920  
is attached to *εβουλεύοντο*, appears in  
gig vg.codd sah.cod.P pesh as subject  
of 'knew not.'

In view of its regular use in the  
sense of 'drive ashore,' *εξωσαι* B NAC 81  
gig vg is to be preferred to the plausible,  
but less apt, reading *εκσωσαι* BC minn  
sah boh.

πνεύσῃ κατείχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον 41  
 διθάλασσον ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν, καὶ ἡ μὲν πρῶρα ἐρείσασα  
 ἔμεινεν ἀσάλευτος, ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας. τῶν δὲ 42  
 στρατιωτῶν βουλὴ ἐγένετο ἵνα τοὺς δεσμώντας ἀποκτείνωσιν, μή  
 τις ἐκκολυμβήσας διαφύγῃ· ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης βουλόμενος δια- 43  
 σῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ βουλήματος, ἐκέλευσέν  
 τε τοὺς δυναμένους ἐκκολυμβᾶν ἀπορεΐψαντας πρώτους ἐπὶ τὴν  
 γῆν ἐξείναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς οὓς μὲν ἐπὶ σανίσιν οὓς δὲ ἐπὶ 44  
 τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

Καὶ διασωθέντες τότε ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι Μελιτήνη ἡ νῆσος XXVIII  
 καλεῖται. οἱ τε βάρβαροι παρέιχαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλαν- 2  
 θρωπίαν ἡμῶν, ἄπαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς  
 διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα καὶ διὰ τὸ ψύχος. συστρέψαντος δὲ 3  
 τοῦ Παύλου φρυγάνων τι πλῆθος καὶ ἐπιθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν,  
 ἔχιδνα ἀπὸ τῆς θερμῆς ἐξελθοῦσα καθήψε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. ὥς 4  
 δὲ εἶδαν οἱ βάρβαροι κρεμᾶμενον τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ,  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· Πάντως φονεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος  
 ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἴασεν. ὁ μὲν 5  
 οὖν ἀποτινάξας τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν· οἱ δὲ 6

Babton 41 βίας] +των κυμάτων Soden 43 ἐκκολυμβαν] κολυμβαν WH Soden JHR  
 1 μελιτη Soden 2 προσελαβοντο] προσαναλαμβανον JHR

Old Uncial 41 ἐπέκειλαν] ἐπεκείλαν B<sup>2</sup>(B<sup>1</sup>Taf) πρῶρα BNC 81 πρώτη A  
 ἐμεινεν BNC 81 ἐμεινεν A ὑπο BAC<sup>1</sup> 81 απο N βίας BNA  
 +των κυμάτων C<sup>1</sup> 81 42 δε BNA<sup>2</sup> 81 om O αποκτείνωσιν  
 BNA<sup>2</sup> 81 +ινα N<sup>2</sup> 43 διασῶσαι τον παυλον BNC 81 τον παυλον διασῶσαι A  
 βουλήματος BAC<sup>1</sup> 81 βήματος N τε BNA δε C 81 ἐκκολυμβαν B  
 κολυμβαν NAC 81 τὴν γῆν BAC 81 τῆς γῆς N 1 μελιτήνη B  
 μελιτη BNA<sup>2</sup> 81 2 τε BAC 81 δε N προσελαβοντο BAC<sup>1</sup> 81  
 προσαναλαμβανον N παντας BNC 81 om A δια 2<sup>o</sup> BAC<sup>1</sup> 81  
 om N 3 ἐπιθέντος BNC 81 +του παυλου A καθήψε BNA 81  
 καθήψατο C 4 κρεμᾶμενον το θηριον BNA<sup>2</sup> C το θηριον κρεμᾶμενον 81  
 τῆς 2<sup>o</sup> BAC<sup>1</sup> 81 om N 5 αποτινάξας BN αποτιναξαμενος A 81  
 κακον BNA<sup>2</sup> 81 om N

Arabic an 41 ἐπέκειλαν] ἐπεκείλαν LPSS<sup>2</sup> ἐλύετο] διελύετο L βίας] +των  
 κυμάτων LPSS<sup>2</sup> 42 διαφυγῆς 43 ἑκατονταρχῆς] ἑκατονταρχος  
 LPSS<sup>2</sup> ἐκκολυμβαν] κολυμβαν LPSS<sup>2</sup> 1 διασωθέντες] +οι περι τον  
 παυλον εκ του πλοος L ἐπεγνωμεν] ἐπεγνωσαν LPSS<sup>2</sup> μελιτήνη]  
 μελιτη LPSS<sup>2</sup> 2 τε] δε LPSS<sup>2</sup> ἄπαντες] ἀναπαντες LPSS<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐφεστῶτα] υφεστῶτα L 3 om τε LPSS<sup>2</sup> απο] εκ 5 ἐξελθοῦσα]  
 διεξελθοῦσα LPSS<sup>2</sup> 4 ελεγον προς ἀλλήλους LPSS<sup>2</sup> 5 αποτιναξαμενος L

.viii 2 προσελάβοντο] προσανελάβανον N<sup>Y</sup> 614 1518 minn

41 την ναυ] navem ✕ eo ubi erat syrtis ✓

42 μη τις] + mg ex is Harclean

41 The curtness of *υπο της βίας* led to various expansions: *των κυμάτων* O<sup>N</sup> 81 Antiochian boh, *maris* gig vg, 'of the wind' sah.

43-44 The rendering of gig may give a fair idea of the 'Western' paraphrase: *centurio autem prohibuit hoc fieri praecipiens propter paulum ut saluum illum faceret. et iussit illos qui possent enatare primum ceteros ad terram et reliquos quosdam in tabulis saluos fieri. et sic omnes animas salvas ad terram venerunt.* Sah translates *απορριψάρας εξισται* by 'to leap,' but perhaps does not represent a different Greek text from B. Peah seems to retain some traces of the 'Western' text.

1 μελιτη B min (1 lectionary) gag vg hol. Greek mg boh, μελιτη B<sup>N</sup>AC 81

Antiochian vg *codex* peah sah. The collocation of letters THNHHNHCOG has played some part here.

2 For *προσελάβοντο* BAC<sup>N</sup> 81 Antiochian the reading *προσανελάβανον* N<sup>Y</sup> 614 1518 minn is to be preferred. Vg renders *refecerunt*, *gig* *refecerunt*, in the sense 'refreshed,' which is proper to *προσανελάβανον*. The word *προσελάβοντο*, in the sense 'received,' is colourless, not likely to have been altered to a more vigorous term; and this weak sense is the only one that can be given it here, for its more specific connotations, 'take in addition,' 'take as a helper,' 'take hold of,' or 'fasten,' are all foreign to this context. See Wordsworth and White's note.

προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν πίμπρασθαι ἢ καταπέιπτειν ἄφνω νεκρόν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντων καὶ θεωρούντων μηθὲν ἄτοπον εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόμενον, μεταβαλλόμενοι ἔλεγον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκέκων ὑπῆρχεν χωρία 7 τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος ἡμᾶς ἡμέρας τρεῖς φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισεν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ 8 Ποπλίου πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ συνεχόμενον κατακεῖσθαι, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Παῦλος εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ εἰσάπατο αὐτόν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ 9 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας προσήρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο, οἱ καὶ πολλαῖς τεμαῖς ἐτείμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναγομένους ἐπέθεντο 10 τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας.

Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακότη 11 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀλεξανδρινῷ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκοούροις. καὶ κατ- 12 αχθέντες εἰς Συρακούσας ἐπεμείναμεν ἡμέρας τρισίν, ὅθεν περι- 13 ελόντες κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Ῥήγειον. καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιγενομένου νότου δευτεραῖοι ἦλθομεν εἰς Ποτιόλους, οὗ εὐρόντες 14 ἀδελφοὺς παρεκλήθημεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν. ἀκείθεν ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες 15

8 after προσευξάμενος MS. seems to add ευξάμενος

12 συρακουσας

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Editors	7 treis hemeras WHmg Soden	9 γενομένου] +[καὶ] WH +και Soden
JHR	11 ἀνήχθημεν] ηχθημεν Soden mg	12 ημερας τρεις WH
Soden JHR	18 περιελοντες] περιελθοντες Soden	14 επιμειναι]
επιμειναντες JHR	15 οι αδελφοι WH Soden JHR	

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Old Unecal	6 μελλειν B <sup>8</sup> 81 μελλων A	πιμπρασθαι B <sup>8</sup> 81 πιπρασθαι A
	εμπιπρασθαι B <sup>8</sup> μεταβαλλομενοι BA 81 μεταβαλλομενοι B <sup>8</sup> αυτον	
	ειναι B <sup>8</sup> 81 ειναι αυτον A	7 ημερας τρεις B τρεις ημερας BA 81
	8 δυσεντερειω B <sup>8</sup> A δυσεντερεια 81	om ευξάμενος 2 <sup>o</sup> B <sup>8</sup> 9 γενομένου B
	+και BA 066 81	10 τα B <sup>8</sup> 066 81 τας A om B τας χρειας
	B <sup>8</sup> A 066 την χρειαν 81	12 ημερας τρισιν B ημερας τρεις BA 066 81
	18 περιελοντες B <sup>8</sup> περιελθοντες A <sup>8</sup> 066 81	14 εις την Ρωμην ηλθαμεν
	B <sup>8</sup> ηλθαμεν εις (+την 81) Ρωμην A 066 81	15 αδελφοι B οι αδελφοι BA 066 81

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Antiochian	6 om αφνω S	μεταβαλλομενοι LPSS	θεον αυτον ειπαι LPSS
	7 treis hemeras LPSS	8 δυσεντερεια S	εισελθων προσελθων P
	9 δε] ουν LPSS	γενομένου L	add και δευτε οι λοιποι LPSS
	εχοντες ασθενειας εν τη νησω LPSS	10 om οι P	την χρειαν LPSS
	11 ἀνήχθημεν] ηχθημεν S	12 ημερας τρεις LPSS	περιελοντες] περιελθοντες
	LPSS προσελθοντες S	14 παρ] επ LPSS	επιμειναι] επιμειναντες S
	ηλθαμεν] εισηλθομεν L	15 οι αδελφοι LPSS	

## 6 θεωρούντων] θεωρησάντων Ψ 1518 2188

10 ἡμᾶς] + ὅσον χρόνον ἐπεδημούμεν minn

6 και θεωρησαντων] *mg* et [quum] intuih essent 7 ημερας τρεις] tres dies ✕ Harclean  
domi suae ✓ 9 γεγομενου] *mg* [quum] auditum [esset] 10 αν-  
αγομενους] egredieremur ✕ inde ✓ επεθεντο] posuerunt ✕ in navi ✓  
12 επεμειναμεν] mansimus ✕ ibi ✓ 14 επιμειναι] manantes ✕ apud eos ✓

11 The (Ionic and late) spelling *διοσκοποις* is that of B<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup> C and of the Antiochian text, but ΨP (corrected to -ου- by the first hand), 81\* and many minuscules, sah boh gig (cf. *vg. codd. Cms D*), have the old Attic form *διοσκορ*-. The minuscules that have this latter form are mainly of the I-groups, and it may well have stood in the 'Western' text.

12 *ημερας τριων* B is not effectively supported by *triduo* *vg.*, since *vg* shows a tendency elsewhere (e.g. Acts xxviii. 30 *διονμιο*) to substitute ablative for accusative in such an expression of time.

13 Neither *περιελθοντες* B<sup>1</sup> (cf. *inde tulimus et gig*; cf. h xxvii. 8 *cum tulissemus*, xxvii. 13 *tulimus*, [αρωτες]) nor *περιελθοντες* of most other witnesses yields a satisfactory sense, unless *περιαιρειν* had a technical seafaring meaning otherwise unattested (cf. xxvii. 40 *τας δικτιπας περιελθοντες*). *περιελθοντες* looks like the last resort of an editor unable to cope with the obscure *περιελθοντες*. See Hort, 'Introduction', pp 226 f.

14 The textual problem in this verse is made unusually difficult by uncertainty as to the precise form of the 'Western' reading and by the superficial aptness but intrinsic inferiority

of the text of B<sup>1</sup>. A possible theory of the history of the passage is as follows:—

(1) *παρεκληθημεν παρ αυτοις επιμειναντες gig* (*consolati sumus et mansimus apud eos*; cf. hol 'we were consoled among them, staying ✕ with them ✓'), was probably the 'Western' reading, and is to be accepted as original.

(2) In S 614 minn, επ αυτοις ('by reason of them') was substituted for παρ αυτοις, because the phrase was associated with *παρεκληθημεν* instead of (cf. *gig* *peah*) *επιμειναντες*; this gave the reading *παρεκληθημεν επ αυτοις επιμειναντες*.

(3) In the B-text (B<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup> 066 81 *vg* *peah* boh) no change was made in παρ αυτοις, but *επιμειναντες* was changed to *επιμειναι* either by accident or on purpose, and in connexion with this *παρεκληθημεν* was taken in the sense *rogati sumus*, as in *peah*: 'they begged of us and we stayed with them.'

(4) Later, the Antiochian revisers (LP minn) accepted both these modifications, producing the text *παρεκληθημεν επ αυτοις επιμειναι*.

But (apart from doubts arising from the general reputation of the several witnesses) the readings themselves would also permit of other interpretations of their genetic relations.

τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἦλθαν εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῶν ἄχρι Ἀππίου Φόρου καὶ  
Τριῶν Ταβερνῶν, οὗς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ ἔλαβε  
θάρος. ὅτε δὲ εἰσῆλθαμεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ 16  
μένειν καθ' αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ φυλάσσουντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ.

Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς συναλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς 17  
ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους· συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν  
πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἐγώ, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ  
λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις δέσμιος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρ-  
εδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἵτινες ἀνακρείναντές με 18  
ἐβούλοντο ἀπολῦσαι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν  
ἐν ἐμοί· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠναγκάσθη ἐπικαλέ- 19  
σασθαι Καίσαρα, οὐχ ὥς τοῦ ἔθνους μου ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν.  
διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν καὶ προσ- 20  
λαλῆσαι, εἵνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην  
περίκειμαι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε γράμματα περὶ 21  
σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, οὔτε παραγενόμενός τις τῶν  
ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν ἢ ἐλάλησέν τι περὶ σοῦ πονηρόν. ἀξιούμεν 22  
δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ φρονεῖς, περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης  
γνωστὸν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται. ταξάμενοι δὲ 23  
αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες, οἷς  
ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ πείθων τε

Editors 15 ἦλθαν] [εἰ]ἦλθον Soden 16 ρωμην] +[ο εκατονταρχος παρεδωκεν  
τους δεσμιους τω στρατοπεδαρχω] Soden 17 ἐπετραπη] +[δε] Soden  
εαυτον WH Soden JHR 19 κατηγορησαι Soden 23 ἦλθον] ἦλθαν  
WH ηκον Soden (but cf. mg)

Old Uncial 15 απαντησιν BA<sup>9</sup> 066 81 υπαντησιν N ημιν BA<sup>9</sup> ημιν 066 81  
υμιν N 16 ρωμην BA<sup>9</sup> 066 81 την ρωμην N αυτον 1<sup>o</sup> B εαυτον  
NA 066 81 17 ελεγεν BN<sup>A</sup> 066 ειπεν 81 εγω BA<sup>9</sup> 066 81  
λεγων N ποιησας BN<sup>A</sup> 066 τραξας 81 18 ανακρειναντες BA<sup>9</sup> 81  
ανακρινοντες N εβουλοντο BA<sup>9</sup> 81 +με N 21 ουτε 1<sup>o</sup> BN<sup>A</sup>  
ουδε 81 περι σου εδεξαμεθα B 81 κατα σου εδεξαμεθα N εδεξαμεθα περι  
σου A 22 παρα σου ακουσαι BA 81 ακουσαι παρα σου N ημιν BN<sup>A</sup>  
υμιν 81 23 ηλθον BN 81 ηλθαν A διαμαρτυρομενος BN<sup>A</sup> 81  
διαμαρτυραμενοι N παραιτεμενος A τε 1<sup>o</sup> BA<sup>9</sup> 81 om N

Antiochian 15 ἦλθαν] εἰῆλθον LPS<sup>5</sup> 16 εἰσῆλθομεν] ἦλθομεν LPS<sup>5</sup> ἦλθον S  
την ρωμην L ἐπετραπη τῷ παύλῳ] ο εκατονταρχος παρεδωκε τους δεσμιους τῷ  
στρατοπεδαρχῳ (στρατοπεδαρχη 5)· τῷ δὲ παύλῳ ἐπετραπη LPS<sup>5</sup> αυτον 1<sup>o</sup>  
εαυτον LPS<sup>5</sup> αυτον 2<sup>o</sup> αυτω L 17 αυτον] τον παυλον LPS<sup>5</sup>  
ανδρες αδελφοι εγω LPS<sup>5</sup> 19 τον καισαρα S κατηγορησαι LPS<sup>5</sup>  
21 εδεξαμεθα περι σου P(?) om τι S 22 om αξιουμεν δε L ακουσαι  
παρα σου L om γαρ L εστιν ημιν LPS<sup>5</sup> 23 ηλθον] ηκον  
LPS<sup>5</sup> διαμαρτυρομενοι] +αυτοις L



- 16 ἐπετράπη δὲ τῷ Παύλῳ] ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς  
δεσμούς τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ ἐπετράπη LPS  
αὐτόν] + ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς 614 1611 2147

- 18 οἷτινες] + πολλὰ 614 2147 minn

- 19 Ἰουδαίων] + καὶ ἐπικραζόντων· Αἶρε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν 614  
minn  
κατηγορεῖν] + ἀλλ' ἵνα λυτρώσωμαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ  
θανάτου 614 1518 minn

- 22 παρὰ] περὶ 915

16 ο ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμούς τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ] ✕ centurio Harelean  
tradidit vinctos praefecto exercitus ✕ ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς] ✕ extra  
castra ✕ 18 πολλὰ] ✕ multa ✕ 19 καὶ ἐπικραζόντων αἶρε τὸν  
ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν] ✕ et [quum] clamarent: Tolle inimicum nostrum ✕ ἀλλ  
ἵνα λυτρώσωμαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ θανάτου] ✕ sed ut servarem animam meam a  
morte ✕ 21 ἐλάλησεν] locutus est ✕ nobis ✕

15 The omission of τα περὶ ἡμῶν by  
gig vg pesh deserves mention

16 The expansion of ἐπετράπη τῷ  
παύλῳ B<sup>8</sup>A 81 minn vg pesh boh into  
ο ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμούς  
τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ, τῷ δεπαύλῳ ἐπετράπη  
is found (with trifling variation) in  
614 perp gig vg.codd hol.✕ sah, and  
was adopted by the Antiochian re-  
visers. It was doubtless a part of the  
'Western' text. Since ο στρατοπεδ-  
αρχος is not the title of any specific  
official, but seems to be a general word  
for 'superior officer,' 'commandant,'  
this longer text contains nothing  
beyond the capacity of the 'Western'  
reviser, and has no greater claim to  
acceptance as original than any other  
'Western' paraphrastic expansion.

The addition ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς 614  
perp gig vg.codd Ambrosiaster (pro-  
logue to Ephesians) hol.mg appears in  
gig as a substitute for καθ' αὐτόν; in  
most of the other witnesses as an  
addition to these words. It is doubt-  
less from the same source as the longer

expansion. For the same phrase cf.  
Lev. xvi. 27, Heb. xiii. 11.

The translations of (or substitutes  
for) τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ are the follow-  
ing: *princeps peregrinorum* gig, *pre-  
fecto* perp vg.codd; 'the archon of the  
soldiers' sah; 'head of the army'  
hol.✕. See Mommsen and Harnack,  
in *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy,  
1895, pp. 491-508, Zahn, *Einleitung*  
in *d. N.T.*, vol. i, § 81, note 2.

17 Vg pesh sah render 'called  
together' for ἐγενετο . . . συναλε-  
σασθαι of the B-text, and this may be  
a fragment of the 'Western' text.  
The noteworthy, and at first sight  
seemingly Semitic, *factum est* . . .  
*convocavit* of gig s hol text is perhaps  
really due to conflation of the two  
readings. In perp the rendering is  
*factum est* . . . *ut convocaret*.

ἐλεγεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς] *conferrebat cum  
eis dicens* gig s.

19 The 'Western' addition ἀλλ ἵνα  
λυτρώσωμαι κτλ. is supported by perp  
gig vg.codd.

αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν  
 προφητῶν ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ ἕως ἑσπέρας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς 24  
 λεγομένοις οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν, ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους 25  
 ἀπελύοντο, εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἐν ὅτι Καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα  
 τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἑσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας  
 Is. vi. 9 f. ὑμῶν | λέγων· Πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπὸν· Ἄκοψ 26  
 ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνήτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ  
 ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν 27  
 βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μὴ  
 ποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἴασομαι αὐτούς. γνωστὸν 28  
 ὅν ὑμῖν ἔστω ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ  
 θεοῦ· αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται.  
 Ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, καὶ ἀπεδέχετο 30  
 πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους πρὸς αὐτόν, κηρύσσων τὴν βασι- 31  
 λείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως.

Editors	28 εστω υμιν Soden	ακουσονται] +και ταυτα αυτου ειποντος απηλθον οι ιουδαιοι πολλην εχοντες εν εαυτοις συζητησιν Soden mg.
Old Uncial	24 μεν BΔ <sup>80</sup> 81 +ουν B <sup>8</sup>	25 δε BΔ <sup>80</sup> 81 τε B <sup>8</sup> δια (περι B <sup>8</sup> ) ησαιου του προφητου προς τους πατερας υμων B <sup>8</sup> 81 προς τους πατερας υμων δια ησαιου του προφητου A 26 λεγων B <sup>8</sup> λεγον A 81 ακουσετε B <sup>8</sup> ακουσητε A 81 και βλέποντες βλέψετε B <sup>8</sup> και βλέποντες βλέψητε A <sup>80</sup> om 81 27 επαχυνθη BΔ <sup>80</sup> 81 εβαρυνθη B <sup>8</sup> ωσιν B 81 +αυτων BΔ και τη καρδια συνωσιν BΔ <sup>80</sup> 81 om B <sup>8</sup> επιστρεψωσιν B <sup>8</sup> επιστρεψουσιν A 81 ιασομαι B <sup>8</sup> A ιασομαι 81 28 υμιν εστω B 81 εστω υμιν BΔ τουτο B <sup>8</sup> A 81 om B <sup>80</sup> 30 ενεμεινεν B <sup>8</sup> 81 εμεινεν A <sup>80</sup> 31 χριστου BΔ <sup>80</sup> 81 om B <sup>8</sup>
Antiochian	28 add τα before περι IBS <sup>5</sup> (S uncertain) <sup>5</sup> 27 ιασομαι S <sup>5</sup> LPS <sup>5</sup> 29 +και ταυτα αυτου ειποντος απηλθον οι ιουδαιοι πολλην εχοντες εν εαυτοις συζητησιν LPS <sup>5</sup> + ο παυλος LPS <sup>5</sup>	25 υμων] ημων LPS <sup>5</sup> 26 λεγων 28 εστω υμιν LPS <sup>5</sup> om τουτο 30 ενεμεινεν] εμεινεν LPS <sup>5</sup> δε]

24 λεγομένοις] + ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου Ψ

29 + καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὴν  
ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν LPS

30 δὲ] + ὁ Παῦλος LPS  
αὐτόν] + Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας 614 minn

---

28 αὐτοῖ] ipse ✕ enim ✓      29 καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπῆλθον Harclean  
οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν] ✕ et quum haec ipse dixisset,  
exierunt Iudaei habentes disputationem multam invicem ✓      30 δὲ] mg  
autem      ο παυλος] ✕ Paulus ✓      Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ ἑλλήνας] ✕ Iudaeos  
et gentiles ✓      31 ἀκωλύτως] + ἵνα dicens quia hic est Christus Jesus  
filius dei per quem incipiet totus mundus iudicari. amen.

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29 Vs. 29, doubtless a part of the 'Western' text, and found in *hel* ✕ *perp* *gig* *vg.codd*, cf. Cassiod., was adopted by the Antiochian revisers

30 The addition *Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ ἑλλήνας* found in 614 *hel* ✕ occurs also in other Greek *mun* and in *vg.codd* and Ephr. In its place *perp* *gig* *vg.codd* read *et disputabatur cum iudeis et grecis*, and a trace of this is preserved by the addition of *disputations* in *vg.codd* after *μυσθωμᾶτι* in the first part of the sentence. These readings indicate a 'Western' expansion, the precise form of which cannot be determined. In *perp* *s* *ενεμενεν* is represented by a participle, and the subsequent *et* is omitted.

31 The addition in *hel* *ἵνα* is not supported by any Greek witness, but is found, for substance and with variation of form and position, in *perp* *vg* *many codd*, but not in *gig*; see D. De Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxiv, 1907, pp. 408 f. The name 'Jesus' seems inappropriate, and is not found in a large proportion of the Latin witnesses. The gloss is plainly of Greek origin (note *incipiet iudicari* in many Latin *codd*), and is evidently ancient. It may well have been part of the 'Western' text, and the Latin witnesses seem to show that it was originally a substitute for *τα περι . . . εκωλύτως*, not a mere addition.

## DETACHED NOTES

### i. 2.

Amid the complicated divergence of texts in this verse two forms stand out as representing the sources from which the others have been derived :

(1) *αχρι ης ημερας εντειλαμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνευματος αγιου ους εξελεξατο ανελημφθη* B<sup>MAC</sup> 81 Antiochian.

(2) The Greek which can be reconstructed (with the aid of Codex Bezae) from the African Latin translation used by Augustine, *Contra Felicem* i. 4 ; *Contra epistolam Fundamenti* 9 .

in die quo (u.l. qua) apostolos elegit per spiritum sanctum et praecepit praedicare evangelium,<sup>1</sup>

*εν ημερα η τους αποστολους εξελεξατο δια πνευματος αγιου και εκελευσε κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον.*

In this reconstructed 'Western' form<sup>2</sup> it is plain that, in harmony with the 'Western' glossator's well-known method, *και εκελευσε κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον* has been substituted for *εντειλαμενος* Jesus' choice of his apostles necessarily preceded his instruction of them, and accordingly the statement of the instruction, in expanded form, was removed to a position at the end of the sentence, after *εξελεξατο*. Bearing this in mind, we can reconstruct the earlier text on which the 'Western' reviser may have worked, as follows :

*εν ημερα η εντειλαμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνευματος αγιου εξελεξατο.*

This would have differed from the text of B in three respects : (1) *εν ημερα η* for *αχρι ης ημερας* B ; (2) the absence of *ους*, as read in B ; (3) the absence of any reference to the Ascension (*ανελημφθη* B). For the omission of the object of *εξελεξατο* cf. Acts xiii. 3. The critic's choice must lie between something like this reconstructed text, used as a basis (and modified) by the 'Western' reviser, and the text of B.

<sup>1</sup> The tract *Contra Varimadum* (perhaps by the anti-priscillianist Itacius Olarus, bishop of Ossonoba in Spain ; late 4th century ; wrongly attributed to Vigilus of Thapsus) twice (i. 81 and iii. 71) quotes the verse in a text closely like that of Augustine : *in die qua apostolos elegit per spiritum sanctum quibus constituit (om quibus constituit in 71) praedicare evangelium*. Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 21 (cited above, p. 8), seems to show (*ad officium praedicandi*) that he knew the gloss *εκελευσε κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον* ; see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894, pp. 55 f.

<sup>2</sup> Important contributions to the understanding of the evidence as to the 'Western' text of Acts i. 2 were made by P. Corssen, *Der Oxyptianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, 1892, and by F. O. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, 1896, pp. 57 f., 66-71.

With regard to this text and Augustine's Latin a few comments may be added.

(1) The reading *in die quo (qua)* seems assured for Augustine in *Contra Felxcom* and *Contra ep Fundamenti*.<sup>1</sup> The reference in the form under consideration seems to be to Lk. vi. 13 ff.<sup>2</sup> The chief (but of course not the complete) contents of the former 'treatise' are stated to be Jesus' words and deeds from his first choice and instruction of the apostles. His instruction was completed (*καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ* Acts i. 3) during the resurrection appearances, and the present 'treatise' goes on to narrate how it was carried out by his apostles.

(2) The rendering of *καὶ συναλιζόμενος* by *et quomodo conversatus est* may mean 'and how he associated.' In that case it shows that the translator took vs. 2-4, which repeat matters presented more at length in the Gospel of Luke, as a succession of statements describing the contents of the 'former treatise'. (a) *elegit*, (b) *et precepit*, (c) *quibus praeavit se*, (d) *et quomodo conversatus est*, (e) *et precepit eis ne discederent*. This accorded with the intent of the original author (cf. the similar summary, Acts x. 40-42), and *quomodo* may represent a 'Western' *ws*, otherwise lost. Yet the addition of the word in translation would hardly be beyond the degree of freedom which the translator permits himself, and it is probably better to ascribe the addition to him.<sup>3</sup>

(3) The absence of any reference to the Ascension in this text is surely to be associated with the similar absence of mention of that event in the 'Western' text of Lk xxiv. 51. The change, whether by addition or subtraction, must be ascribed to the same motive in both cases, and was part of the same reworking of the New Testament text.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other text used by Augustine see below, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that no Greek text, and no other version than the Latin, has the reading 'on the day when,' and consequently the theory may be proposed that the Greek text lying before the 'Western' reviser read, like B, *αχρι της ημερας* (but without *απελημφθῆναι*), and was changed, either by the reviser or the Latin translator, to 'on the day when.' On this supposition the 'day' referred to by the Greek text would have to be taken as that of the final instruction to the apostles (Lk. xxiv. 47 ff.), which included a kind of choice (cf. Acts xv. 7 and x. 41). But the lack of Greek attestation does not outweigh the positive evidence of Augustine's citations, and the reference to Lk. xxiv. 47 ff. is attended with difficulties. The suggestion that in *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ* the word *ἡμέρα* means 'period' (cf. Jer. vii. 22 *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἀπέγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου*; John xiv. 20, xvi. 23, 26, etc.) is admissible; cf. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898, pp. 132-137, *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 1897, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Zahn argues in a valuable note (*Urausgabe*, pp. 180 f.) that *quomodo* merely means 'when,' used in translating the Greek participle by a Latin temporal clause (cf. h in Acts v. 24, 27); see J. Pinson, 'Quomodo en latin vulgaire' in *Philologische und volkswirtschaftliche Arbeiten Karl Vollmoller dargebracht*, Erlangen, 1908, pp. 72 f.; and this is wholly possible. Either explanation leaves it unnecessary to suppose that the Greek text read *ws*.

<sup>4</sup> This point has been justly and acutely urged by F. Graefe, 'Der Schluss des Lukasevangeliums und der Anfang der Apostelgeschichte,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, vol. lxi., 1888, pp. 522-541, who adopts the view that the 'Western' text of both passages excised the reference to the Ascension; see also F. Graefe, *ibid.*, vol. lxxi., 1898, pp. 136 f. On the text of Lk. xxiv. 51 see Hort, 'Appendix,' p. 73. The other phrases and sentences in Lk. xxiv., with incomplete attestation and held by Hort to be instances of 'Western non-interpolation,' must be included in considering the problem.

**Old Latin** The several forms of the Old Latin in vs 2 are to be explained as modifications of the 'Western' text of Augustine and conflation of it with the fuller B-text. The most interesting is that of gig t:

usque in diem quo precepit apostolis per spiritum sanctum predicare evangelium quos elegerat (elegit f).

Here the Ascension has not been introduced, although in other respects (notably *usque in diem* and *quos elegerat*) the influence of the B-text is plain.

Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum* iv. 8, offers a different Latin text from that quoted above (p. 257) from other works of his, and the same text is found in the Augustinian work of doubtful origin, *De unitate ecclesiae* (*Epistola ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum*) 11 (27).

usque in diem quo apostolos elegit per spiritum sanctum mandans iussit (eis for iussit, *De unitate*) praedicare evangelium.

This is probably a revision under the influence of the B-text through the Vulgate, which, as is well known, Augustine employed in the Gospel citations of the *De consensu*.<sup>1</sup> But equally with the other text of Augustine, this form lacks any reference to the Ascension.

**Codex Bezae** The text of D is also conflate. It retained *καὶ ἐκέλευε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, but nevertheless restored from the B-text *ἐντειλαμενος*, thus producing a doublet, and from the same source it introduced *ἀνελημβήθη* (necessarily in an altered position). The confused awkwardness of the resulting sentence in D proves that here, as in so many other cases, its text is conflate. The Latin d agrees substantially with D, but by the curious phrase *quem susceptus est*, which breaks an otherwise perfect connexion, d betrays even more clearly that the reference to the Ascension is an intrusion into a previously formed Latin version. Further evidence that d is a rendering not all from one hand is to be seen in the repetition of *praecipit*, where a single translator would have been almost certain to use different Latin words for *ἐντειλαμενος* and *ἐκέλευε*. The earliest rendering, however, had adopted (so Augustine) *praecipit*, instead of *iussit*, for *ἐκέλευε*, and when *ἐντειλαμενος* came later to be injected into this Latin translation, no other word seemed so apt as *praecipere*, in spite of the infelicitous repetition.<sup>2</sup>

**Vulgate** Vg has conformed its rendering completely to the B-text.

usque in diem qua praecipiens apostolis per spiritum sanctum quos elegit adsumtus est,

and this rendering is followed by perp and (with *quo* for *qua*) by e.

The Luxeuil lectionary gives substantially the Vulgate text, but with *praedicare evangelium* inserted, as in gig t, after *per spiritum sanctum*.

**Sahidic** The Sahidic version seems to represent a Greek text as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, pp. 58 f., 72-78.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 154 f., has tried to show that this double employment of *praecipit* indicates that the 'Western' text here was first formed in Latin, and then taken over into Greek. But all that it actually proves is that, as stated above, the Latin text of d did not reach its present form at one casting.

αχρι ης ημερας ανελημφθη εντειλαμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνευματος αγιου κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον ους εξελεξατο.

The conflation here pursues something of the same general method as that found in D.

The Bohairic, as would be expected, follows the B-text.

Bohairic

We may now turn to the Syriac versions. (a) Ephrem (see below, Syriac p. 384) would seem to have used an Old Syriac 'Western' text similar to that of g1g; for he states that the close of Jesus' activity was 'the day when he instructed the apostles in Galilee to preach the Gospel.' This at any rate implies the Greek *εκελευσε κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον*, and with almost equal certainty shows that Ephrem's text did not include a reference to the Ascension. But Ephrem's text seems to have read 'until the day when.' (b) The Peshitto renders: 'until the day on which he ascended, after he had instructed the apostles whom he chose by the Holy Spirit.' This is the B-text, except that *ανελημφθη* is introduced, as in D, immediately after *ημερας*, and *δια πνευματος αγιου* put after *εξελεξατο*. This order may be due merely to the freedom of the translator. (c) The Harclean text is a revision according to the Antiochian Greek standard, although, as in the Peshitto, the mention of the Holy Spirit is put after 'whom he chose': 'until the day when, after he had instructed the apostles whom he chose through the Holy Spirit, he ascended.' The Harclean margin, however, communicates a form in which, after the same series of phrases found in pesh, there is added at the close: 'and he commanded to preach the gospel.' The result is a text identical with D except for the position of *δια πνευματος αγιου*, but which may have arisen by a process independent of, and somewhat different from, that which produced the text of D.

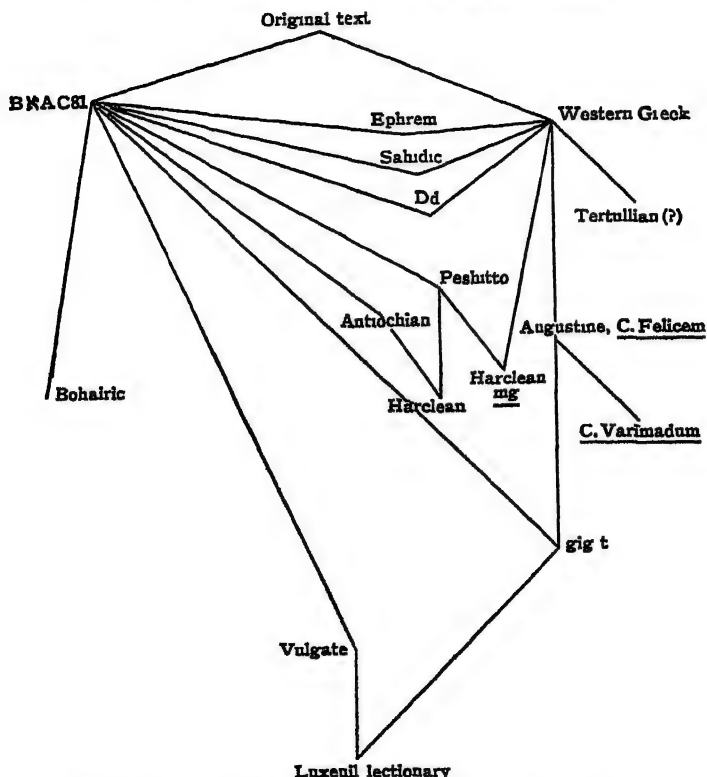
The matter of the position of *δια πνευματος αγιου* in the B-text has always given trouble to the interpreter. In the versions it was not difficult so to change it as to improve the sense, and (unless it be in the Harclean text and margin) they can hardly be relied on for evidence as to the order of their underlying Greek in this respect. Cyril of Alexandria (*Adv. Nestori blasphemias* iv. 3) expressly connects *δια πνευματος αγιου* with the choice of the apostles, but it is more than doubtful whether this implies any peculiarity in the form of the B-text with which he was familiar.

From this survey of the development and influence of the 'Western' form we return to the B-text. It is evident that three small changes in the text which we have reconstructed as probably lying beneath the 'Western' text (above, p. 256) would have produced the B-text, namely: (1) *εν ημερα η* changed to *αχρι ης ημερας* (cf. Acts i. 22 *ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη*); (2) *ους* inserted before *εξελεξατο*; (3) *ανελημφθη* added at the close. To one who accepts the view that we have in Luke xxiv. 51 an interpolation of the words *και ανεφερτο εις τον ουρανον* not found in ND and the Old Latin [cf. also Sinaitic Syriac], but contained in B and all other witnesses, it may well seem probable that in the B-text of Acts i. 2 we have before us a similar expansion due to the innocent desire of a very early editor to introduce here a mention of the

Codex  
Vaticanus

Conclusion

Ascension ; and this is the conclusion of the present writer. Such a view is confirmed by the fact that in Acts this reference to the Ascension is premature, since it is introduced before the mention of the preceding resurrection appearances. Without an express statement of the Ascension in Luke xxiv. 51 the reference of Acts i. 2 is positively unsuitable, and in any case the natural place for any mention of it in Acts is not reached until verse 9, where the full account of the event is given as an integral part of the narrative reserved for the present 'treatise'



The alternative to this view is the supposition that the B-text was original, and was deliberately mutilated so as to make it omit the references to the Ascension in both Luke xxiv. 51 and Acts i. 2. A sufficient motive for this is hard to see in either passage. The considerations, just mentioned, of literary appropriateness in Acts i. 1-9 which commend the 'Western' text 'intrinsically' to our critical judgment, are not such as would have led the 'Western' reviser to abbreviate a previously existent longer text, while the idea that he noticed a contradiction between the apparent date of the event in Luke xxiv. 51



and that of the Ascension, forty days later (Acts i. 3), and therefore removed the reference to the Ascension from Luke xxiv. 51, not only is in itself highly improbable but entirely fails to explain the excision of *ανελημφθη* from Acts i. 2. If it be suggested that the Latin tradition rests on an abbreviation made by the African translator (see above, pp. cxxxvi-viii), the reply is conclusive that the Old Syriac (Ephrem) had a text at least partly, and perhaps almost wholly, similar, and that the Greek text of D by its present confusion betrays its origin from a text in which *ανελημφθη* was lacking.

The preceding diagram exhibits, as nearly as such a method permits, *Diagram* the relation of the several witnesses here. The abundance of the material makes the graphic presentation unusually instructive with respect to the text of Acts in general; but it is offered with some hesitation, because in fact the several witnesses are not, for the most part, actual members of the genealogy, but merely represent approximately types of text through which the descent has taken place. The diagram, however, displays to the eye how the original text suffered two distinct modifications, in the Old Uncial and in the 'Western' texts, and how from these by mainly independent mixtures the successive forms were produced. It will be observed that the pure descendants of the two forms are, on the one side, the Antiochian Greek, the Bohairic, the Vulgate, and probably the Peshitto, on the other the text of Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, and of *Contra Varimadum*. The mixture found in Augustine, *De consensu*, has been omitted in order not to confuse the lines too much. The dependence of the Vulgate on the Old Latin pertains to phraseology, not to text, and is not indicated by a line. The relations of date, as between the several mixtures, have had to be partly neglected in the diagram.

### xiii. 27-29.

From the conflate and corrupt text of D, with the aid of *hcl*  $\times$ , the 'Western' text of these verses can be made out to have read approximately as follows: (27) *οι γαρ κατοικουντες εν ιερουσαλημ και οι αρχοντες αυτης, μη συνιεντες τας γραφας των προφητων τας κατω παν σαββατον αναγεινωσκομενας επληρωσαι*, (28) *και μηδεμιαν αιτιαν θανατου ευροντες εν αυτω, κρειναντες αυτον, παρεδωκαν πειλατω εις αναρσεις*. (29) *ως δε ετελουν παντα τα περι αυτου γεγραμμενα, ητουντο τον πειλατον μετα το σταυρωθηναι αυτον απο του ξυλου καθαيرهθηναι, και επιτυχοντες καθειλον και εθηκαν εις μνημειον*.

Vs. 27. *αυτης* (D d) was also preserved in *gig vg*; likewise *γραφας* (D d) in *e* (hence in *E*).

That the presence in D of *κρειναντες* (with the requisite *και* prefixed) is due to contamination from the B-text is probable, since in the Bezan form of vs. 28 the same word is found just below and apparently in its right place. This probability is in some measure confirmed by the fact that d in vs. 28 renders *κρειναντες* by *judicantes*, but in vs. 27 has *cum judicassent*; in vs. 27 a later translator was probably at work, following

the conflate text of D. In the later position *κρειναντες* perfectly suits the context and carries distinct emphasis (well brought out by *autem* d).

Vs. 28. *εν αυτω* appears in D 614 1611 d *gig vg hcl* ✕ sah ('against him') boh ('in him'). This addition might have been made in order to obviate the awkwardness of the collocation of participles (*ευροντες κρειναντες*) in the original text (see below). *εις σναιρεσιν* was the 'Western' reading. The otiose *να* D is due either to reaction from d or (more probably) to contamination from the original reading of the B-text *να αναρωσιν* discussed below.

Vs. 29. *ετελουν* D may be used in the sense of 'had completed' (as in vii. 23 *ἐπληροῦτο*, and many other cases; see J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, pp. 168-170), or may be due to the observation that the burial also was in fulfilment of prophecy (cf. *πλούσιος* Matt. xxvii. 57, *Is. liii. 9*, Hebrew) *εισιν* D is probably a mechanical imitation of d. The 'Western' *μετα το σταυρωθηναι* (or *σταυρωσαι*?) *αυτον* *ητουντο τον πειλατον καθαιρεθηναι* *hcl mg* was altered in D d into *ητουντο τον πειλατον τουτον μεν σταυρωσαι* in order to restore the substance of *ητησαντο πειλατον αναρεθηναι αυτον*, as found in the B-text of vs. 28, but with the result of wholly destroying the sequence of thought. *μεν* D is a curious survival from *μετα* (*hcl mg*).

*παλιν* D d (omitted by *hcl mg*) was added in connexion with the conflation; it is inappropriate to *επιτυχοντες*, which originally referred, not to the crucified body, but to the request. *και καθελונτες* D probably represents a 'Western' *καθειλον* (cf. d *deposuerunt*) altered to agree with the B-text; the *kai*, which has now passed into d also, was necessarily prefixed in making the correction. These suppositions permit a smoother Greek, and serve to explain the presence of *και* before *εθηκαν*.

*απο του ξυλου* is in its true 'Western' position in *hcl mg*; the process of conformation to the B-text necessitated the change of position now seen in D d.

The original 'Western' reviser seems to have been chiefly guided by the desire to recite the events more completely. In the following details the text underlying the 'Western' revision was probably superior to that preserved in B.

(1) Vs. 27, *αυτης* (D d *gig vg*) for *αυτων* (cf. *Lam. i. 6, ii. 2*; *Is. i. 21, lx. 17*) is unconventional and appropriate.

(2) Vs. 27, for *τουτον αγνοσαντες* B, the shorter reading *αγνοσαντες* (cf. D d) is to be preferred. This verb, more commonly meaning 'be ignorant of,' 'fail to recognize,' was here used in the sense of 'not understand,' and caused difficulty (note how *Lk. ix. 45* *ἡγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο* was furnished with a following explanatory sentence not found in *Mk. ix. 32*). The 'Western' reviser substituted *μη συνιεντες*; the B-text supplied a new object *τουτον*.

(3) As between the position of *κρειναντες* in vs. 27 in the B-text and its position in vs. 28 in the 'Western' text (D d, cf. note above), every consideration of intrinsic fitness speaks for the later position. The difficulty caused by *κρειναντες* in vs. 27 (fully brought out in the commentaries) even led Blass to propose a conjectural emendation so that

participle and principal verb might have the same (understood) object. To the emender who produced the B-text the transference of *κραιναντες* from vs. 28 to vs. 27 may have seemed to relieve a certain baldness and obscurity in vs. 27, at the same time it obviated the unpleasant collocation *ευροντες κραιναντες* in vs. 28. That such a collocation was possible is shown by Acts xii. 19, many other cases are but little less harsh. As a part of this operation *kai* was inserted before *τας φωνας* in vs. 27. The procedure bears a striking analogy to the anticipatory insertion of *ανελημφθη* in the B-text of Acts i. 2.

(4) Vs. 28, for *ανααιρεθηναι* B the versions attest an early *να αναιωσιν* (*ut interficerent* vg pesh, cf. boh; improved to read *ut interficeretur* gig d). This imitation of the Semitic plural (cf. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, pp. 25 f.) to denote an indefinite subject (cf. Acts iii. 2 and elsewhere) was early modified in the 'Western' text (cf. D *παρεδωκαν πειλατω . . . εις αναιρεσιν*), and is to be accepted, on transcriptional grounds, instead of the more sophisticated substitutes of both B and D. Since *ανααιρεθηναι* and *εις αναιρεσιν* are alike easily capable of literal translation into both Latin and Syriac (cf. Acts viii. 1 [vg vii. 60, pesh vii. 61]), it may be confidently assumed that these versions offer a literal, not a free, translation of the Greek which they had before them.

### xiii. 33.

πρωτω D d gig, codd. known to Bede.

δευτερω B<sup>2</sup>AC 81 Antiochian vg pesh hol *text* sah boh.

There are minor variations of position and phrasing.

πρωτω is also expressly attested for Acts xiii. 33 in the following passages of Origen and Hilary

Origen, *Selecta in psalmos*, ψαλμὸς δεύτερος (ed. Lommatsch, vol. xi. pp. 393 f.).

δυσὶν ἐντυχόντες ἑβραικοῖς ἀντιγράφοις, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐτέρῳ εὗρομεν ἀρχὴν δευτέρου ψαλμοῦ ταῦτα· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρῳ συνήπτετο τῷ πρώτῳ. καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων τό· Υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, ἐλέγετο εἶναι τοῦ πρώτου ψαλμοῦ· Ὡς γὰρ γέγραπται, φησὶν, ἐν πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ, Υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. τὰ ἐλληνικὰ μέντοι ἀντίγραφα δεύτερον εἶναι τοῦτον μηνύει. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ οὐδενὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν ἀριθμὸς παράκειται, πρῶτος εἰ τύχοι, ἢ δεύτερος, ἢ τρίτος.

Hilary, *Tract. in psalm. ii.*

1. Plures nostrum ambiguos facit apostolica auctoritas, utrum psalmum hunc cohaerentem primo et veluti primi extimum putent esse, an vero subjacentem et secundum potius connumerent. namque in Actibus Apostolorum primum hunc haberi atque esse sub oratione beati Pauli ita docemur: Nosque vobis evangelizamus eam quae ad patres facta est promissio, hanc deus explevit filius nostris,

suscitans dominum nostrum Jesum, sicut et in psalmo scriptum est primo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te; cum suscitavit eum a mortuis amplius non regressurum in interitum. ob hanc ergo apostolicam auctoritatem errore scriptionum fieri creditur, ut in ordine secundus psalmus iste numeretur, cum primus esse ipso doctore gentium testante noscatur, cognoscenda itaque ea ratio est, cur et a nobis secundus esse intellegendus sit, et ab apostolo esse primus ostensus sit.

3. . . . Hi [sc. LXX interpretes] ergo psalmos inter ceteros libros transferentes et in numerum redegerunt et in ordinem conlocaverunt et diapsalmis distinxerunt, qui omnes secundum Hebraeos confusi et habebantur et habentur. horum igitur translationes Hebraeis tum linguis tantum sua utentibus non erant necessariae. . . .

4. Beatus ergo apostolus Paulus, secundum professionem suam Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, etiam secundum hebraicam cognitionem et fidem psalmum hunc primum esse dixit, translatorum distinctione non usus. cui maximum hoc praedicandi ad synagogae principes studium erat, ut dominum nostrum Jesum Christum dei filium, natum, passum, resurgentem regnare in aeternum ex doctrina legis ostenderet. tenuit itaque hunc modum, ut Hebraeis praedicans Hebraeorum consuetudine uteretur. sed nobis translatorum utendum auctoritate est, legem non ambiguitate litterae sed doctrinae scientia transferentium.

The quotation comes from Ps. ii. 7, and the reading *πρωτω* implies the ancient combination of Psalms i. and ii in Hebrew mss., which is mentioned in rabbinical sources (early third century, Palestinian) as well as by Origen (as above). Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 40) quotes the two psalms as one, while Eusebius, Apollinaris, and Euthymius Zigabenus (all perhaps in dependence on Origen) refer to this Hebrew practice.

On the Latin side, likewise, Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, iv 22, quotes Ps. ii. 7 as *in primo psalmo*, and Cyprian, *Testimonia* i. 13 (codd. LV), iii. 112 (codd. LM), adduces two other passages from Ps. ii. in the same way, although in five further cases all codices of *Testimonia* cite verses from Ps. ii. as *in psalmo secundo*, probably by an emendation of *primo* originally written by Cyprian. For patristic and rabbinical references see Tischendorf, *ad loc.*; Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen* (Abhandlungen, Göttingen Academy, xxxiii.), 1887, pp. 16-18; and Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 83, 234 f., with the works there cited.

On the other hand, no extant copy of the Greek Psalter combines the two psalms in one, and neither Origen nor Hilary seems to have known of any that did so. Justin may have learned from the Jews the practice which he, like Origen, followed; in the case, however, of Cyprian (and perhaps Tertullian) we must infer the actual use of copies of the Psalter in Latin in which the two psalms were combined. This continued as the practice of African Bibles until after the middle of the fourth century; see G. Mercati, *D' alcuni nuovi sussidi per la critica del testo di S. Cipriano*, Rome, 1899, pp. 18-25.

Acts xiii. 33 is probably the earliest known citation of a psalm by

number, and no other instance is found in the New Testament. The date at which numbers began to be assigned to the several psalms is not known. Origen seems to have known no Hebrew ms. containing them, and the citation of the *first* psalm by number need not imply that the mss. known to the writer of Acts contained numbers for other psalms. Origen himself, however, and the *Testimonia* of Cyprian, regularly cite the Greek and Latin psalms by number.

*πρωτω* (altogether natural if this chapter of Acts was originally written in Aramaic, and not inconceivable if the original was in Greek) probably gives the true text. In that case *δευτερω* was substituted for *πρωτω* by early editors acquainted only with the LXX, in which the two psalms were more commonly separated. This is more probable than the alternative supposition that *δευτερω* is original, and was emended in the 'Western' text, before the time of Origen, to conform to the Hebrew practice and to copies of the Latin (and Greek?) Psalter like those used by Tertullian and Cyprian.

As to the other variant words in the sentence, and their order, no certain conclusion is possible.

In view of all the facts, the suggestion that the original text lacked any mention of number, and has been completed in accordance with two different methods of counting, is to be rejected. It gains no sufficient weight from the fact that a number of Greek codices of Acts omit any mention of number.

#### xv. 29.

The omission of *και πνικτων* and the addition of the (negative) Golden Rule in vs. 29 must be discussed together. Three types of text present themselves: (1) that of Tertullian without *και πνικτων* and without the Golden Rule; (2) that of Irenaeus (expressly attested for the original Greek by cod. 1739 both in this verse and in vs. 20) without *και πνικτων* but with the Golden Rule; (3) the B-text, with *και πνικτων* but without the Golden Rule. In xxi. 25 the Golden Rule does not seem to find a place in any known text.

#### I.

The text of Tertullian (which departs from the B text in omitting *και πνικτων*) adequately accounts for the others, and is to be accepted. See Tertullian *De pudicitia* 12, with which may be compared *Apologet.* 9,<sup>1</sup> *De monogamia* 5, *Adversus Marcionem* iv. 16. In addition to the evidence of Tertullian, this text is supported by Pacian of Barcelona († between 379 and 392), *Paraenesis* 4, in a full quotation of the decree, and probably by Ambrosiaster and Augustine. It is the text of Ephrem in vs. 20, although that father has the Golden Rule in vs. 29. Moreover, traces of the same text still survive in g g and D d.

<sup>1</sup> In *Apologet.* 9 Tertullian speaks of the actual practice of Christians in not eating 'things strangled,' but makes no reference to Acts xv. 29, which in *De pudicitia* 12 he interprets as relating to morals, not to food. It is wrong to take *Apologet.* 9 as evidence that at any period Tertullian was acquainted with a text of Acts xv. 20, 29 containing four provisions.

These statements require fuller explanation :

(a) Ambrosiaster (on Gal. ii. 1-2, quoted above, p. cclv, note 2), while acquainted with the reading *et a suffocato*, expressly rejects it. In the passage named he makes no mention of the Golden Rule, and it is clear that his text of the Decree did not contain it, since in *Quaest. vet. et novi testamenti*, iv. 1, he refers to the Rule as a part of '*naturalis lex*,' known to all mankind<sup>1</sup>

(b) Augustine shows striking points of agreement with Ambrosiaster, and may well have been influenced by him here as elsewhere; see *Speculum* 28 (ed. Wehrich, p. 199), *Contra Faustum* 32, 13; *Enarr. in Ps.* 57, 1; *Enarr. in Ps.* 118, cited by G. Resch (see below), p. 137. Augustine reads the text without *καὶ πνικτων*, and does not intimate that the decree of Acts xv. included the (negative) Golden Rule, which, on the contrary, in the comments on the Psalms named he quotes as written in our hearts and as '*naturae legem*.'

(c) Ps.-Eucherius, *Comm. in Gen. ix. 1* cannot be adduced as an independent witness to this text, since its citation of Acts xv. 29 occurs in a passage taken over bodily from Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xxxii. 13.

(d) That the text found in gig is derived from that attested by Tertullian is shown by the following reasoning. (a) In no one of the three passages in question (xv. 20, xv. 29, xxi. 25) does gig contain the Golden Rule. (b) In xv. 20 and xxi. 25 gig omits *καὶ πνικτων* (*καὶ πνικτων*), although in xv. 29 it reads *et suffocato*. (c) But in the original text underlying gig, xv. 20 and xv. 29 must have been in agreement. Consequently it appears that the text of gig for the Decree in vs. 29 is due to alteration to make it conform to vg, with which it is almost identical in language, while in the parallel speech of James (and in xxi. 25) it has remained without retouching. The Decree would have been the most obvious point for the attention of an editor interested in conforming to vg, and hence vs. 29 would have been the passage most likely to suffer alteration. The inference from this reasoning is that gig really attests the same text as Tertullian.

A parallel to this situation is found in Ephrem (below, p. 426), who repeats James's speech without either *καὶ πνικτων* or the Golden Rule, but shortly after, in referring to the Decree, mentions the Golden Rule. Ephrem's *Comm. in epp. D. Pauli*, Lat. transl., Venice, 1893, p. 243 (introduction to commentary on 1 Timothy), confirms this evidence that Ephrem's text of the Decree omitted *καὶ πνικτων*, but gives no indication as to the Golden Rule.

(e) D d testify in a somewhat similar way to the text of Tertullian. In all three passages both D and d omit the reference to things strangled, and in xv. 29 they add the Golden Rule in general agreement with the text of Irenaeus. But in xv. 20, although they add the Golden Rule, they have preserved in the main verb the second person (*ποιεῖτε, faciatis*).

<sup>1</sup> Ambrosiaster (Pseudo-Augustine), *Quaest.* iv. 1: *Primum lex formata in litteris dari non debuit, quia in natura ipsa inserta quodam modo est et creatoris notitia ex traduce non latebat. nam quis nesciat quid bonae vitae conveniat aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non vult alii minime debeat fieri?*

This second person is appropriate to vs. 29, but not to the immediate context in vs. 20. The Golden Rule, therefore, in this text must first have been inserted in due form in vs. 29, and thence, in a later stage of the development of the text, have been introduced into vs. 20.<sup>1</sup> This complicated process seems a necessary assumption in order to explain the present complicated state of the text of D d, and suffices to give a clear account of the latter. It thus appears that in the stage of the text of D d immediately preceding the text of the existing ms., the Golden Rule was lacking in vs. 20 but was present in vs. 29, so that the situation was the same as that still found in g<sup>1</sup>g and Ephrem. We may therefore safely draw the same conclusion about the still earlier text on which D is ultimately based as in the case of g<sup>1</sup>g, and regard D d as likewise really testifying to the same text as that used by Tertullian.

## II.

The text of Irenaeus (with both the omission of *καὶ πνικτων* and the addition of the Golden Rule) is supported by Cyprian, *Testimonia*, by D d (in the present form of their text: for the earlier form, see above), and possibly by codex 1739 (in vs. 20; although the suspicion of accidental error is aroused by the further omission in that codex in vs. 20 of *των ειδωλων* and by the inclusion in vs. 29 of *καὶ πνικτου*).

Other certain examples of the text of Irenaeus and Cyprian are not forthcoming. The letter of a Pelagian (ed. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten*, Christiania, 1890, p. 18), of date between 413 and 430, quotes expressly from the Decree the Golden Rule; whether, as would seem not unlikely, the writer had a text without *καὶ πνικτων* must remain uncertain. Conversely, Jerome, *Comm. in Gal. v. 2* (see below) quotes the Decree without *καὶ πνικτων*, but does not indicate whether or not his text included the Golden Rule. The same is true of Fulgentius (†533), *Pro fide catholica* 9. According to the scholion of cod. 1739, Eusebius in his work against Porphyry stated that Porphyry (third century) referred to the (negative) Golden Rule in a way damaging to the Christians, apparently drawing it from the Decree, but whether Porphyry made any further reference to the provisos is not indicated. For evidence that the original (Greek) form of the Didascalia (third century) did not mention 'things strangled' in vs. 29, see above, pp. cxcv-cxcvii.

## III.

This is the point at which may most conveniently be mentioned certain mixed forms of the text.

One of these is the important form with both the four provisos and the Golden Rule. It evidently exerted a far-reaching influence, discernible in witnesses which in other respects follow the B-text. Such are

<sup>1</sup> In vs. 29, d reads *ne feceritis*, but D, whose text in an earlier stage probably had the corresponding Greek *μη ποιετε*, has *μη ποιειν*. Those minuscules (614, etc.) which here contain the Golden Rule are divided between *ποιετε* and *ποιειν*.

numerous Greek minuscules (all of them classed by von Soden in the groups designated by I and K<sup>o</sup>), *vg.codd* hcl. x sah; all these have both *καὶ πνικτῶν* (or some modification of the phrase) and the (negative) Golden Rule.

Among Latin fathers Jerome, *Comm. in Gal. v. 2*, quotes the text without *καὶ πνικτῶν* and adds *sive, ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, 'et a suffocatis.'* He may here be dependent on Origen, and in any case does not indicate whether the copies referred to were Latin or Greek. So Ambrosiaster (on Gal. ii. 1-2), while using the text without *καὶ πνικτῶν*, refers to the Greek text that did contain the words, which he believed that '*sofistae Graecorum*' had interpolated. In Augustine, *Speculum* 29, the text of all three passages which mention the provisos is quoted from the Vulgate, with the four items, but Augustine's comment in his epilogue clearly follows the text with three only.

The strange translation of *vg. best codd.* in vs. 29 (not vs. 20 nor *xxl. 25*) *et sanguine suffocato* is supported by the reading *αἵματος πνικτῶν* in some codices of Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* xvii. 29, and in Amphilochius of Iconium (fl. 370), ed. Ficker, p. 59. 14 (but cf. p. 61. 3 and 13). This may somehow point to the fact that *πνικτῶν* is an intrusion into the text.

Gaudentius of Brescia (†410 or 427; Migne, vol. xx. col. 954) has the form *a sanguine id est suffocatis*, and A[p]ponins (fifth century; perhaps a Syrian, resident in Rome), *Comm. in cantica* iii., ed. Rom. 1843, p. 178, the somewhat similar *a sanguine vel suffocato* (but *a suffocato et sanguine* in *Bibl. vet. patr.*, vol. xiv., p. 112). Probably both these expansions of the Vulgate rendering were intended to indicate that, in the view of these writers, the word *suffocato* of that version merely defined *sanguine*, without adding a fourth prohibition.<sup>1</sup>

The omission (vs. 29 only) of *καὶ αἵματος* from the B-text in sah (cod. Hunt 3 only), Origen, *Commentariorum series in Matt. xxviii.* (Latin transl., ed. Lommatzsch, vol. iv. p. 198), and Methodius, 'On the Distinction of Foods,' ed. Bonwetsch, Erlangen, 1891, p. 297, may be merely a coincidence, or may be somehow connected with the complicated history of the text. The omission of *καὶ τροφείας* by Origen, *Contra Celsum* viii. 29 can hardly be significant for his text.

#### IV.

The B-text (with *καὶ πνικτῶν* but without the Golden Rule) is attested not only by all Greek uncials except D and by nearly all minuscules, but by Clement of Alexandria, Origen (in all probability, although express evidence that he did not include the Golden Rule is lacking), and other Greek writers, as well as by both *pesh* hcl. text. As is pointed out above, the (negative) Golden Rule was taken over into this text in a number of instances.

<sup>1</sup> So Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xi., 1909-10, pp. 267-268. Burkitt holds that this was a correct understanding of the purpose of the Vulgate rendering without *et*.



## V.

The history of the text seems to have been as follows. In the East the Decree was correctly understood in the second century and later to relate to food, and under the influence of current custom the text was at first expanded by the addition of *καὶ πνικτων*. This application of the ancient prohibition of blood, so as to include all flesh improperly slaughtered, is known to have been an early Christian usage (Tertullian, *Apolog.* 9; cf. Justin, *Dial.* 20), as well as current with the Jews, and in the second century the introduction of an express mention of it into the text would not have seemed a substantial alteration. To Africa, however, the Decree came (in the 'Western' Greek text of Acts) in its original form, without this addition, and there it commonly received (so already Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, 12) a moral interpretation (*αἵματος* being taken as referring to murder). No Latin text seems to have contained the addition of 'things strangled' before the time of Jerome.

The addition of the (negative) Golden Rule, which sprang from this moral interpretation and made over the Decree fully into a brief summary of fundamental Christian morals, was effected in Greek copies of the second century (Irenaeus), and so passed into the Latin version as early as the time of Cyprian's *Testimonia* in the third century. Whether the Golden Rule was first added in East or West is uncertain. In any case the addition ultimately made its way not only into the briefer 'Western' text but also, not later than the third or fourth century (cf. sah), into some forms of the expanded B-text.

If our choice lay between the B-text and that of Irenaeus, the former would have to be preferred, since the text of Irenaeus implies the (secondary) moral interpretation of the Decree, but the text of Tertullian, simpler than either of the other two, suits all requirements for a text underlying both of them. In a word, any text of which the Golden Rule was an *integral part*, would have to be rejected as a later modification of the original.

The crucial significance of these conclusions for the theory that both the B-text and the 'Western' text came from the author of the book of Acts seems to have been apparent to every one except Blass.

See Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 90-92, 154-166, 296-299, 358-365; G. Resch, *Das Aposteldecret nach seiner ausserkanonischen Textgestalt* (T. U. xxviii.), 1905 (where most of the material is conveniently presented); D. Bockenhoff, *Das apostolische Speisegesetz in den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten*, 1903; A. v. Harnack, *Das Aposteldecret* (Act. xv. 29), *und die Blass'sche Hypothese* (Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy), 1899, pp. 150-176, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, III.), 1908, pp. 188-198.

## xv. 34.

For the name *σειλας* the 'Western' text seems to have had *σειλας*. The name occurs in the following passages: Acts xv. 22, 27, 32, 34, 40; xvi. 19, 25, 29; xvii. 4, 10, 14, 15; xviii. 5; cf. *hcl* ✕ for xv. 30.

The form with three syllables is found in Greek in Codex Bezae only, Acts xv. 34 (σειλαα, accusative) and xvii. 4 (σιλαια, dative). In the former instance, xv. 34, the whole verse is a 'Western' addition, and it may be supposed that the non-western text, by the aid of which the text of Codex Bezae has elsewhere been corrected, did not here provide the means of correction. The Latin side in xv. 34 reads *sileas*. In xvii. 4 (where d reads *silas*) no reason suggests itself for this exceptional retention in D of the 'Western' form, elsewhere supplanted by the form with two syllables, *σειλας* or *σιλας* in D, *silas* in d.

In the early Latin authorities the trisyllabic form is much more frequent. It is used by Irenaeus (xv. 27) and Cyprian (xvi. 25); gigas has consistently *syleas*, and Lucifer and Ambrosiaster likewise follow the form with three syllables, which must therefore have belonged to the gigas-recension. It is also cited from the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (before A.D. 333; *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, vol. i, Geneva, 1879, p. 21), the anonymous *Prophetias*, Cassiodorus, Ado of Lyons<sup>1</sup> Jerome, *Comm. in Gal. i. 1*, probably refers to it. Vulgate codices containing Old Latin elements, especially manuscripts of Spanish and Irish origin, frequently show the trisyllabic form, in some cases evidently adopted deliberately and used consistently. Codex Cavensis (C) and the Book of Armagh (D) will serve as examples.

On the other hand, of the Old Uncials, B consistently gives *σειλας*, while  $\aleph$ AC always have *σιλας*, as does the Antiochian text. To this the Vulgate form *Silas* was made to correspond.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian versions read *σιλας*, the Peshitto and Harclean *shila*.

It would be natural to suppose 'Sileas' due to an adaptation to the form of a Semitic name containing a guttural (cf. Σίμων, Συμεών), but the names שִׁילַי (Talmudic), שִׁילַיָּשׁ (Palmyrene), do not exactly correspond to the variation in the Greek and Latin texts of Acts; see Noldeke, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxiv, 1870, p. 97; Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, § 28, d. 4.

<sup>1</sup> A. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Texts and Studies, vii.), 1905, p. 208; Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 90, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* p. 71: '*Silam, missus.*'

## APPENDIX I

### PAPYRUS WESS<sup>287</sup>

Vienna, K 7541-7548. Bilingual papyrus fragments, uncial, parallel columns, Greek and Sahidic. Probably 12th-13th century. C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts IV*. (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, xv.), Leipzig, 1914, pp. 107-118.

#### K 7541a

#### K 7541b

Acts

xvii.

28 [ . . ] του γαρ [και γ]ε

[νος] εσμεν

29 [γε]νος ουν υπαρ

χοντες του θ̄ ου

κ οφειλομεν

χρυσιω η αργυ

ριω η λ[ε]θω

χαραγματι τε

χνης και ευθυ

μιασεως ανου το

θ[ει]ον ειναι ομοιον

30 του[s] μεν ουν χρο

[νους] τους αγνοιας

[υπεριδων ο θ̄ς]

[τα ν]ην παραγγε

[λλει το]ς ανοις παν

[τας π]ανταχου με

31 [ταν]οειν καθοτι

εστησεν ημερα

εν η μελλει κρι

νειν την οικου

μενην εν δικαι

οσυνη εν αν

δρι ω

xvii.

32 [ακουσ]α[ντες δε α]

[ναστασιν νεκρ]θ̄

[ . . ]ν

[ακουσομεθα σ]ου

[ . . . . . ]

33 [ . . . ουτως ο]

[παυλος εξηλθ]ε

[εκ μεσου αυτω]ν

34 [τινες δε ανδρες]

[κολληθεντες α]ν

[τω επιστευσα]ν

[εν οις και διο]νυ

[σιος ο αρεοπ]α

[γιτης και γυν]η

[ονοματι δα]μα

[ρις και ετ]ερο[ι]

[συν αυ]τοις

xviii.

1 [μετα] δε ταυτα

[χω]ρισθεις εκ

[τ]ων αθηνων

ηλθεν εις κο[ριν]

2 θον κ[αι] ευρω[ν]

## K 7542a

## K 7543a

xviii.

- 24 [ . . αλεξαν]  
 [δρευ]ς τω γενε[ι]  
 [αν]ηρ λογιος κα  
 [τηντ]ησεν εις ε  
 φεστο[ν δυνατος]  
 ων εν ταις γρ[αφ]αις  
 25 ουτος ην κ[ατ]η  
 χημενος [την ο]  
 δον κῦ και ζε  
 ων [τω] πῦ[ι ε]λ[α]  
 λει και εδ[ιδ]ασ  
 κεν ακρ[ι]βως τα  
 [περ]ι του χ[ι]ν επ[ι]

xix.

- 1 [ . . ] α [ . . . ]  
 2 [ . . ] προς  
 [αυτους ει π]να  
 [αγιον ελαβ]ε  
 [τε πιστευσ]αντ[ες]  
 [οι δε ειπο]ν προ[ος] αυ[το]ν  
 [αλλ ο]υδε η[κου]  
 [σαμεν ε]ι πνα αγιῶ  
 [λα]μβανουσι τιμ[ε]ς  
 3 [ο δε] ειπεν εις τι  
 [ο]υν βαπτισθητε  
 [οι] δε ειπον  
 [εις τ]ο ιωαννου  
 [β]απτισμα  
 4 ειπεν δε ιω  
 αννης βαπτι  
 σεν βαπτισμα

## K 7542b

## K 7543b

xix.

- 6 . . . . .  
 [πνα το αγιο]ν  
 [επ αυτο . . ε]λα  
 [λουν . . γλ]ωσ  
 [σαις και επροφ]η  
 7 [τευον ησαν] δε  
 [οι παντες αν]δρες  
 [ωσει δωδεκα]  
 8 [εισελθων δε]  
 [εις την συναγ]ω  
 [γην επαρρησι]α  
 [ζετο επι μην]α[s  
 [τρεις . . . . .]

xviii.

- . . . . .  
 27 [πεπιστευκ]οσιν  
 [δια της χαρι]τος  
 28 . . . . .

## K 7544a

xix.

- 13, 14 [κ]ηρυσσει ησαν  
 δε τινος σκευα  
 ιουδαίου αρχιερε  
 ως επτα υιοι τουτο  
 15 ποιουντες απο  
 κριθεν δε το π̄να  
 το πονηρον ειπε  
 αυτοις τον μεν ιν̄  
 γινωσκω και τ̄ο  
 παυλον επισταμαι  
 υμεις δε τινες εσ[τε]  
 16 [κ]αι εφαλλομε  
 [νος ο] ανος επ αυτους  
 [εν ω] ην το π̄να το [πο]  
 [νηρον] κατα

## K 7544b

xix.

- 18 . . . . .  
 [πεπιωτευκοτω]ν  
 [ηρχοντο εξομολ]ο  
 [γουμενοι αναγγελλουν]ες  
 . . . . .

- 19 [ . . . . . ] και

VOL. III

## K 7545a

xx.

- 9 [κατω κ]αι ηρθη  
 10 [νεκρος] κ[α]ταβα[ς]  
 [δε ο παυ]λος επε  
 [πεν] αυτω και  
 [συ]μπεριλαβων  
 [ειπ]εν μη θορυβεισ  
 [ . . η] γ[αρ] ψυχη αυ  
 [το]ν εν αυτω ε[σ]  
 11 [τιν α]ναβας δε[ε] και [κ]λη  
 [σα]ς τ[ο]ν αρ[τον κ]α[ι]  
 [γευσα]με[ν]ος εφ ει  
 [κανον τε] ομειλη  
 [σας αχρι α]νυγης  
 [ουτως ε]ξηλθεν  
 12 [ηγαγο]ν δε και τον  
 [π]αιδα [ξ]ωντα  
 [και πα]ρεκληθη  
 [σαν ο]ν μετριως  
 13 [ημει]ς δε προηλ  
 [θομε]ν εις το πλοι  
 [ον και α]νηχθημεν  
 [ . . ] την θασο[ν]  
 [εκειθ]εν μελλον  
 [τες αναλ]αμβανειν  
 τον παυ[λο]ν

## K 7545b

xx.

- 15 . . . . .  
 [μεινα]ντες  
 [εν τρωγυλλ]ιδ[ω]  
 τη δε εχ[ομεν]η  
 ηλθομεν εις μ[ι]  
 16 λητον κεκρ[ικει]  
 γαρ ο παυλος π[α]  
 ραπλευσαι τη[ν]  
 εφεσον οπως  
 μη γενηται  
 αυτον χρονο  
 [τ]ριβη[σα]ι  
 . . . . .

T

## K 7546a

xx.

- 22 [. . . . . πο]  
[ρενο]μαι ε[ις] ιλη[μ τα]  
[συ]μβησομεν[α]  
[μοι] εν αυτη μη  
23 [γι]νωσκων [π]λ[ην]  
[οτι] το πν[α το α]γιρ[ν]  
δι[α]μα[ρτυ]ρ[ε]ται  
[μοι] κατα πολιν  
[λε]γο[ν οτι δεσμα]  
[κ]αι θλειψις σε μ[ε]  
[ν]ουσιν εν ιλημ  
24 αλλ ουδενος λο  
[γο]υ ποιουμαι την  
[ψ]υχην τιμιαν  
[εμα]υτω ως τελει  
[. . . τ]ον δρομῶ  
[μου] και τ[ην] δια  
[κο]νιαν ην [παρ]  
[ελαβ]α π[αρ]α τ[ου]  
[κυ ι]ν διαμαρτ[ν]  
[ρ]ασθαι ιουδαι  
[οις] και ελλη  
[σιν το ευαγγε]λ[ιον]

## K 7546b

xx.

- 26 . . . . .  
[. . . . . το]ν  
[αιματος πα]ντῶ  
27 [ου γαρ υπεσ]τει  
[λαμην του μ]η  
[αναγγειλαι υμ]ιν  
[την βουλην το]ν  
28 [θῦ π]ρ[οσ]  
[εχετε]εαυ  
[τοις και πα]ντι  
[τω ποιμνι]ω  
[εν ω υμας το π]να το  
[αγιον εθε]ο

## K 7547a

xx.

- 35 [. .] μ[νημο]νευε[ιν]  
[τ]ε [των λο]γων [του]  
[κυ ι]ν οτι αυτος ε[ι]  
[πε]ν μ[α]καριογ  
[εστι] μα[λλ]ον δι  
[δο]ναι η [λα]μβανεῖ  
36 [κα]ι ταυτα ειπων  
[ο] π[αυ]λος θεις τα  
[γ]ον[ατα σ]υν πασιν  
[α]υτοις προσηυξατο  
37 [ι]κανος δε κλαι  
[θ]μ[ο]ς εγενετο παν  
των [κ]αι επιπε  
σονται επι τον  
τ[ρ]αχηλον αιτου  
[κα]τεφιλουν  
38 [αυ]τον οδυνωμε  
[νο]ι μαλιστα επι  
[τω λογ]ω ω ει  
[ρηκ]ει οτι  
[ου]κετι μελ  
[λουσι] το προ  
[σωπο]ν  
[αυτου] θε  
[ωρει]ν

## K 7547b

xxi.

- 1 [. . . εις] πα  
[ταρι και] μυρια  
2 [και ευρον]τες  
[πλοιον δ]ιαπε  
[ρων εις τ]ην φοι  
[νικην ε]πιβαν  
[τες ανηχ]θημεν  
3 [αναφαν . .]ες δε  
[την κυπρον] και  
[καταλιποντ]ες  
[αυτην ευωνυ]μῶ

4

[κ]αι

## K 7548a

xxi.

- 11 [. . ει]ς δαμας  
 12 [κον α]νανιας δε  
     [τις αν]ηρ ευ[. .]βης  
     [κατα τ]ον νομον  
     [μαρ]τυ[ρο]υμενος  
     [υ]π[ο πα]ντων των  
     [κατοικουντω]ν  
     [ε]ν τ[η] δαμασκω  
 13 [ιου]δαιων ελθω  
     προς με κ[αι ε]  
     πιστας ειπεν μοι  
     σαουλ αδελφε  
     αγαβλειπον  
     [κα]γω αυτη τη  
     ωρα ανεβλεψα  
 14 ο δε ειπεν μοι ο θς  
                     των

## K 7548b

xxii.

- 15 . . . . .  
 16 [. . . . . . μελλ]εις α  
     [ναστας βαπτι]σαι  
     [και απολο]υσαι τας  
     [αμαρτιας] σου επι  
     [καλεσα]μενος  
     [το ονομα τ]ου  
 17 [κυ εγενετο δε]  
     [μοι υποστρ]ε  
     [ψαντι εις ι]λημ  
     [και προσ]ε[υ]χο  
     [μενου μου εν] τω ιερω  
     [γενεσθ]αι με

## APPENDIX II

### THE VULGATE LATIN VERSION

THE following Tables, exhibiting the variants of the Vulgate from the Greek of Codex Vaticanus, are drawn from a collation made by Professor Henry J. Cadbury. The Latin text collated is that of Wordsworth and White (1905), and account is not taken of variants in Vulgate MSS. adduced in their apparatus. Since one of the canons of criticism followed by these editors is to adopt the Latin reading which agrees with the oldest Greek MSS., it is possible that the impression given by the Tables of agreement between the Vulgate and Codex Vaticanus is slightly in excess of the actual fact. Further, since the Tables include only *departures* from Codex B, it must not be assumed that in other cases, where the Greek witnesses are divided, the Vulgate *positively attests* the reading of that codex. All that the Tables imply by 'silence' in such instances is that the Latin rendering *can have come* from the Greek of B. It is not to be overlooked that C and 81 are defective in considerable sections, and that D fails after xxii. 10 and in some earlier passages.

The Tables are not designed to furnish material for a comparison of the Vulgate and the Old Latin, nor will they facilitate a study of the relation of the free translation of the Latin to the corresponding freedom of versions into other languages. Of Latin freedom only a few examples are given; but those passages have been included which Wordsworth and White ascribe to the probable influence of a Greek variant attested by no extant Greek manuscript.

The variation of 'and' and 'but' has usually not been mentioned except where positive Greek evidence for a variant  $\delta\epsilon$  or  $\tau\epsilon$  is at hand; similarly mention is not made of such variants as *ergo* for  $\tau\epsilon$ , the omission of the first  $\tau\epsilon$  in  $\tau\epsilon \dots \tau\epsilon$ , and of variations, unattested in Greek, in the order of words. This last type of variation is especially frequent in the use of the demonstratives attached to nouns.

The Greek of Codex Laudianus (E) has been advisedly omitted from consideration, since it is so largely conformed to the Latin



parallel columns of that manuscript. The miscellaneous references in the last column are not intended to be complete, but call attention to instructive attestation.

The method of constructing the Tables has perhaps caused some 'Western' readings of the Vulgate, attested only in Greek minuscules, to be overlooked.

	Vulgate	NAC 81	Anthochian	D	
I					
4	μου] per os meum			D	
5	εν πνευματι βαπτισθησεσθε αγω] baptizabimini spiritu sancto	AC NAC 81	Ant Ant Ant		
7	ειπεν] +autem				
8	μου] mihi				
	αυτων βλεποντων] videnti- bus illis	NAC 81	Ant		
10	πορευομενου αυτου] euntem illum				sah 614
	ανδρες δυο] duo viri				
14	om συν 2 <sup>o</sup>	NAC O		D	
15	τε] autem				
	ονοματων] hominum				
16	εδει] oportet			D	
20	αυτου 1 <sup>o</sup> ] eorum	81			
25	αφ] de		cf Ant		
II					
1	την ημεραν] dies ( <i>plural</i> )				peah
3	και 2 <sup>o</sup> ] -que	A	Ant		
4	το πνευμα] spiritus sanctus				ψ
6	ηκουσεν] audiebat	C 81	cf. Ant		
7	δε] +omnes	NAC 81			S
	ουτοι εισιν οι λαλουντες γαλι- λαιοι] isti qui loquuntur galilaei sunt	cf. C			
10	τε και 1 <sup>o</sup> ] et			D	
12	θελει τουτο ειναι] hoc vult esse	A			
13	εισιν] +isti			D	
15	ωρα τριτη της ημερας] hora diei tertia			cf. D	
17	μετα ταυτα] in novissimis diebus	NA 81 cf. C	Ant	D	
22	αποδεδειγμενον] adprobatum		Ant	D	
23	δια χειρος] per manus				
24	του θανατου] inferni			D	
33	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	NAC 81	Ant		
38	μετανοησατε] +inquit	NAC 81	Ant	cf. D	
40	της σκολιας ταυτης] ista prava			D	
42	τη διδαχη] in doctrina	A			
	τη κοινωνια τη κλασει] com- municatione fractionis				sah boh
43	δε 2 <sup>o</sup> ] quoque	AC	Ant		
	εγεωρετο 2 <sup>o</sup> ] +in hierusalem et metus erat magnus in universis	NAC			

	Vulgate	NA <sup>28</sup> 81	Antiochian	D	
44	δε] etiam	of NA <sup>28</sup> 81		D	
46	κατ οικον] circa domos			D	
III					
3	ος] is			D	
4	πετρος εις αυτον] in eum				
	petrus				095
5	παρ αυτον λαβειν] acceptu- rum ab eis			D	
6	ειπεν δε πετρος] petrus autem dixit	AC AC 81	Ant		
7	ναζηταιον] +surge et			D	
	παραχημα δε] et protinus				
10	ουτος] ipse	NA <sup>28</sup> 81			
13	ισαακ, ιακωβ] deus isaac, deus jacob	NA <sup>28</sup> cf AC		D cf. D	
16	τη πιστει] in fide				
20	προκεχειρισμενον] qui prae- dicatus est				minn
	χριστον ιησουν] jesum chris- tum	AC 81			
21	απ αιωνος αυτου προφητων] suorum a saeculo pro- phetarum		cf. Ant	D	
22	θεος] +vester	A 81 (cf. NO)	Ant		
24	οσοι] qui	N			
25	ο θεος διεθετο] disposuit deus	NA <sup>28</sup> 81	Ant		
26	αναστησας ο θεος] deus sus- citans	A 81 cf. C		D	
	των πονηριων] nequitia sua				
IV					
1	οι αυτοις			D	
	οι αρχιερεις] sacerdotes <sup>1</sup>	NA 81	Ant	D	
3	εθεντο] +eos	AC			
4	οι ως	NA 81			
6	αρχιερατικου] sacerdotali				minn
11	οικοδομων] aedificantibus		Ant		
12	εστιν ετερον] aliud est	A		D	
	εν ανθρωποις] hominibus			D	
	υμας] nos	NA	Ant	D	
16	φανερων] +est			D	
19	υμων ακουειν μαλλον] vos potius audire				minn
21	μηδεν] non			D	
23	απηγγειλαν] +eis				1874
25	του πατρος ημων δια πνευ- ματος αγιου στοματος] spiritu sancto per os patris nostri			cf. D	cf. minn
29	μετα παρησιας κασης] cum omni fiducia			D	
30	χειρα] +tuam	N	Ant	D	
31	του αγιου πνευματος] spiritu sancto		Ant		
32	ελεγον] dicebat	NA	Ant	D	

<sup>1</sup> On this word see Zahn, *Uransage*, pp. 177 f.

	Vulgate	NA C 81	Antiochian	D	
33	το μαρτυριον οι αποστολοι] apostoli testimonium του κυριου ιησου της ανα- στασεως] resurctionis jesu christi domini	A			
34	ενδεης ην τις] quiesquam egens erat	NA cf. NA	cf. Ant cf. Ant	cf. D cf. D	
V					
1	αναβιας ονοματι] nomine anapias	A		D	
2	τιμης] + agri γυναικος] + sua		Ant		915
3	επληρωσεν] temptavit				{ Athan. Epiph. Did.
8	προς αυτην] ei		Ant		
12	τε] autem	NA	Ant	D	
14	προσκειθεντο πιστευοντες τω κυριω πληθη] augebatur credentium in domino multitudo			cf. D	
15	om τε				1319
19	σκια] + illius ηροιξε] aperiens	NA			33 1891
	δε 2 <sup>o</sup> ] et	NA	Ant	D	
21	παραγενομενοι] adveniens	B <sup>2</sup> NA	Ant	D	
22	οι δε παραγενομενοι υπηρεται ουχ ευρον αυτους εν τη φυλακη, αναστρεψαντες δε απηγγειλαν] cum venissent autem ministri et aperto carcere non invenissent illos, reversi nuntiaverunt			cf. D	
23	om οτι δεσμωτηριον] + quidam εσω ουδενα] neminem intus		Ant		913
32	εν αυτω μαρτυρες] sumus testes	N cf. A NA	cf. Ant Ant	D D	minn
33	αγιον] + quem ακουσαντες] + haec εβουλοντο] cogitabant	N	Ant cf. Ant	D	cf. minn
38	om τουτο				
40	απελυσαν] + eos		Ant	D	
41	ονοματος] + jesu				minn
42	τε] autem			D	
VI					
1	ταυταις] illis				minn
3	επισκεψωμεθα] considerate δε] ergo	NA C C	Ant Ant	D	
	καταστροφομεν] constituamus		Ant		
7	υπηκουον] oboediebat	A			
9	om των 1 <sup>o</sup>	N			
11	βλασφημια] blasphemiae	N		D	
13	om τουτου	NA	Ant	D	
15	om εις	N			

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
VII					
5	αὐτῷ εἰς κατασχέσων αὐτήν]				
	illi eam in possessionem]	cf. NA			255
7	ο θεος εἶπεν] dixit deus		Ant	D	
10	ὅλον] super omnem	NAO			
	τούτων] suam	B <sup>1</sup> NAO	Ant	D	
12	εἰς αἰγύπτου] in aegypto		Ant	D	
18	ἰωσήφ 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] ejus	NA			
15	ιακώβ] +in aegyptum	NAO	Ant	D	
	αὐτος ἐτελεύτησεν] defunctus				
	est ipse	NAO	Ant	D	
16	ἐν συχεμ] filii aychem		Ant	D	
20	τοῦ πατρός] patris sui			D	
21	υἱόν] in filium	NAO 81	Ant	D	
28	τε] vero				P
30	ἐν φλογὶ πυρός] in igne				
	flammae	AC			
32	ἰσαακ καὶ ἰακώβ] deus isaac				
	et deus jacob		Ant	D	
33	τὸ ὑποδήμα σου τῶν ποδῶν]				
	calcamentum pedum				
	tuorum	NA 81 of C	Ant	D	
34	αὐτοῦ] eorum	NAO 81	Ant		
35	οὐ καὶ 2 <sup>ο</sup>	NAO	Ant		
36	ἐν τῇ] in terra	NA 81	Ant	D	
	αἰγυπτῷ] aegypti			D	
37	ἐμε] +ipsum audietis	C		of. D	
38	ἐξέλεξατο] accepit	NAO 81	Ant	D	
	ὑμῖν] nobis	AO 81	Ant	D	
39	οὐ ἐν	81		D	
42	τεσσαράκοντα] +in deserto	B <sup>1</sup> NAO 81 of. A	Ant	D	
43	θεοῦ] +vestri	NAO 81	Ant		
	ραμφά] rampham			D	
46	οὐκ] deo	AO 81			
49	θρόνος] +est			D	
	καὶ ἡ γῆ] terra autem	NAO 81	Ant	D	
	οικοδομήσατε] edificabitis	NAO 81	Ant	D	
51	καρδίας] cordibus	AO of. N		D	
60	μεγαλῇ] +dicens			D	
VIII					
9	προῤῥηχεν] qui ante fuerat			D	
	μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων]				
	magnus seducens			D	
	εἶναι τίνα εαυτὸν] se esse				
	aliquem				of. minn
13	θεωρῶν τα] videns etiam	NAO 81	Ant	D	
16	οὐδὲτι] nondum		Ant		
18	πνεῦμα] spiritus sanctus	AO 81	Ant	D	
22	τοῦ κυρίου] deum		Ant		
25	κωμῶν] regionibus				1874
27	οὐ ὡς 2 <sup>ο</sup>	NAO		D	
28	ἦν δὲ ὑποστρεφῶν] et rever-				
	tebatur	NA 81	Ant	D	
	οὐ καὶ 1 <sup>ο</sup>			D	
34	λέγει] +hoc	B <sup>1</sup> NAO 81	Ant		
39	οὐκ εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐκετ]				
	amplius non vidit eum				of. 489

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
39	αυτου την οδον] per viam suam	NAO 81	Ant		
IX					
2	om οντας				minn
3	αυτον περιηστραψεν] circumfulsit eum		Ant		
8	δε 2 <sup>o</sup> ] -que		Ant		cf. h
12	om εν οραματι	NA 81			
18	αυτου απο των οφθαλμων] ab oculis ejus	NC 81	Ant		cf. h
21	εληλυθει] venit	81	Ant		h
30	om αυτον 2 <sup>o</sup>	A			
37	εθηκαν] +eam	NAO 81	Ant		
39	παρεστησαν] circumsteterunt εποiei μετ αυτων ουσα] faciebat illis				1518
40	εξω παντας] omnibus foras	C			
X					
1	τις] +erat				P
3	περι ωραν] hora		cf. Ant		
4	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>				1522
6	τινι σιμωνι] simonem quendam	C			
7	των οικετων] +suos		Ant		h
11	καθιεμενον] +de caelo			d	
19	πνευμα] +ei	NAO 81	Ant	cf. D	
	δυο] tres	NAO 81			
20	αλλα αναστας] surge itaque et			cf. D	
24	αυτους 2 <sup>o</sup> ] suis	NAO	Ant	D	
28	ο θεος εδειξεν] ostendit deus	NA			2179
29	om και				minn
31	σου η προσευχη] oratio tua				
33	ενωπιον του θεου] in conspectu tuo			D	
37	οιδατε] vos scitis	NAO 81	Ant	D	
	αρξαμενος] +enim	A		D	
	κηρυγμα] baptismum	B <sup>2</sup> NAO 81	Ant	D	
XI					
3	εισηλθεν, συνεφαγεν] introisti, manducasti	NA	Ant	D	
4	καθεξης] ordinem			cf. D	
9	εκ δευτερου φωνη] vox secundo	NA 81	Ant		
11	ημεν] eram	81			
13	ειποντα] +sibi		Ant	D	
14	ρηματα προς σε] tibi verba				minn
19	μονον ιουδαιοις] solis judaeis			D	
20	ελθοντες] cum introissent		Ant		
22	ιερουσαλημ] hierosolymis		Ant		
24	κανος] +domino	B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant	D	
25	αναστησαι] ut quaseret	B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant	cf. D	
26	εγενετο δε αυτοις και ενιαυτον ολον συναχθηναι] et annum totum conversati sunt			cf. D	
	χρηματισαι τε] ita ut cognominarentur			cf. D	

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
27	αυτας] his	NA 81	Ant	D	
29	ευπορειτο] habebat om εκαστος αυτων				
XII					
5	εκκλησιας] +ad deum	NA 81	Ant	D	
6	ημελλον προσαγαγειν αυτον] producturus eum esset	A 81	Ant	D	
7	αυτου αι αλυσεις εκ των χειρων] catenae de mani- bus ejus			D	
9	ηκολουθει] +eum		Ant		
10	πρωτην φυλακην και δευτε- ραν] primam et secundam custodiam			D	
13	προσηλθε] processit	B <sup>3</sup> N 81	Ant	D	
15	εστιν αυτου] ejus est				
17	om αυτοις 2 <sup>o</sup> αυτον εξηγαγεν] eduxisset eum	NA 81 81			
20	ομοθυμαδον δε] at illi un- animes αυτων την χωραν] regiones eorum			D D D	
22	φωνη] voces			D	
25	eis] ab	cf. A		D	
XIII					
1	εν αντιοχεια κατα την ουσαν εκκλησιαν] in ecclesia quae erat antiochiae διδασκαλοι] +in quibus om τε 1 <sup>o</sup>			D D	
2	om δη				2147
3	επιθεντες] +eis απελυσαν] +illos			D	255
4	του αγιου πνευματος] spiritu sancto		Ant	D	
6	ανδρα τινα] quendam virum				minn
11	παραχρημα δε] et confestam επεσεν] +in eum	NC 81 NC 81 of. A	Ant	D D	
14	την πισιδιαν] pisidiae	81	Ant	D	
18	om ως			D	
19	καθελων] et destruens	NAO C 81	Ant	D	
22	τον δαυειδ αυτοις] illis david ιεσσαι] +virum	NAO 81 C	Ant	D	
25	τι] quem	NAO 81 C	Ant	D	
26	αβρααμ] +et ημιν] vobis	NAO 81 C	Ant	D	
27	om εν αυτων] ejus	C 81		D	
28	ευροντες] +in eum			of. D	
29	τα γεγραμμενα περι αυτου] quae de eo scripta erant	NAO 81	Ant	D	
30	νεκρων] +tertia die				
31	αιτινες] +usque nunc	cf. NAO 81		D	
33	γεγραπται τω δευτερω] se- cundo scriptum est		Ant		
35	εν ετερω] alias			D	

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
36	om μεν			D	
38	δια τουτο] per hunc	NAO 81	Ant	D	
39	om και	NAO			
40	επελθη] +vobis	AO 81	Ant		
42	εις το μεταξυ σαββατον ηξιουν λαληθηναι] rogabant ut sequenti sabbato loque- rentur	NAO 81	cf. Ant	D	
43	om αυτοις		Ant		
44	τε] vero	NAO 81		D	
	θεου] domini	B <sup>2</sup> NA 81		cf. D	
46	επειδη] sed quoniam	AC 81	Ant		
47	εθνων] gentibus			D	
48	του θεου] domini	NAO 81	Ant		
50	γυναικας] +et	N	Ant		
	οριων] +suis	NAO 81	Ant	D	
XIV					
5	om τε			D	
6	την περιχωρον] universam in circuitu regionem			D	
8	αδυνατος εν λυστροις] in lystris infirmus	AC 81	Ant		
	περιεπατησεν] ambulaverat		Ant	D	
10	ηλατο] +et	B <sup>2</sup> nd NAO 81	Ant	D	
11	oi τε οχλοι] turbae autem	O 81	Ant	D	
17	om υμων	A 81			
19	δε] +quidam			D	
20	των μαθητων αυτον] eum discipulis		Ant		
22	παρακαλουντες] + -que	cf. C		D	
25	εν περγη] in pergen	NA 81			
	λογον] +domini	NAO 81			
26	κακειθεν] +navigaverunt	B <sup>2</sup> NAO 81	Ant	D	
XV					
2	δε] ergo	A	Ant		
	om και ζητησεως				minu
3	om τε	A	Ant		
4	αγγελειλαν τε] adnuntiantes			cf. D	
5	περιτεμνεν] circumcidi				489
7	εν υμων] in nobis		Ant	cf. D	
8	αυτοις δους] dans illis	cf. C	cf. Ant	cf. D	
18	γνωστα απ αιωνος] notum a saeculo est domino opus eum				
		A	cf. Ant	D	
20	απεχεσθαι] +a	AO	Ant		
	πνικτου] suffocatis				
21	κατα πολιν τοις κηρυσσοντας αυτον εχει] habet in singulis civitatibus qui eum praedicent				
24	ημων] +exeuntes	AC 81	cf. Ant	cf. D	
28	τουτων των επαναγκες] haec necessario	N		D	
29	και αιματος και πνικτων] et sanguine [suffocato]				
32	τε] autem			D	

	Vulgate	NA 81	Antiochian	D	
<b>XVI</b>					
1	ομι και 1 <sup>ο</sup>	NC 81	Ant	D	
3	ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου] pater ejus gentilis		cf. Ant	cf. D	
6	διηλθον] transeuntes		Ant		
11	ουν] autem	NA 81		cf. D	
	δ'] et		Ant	D	
13	τε] autem			D	
	ενομιζομεν προσευχη ειναι] videbatur oratio esse		cf. Ant	D	
19	και ιδοντες] videntes autem	NC 81	Ant	D	
23	δε] et	NA 81	Ant	D	
24	τους ποδας ησφαλισατο αυτων] pedes eorum strinxit		Ant	D	
26	ηνεωθησαν δε] et aperta sunt statim	Of NA 81	Ant	cf. D	
32	του θεου] domini	AC 81	Ant	D	
34	οικον] +suam	NA	Ant	D	
35	απολυσον] dimitte				
36	λογους] +haec	NA 81	Ant		
38	δε 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] -que		Ant		
40	ιδοντες παρακαλεσαν τους αδελφους] visis fratribus consolati sunt eos		Ant	cf. D	
<b>XVII</b>					
2	τω παυλω] paulus				
	διεξελεξατο] disserebat		Ant		
4	ελληνων] gentilibusque	A 81		D	
10	om τε			D	
11	ει εχοι ταυτα ουτως] si haec ita se haberent				minn
12	εξ αυτων επιστευσαν] credi- derunt ex eis				minn
	ανδρων] viri			cf. D	383
13	τους οχλους] multitudinem				H
14	τε 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] autem		Ant	D	
	om τε 2 <sup>ο</sup>			D	
15	εντολην] +ab eo			cf. D	
18	om και 1 <sup>ο</sup>				minn
	ευηγγελιζετο] +eis	A 81			H
21	om τι 1 <sup>ο</sup>	cf. 81	cf. Ant	cf. D	
27	και 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] aut	A		D	
28	καθ ημας] vestrum	NA 81	Ant	D	
30	αγνοιας] +huius			D	
32	om και		cf. Ant	D	
<b>XVIII</b>					
3	ηργαζοντο] operabatur	A	Ant	D	
	ησαν] erat				
4	om verse 4				
5	om τε				
7	ηλθεν] intravit	NA		cf. D	
12	οι ιουδαιοι ομοθυμαδον] uno animo judaei	NA	Ant	D	
13	αναπειθει ουτος] hic per- suadet		Ant	D	
14	ω] +viri			D	



	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
16	απηλασεν] minavit (for ηπειλησεν ?)				547
17	ετυπτον] +eum				
18	κειραμενος] qui sibi toton- derant				
	ειχεν] habebant				
19	κατηντησαν] devenit		Ant	D	
25	om δε	A cf. N	Ant	D	
<b>XIX</b>					
3	ειπεν τε] ille vero ait	NA		cf. D	
4	τω λαω] populum				
6	του παυλου χειρας] manus paulus				
13	των περιερχομενων] de cir- cumventibus		Ant	D	
14	τινος] quidam	NA	Ant		
16	πονηρον] +et	N	Ant		
17	εγενετο γνωστον] notum factum est				minn
24	ναους] +argenteas	A cf. N	Ant	D	
27	κινδυνευει] periclitabitur om θεας	N			
	λογισθηται] reputabitur	A		D	
	μελλειν τε και καθαιρεισθαι] sed et destrui incipiet			cf. D	
	μελλειν] incipiet	A		D	
	τε] sed		Ant		
	της μεγαλειοτητος] majestas om αυτον		Ant	D	
30				D	
33	συνεβιβασαν] detraxerunt			D	
34	om εκ			D	
	om μεγαλη η αρτεμης εφεσεων 2 <sup>o</sup>	NA	Ant	D	
35	τον οχλον ο γραμματευσ] scriba turbas	cf. NA	cf. Ant	cf. D	
	του διοπετους] jovis prolis				
37	ημων] vestram		Ant		
39	περαιτερω] alterius rei	cf. NA	cf. Ant	cf. D	
40	στασεως περι της σημερον] seditionis hodiernae			cf. D	cf. minn
	om ου 2 <sup>o</sup>			D	
	om περι 3 <sup>o</sup>		Ant	D	
<b>XX</b>					
1	μεταπεμψαμενος] vocatis	cf. A	cf. Ant	cf. D	
3	επιβουλης αυτω] illi insidiae		Ant	D	
5	om δε		Ant	D	
	προσελθοντες] cum praeces- sissent	B <sup>a</sup>		D	
10	θορυβεισθαι] nolite turbari	NA	Ant(?)	D	
11	κλασας] frangensque	NAO	Ant	D	
13	προσελθοντες επι το πλοιον] ascendentes navem		cf. Ant	cf. D	
14	συνεβαλλεν] convenisset	O	Ant	D	
15	δε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] et				623
	τη εσπερα] sequenti die	NAO	Ant	D	
18	αυτον] +et simul essent	A		D	

	Vulgate	NAOSI	Antiochian	D	
21	ιησουν]+christum	NAO		cf. D	
24	ουδενος λογου ποιουμαι την ψυχην τιμαν εμαυτω] nihil horum vereor nec facio animam meam pretiosio- rem quam me	of A	cf. Ant Ant	of. D	
25	βασιλειαν]+dei		cf. Ant	D	
29	om omi 1 <sup>o</sup>	NAO	cf. Ant	D	
30	υμων]+ipsis	NAO	Ant	D	
31	εκαστον]+vestrum			D	
32	τω κυριω] deo	NAO	Ant	D	
35	των λογων] verbi				minn of. LP
<b>XXI</b>					
3	την κυπρον] cyprio επλεομεν] navigavimus				61 of P
5	οτε δε εγενετο εξαρτισαι ημας τας ημερας] et explicitis diebus				
6	προσευξαμενοι] oravimus ακησασαμεθα αλληλους και] et cum vale fecissemus invicem		Ant		
11	παυλου]+et		Ant		
12	om τε			D	
18	απεκριθη]+et dixit	NA			
21	om παντας	A		D	
22	παντως ακουσονται] utique oportet convenire multi- tudinem, audient enim	NA AO	Ant	D	
28	αφ] super		Ant	D	
24	κεφαλην] capita				minn
25	απεστείλαμεν] scripsimus	NAO	Ant		
27	ως δε εμελλον αι επτα ημεραι συντελεισθαι] dum autem septem dies consumma- rentur			of. D	
	συνεχεον] concitaverunt	O			minn
	οχλον] populum				
28	om τε			D	
29	ησαν γαρ προεωρακοτες] vi- derant enim		Ant		
31	τε] autem		Ant		
32	λαβων] adsumtis	NA	Ant	D	
35	του οχλου] populi			D	
36	κραζοντες] clamans		Ant	D	
39	ειπεν δε] et dixit ad eum				of. minn
40	γενομενης σειηης] silentio facto	NA	Ant	of. D	
<b>XXII</b>					
3	om υπαρχων του θεου] legis			D	88
	παντες υμεις] vos omnes			D	
5	εμαρτυρει μοι] testimonium mihi reddit	NA	Ant		
	και τους εκεισε οντας] inde				of. H

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
6	φως ικανον περι εμε] me lux coriosa			D	
10	ων εντετακται σοι ποιησαι] quae te oporteat facere			d	minn
11	ουθεν] non	NA	Ant	d	
12	om ευλαβης	A			
15	μαρτυς αυτω προς παντας ανθρωπους εση] eris testis illius ad omnes homines	of. NA	of. Ant		
20	και αυτος] ego			d	
23	τε] autem	N	Ant	D	
24	ανεταξεσθαι] caedi et tor- queri				
25	εστωτα] adstanti sibi				
28	δε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] et		Ant	D	cf. minn
29	και ο χειλιαρχος δε] tribunus quoque	cf. N			
XXIII					
1	παυλος τω συνεδριω] con- cilium paulus	NAO			
2	αυτου το στομα] os ejus				Ψ
3	παρανομων] contra legem				1898
5	τε] autem				614 2147
	om οτι	C	Ant		
6	εκραξεν] exclamavit	A	Ant		
	νεκρων] +ego	NA	Ant		
7	λαλουντος] cum dixisset	NA of. C	of. Ant		
	επεπεσε] facta est	NAO	Ant		
9	om των γραμματεων του μερους	A			
10	πολλης δε γενομενης στασεως] et cum magna dissensio facta esset	AO 81 NAO cf. 81	of. Ant		
12	αγειν] ac deducere	NAO 81	Ant		
	τε] autem				
	οι ιουδαιοι] quidam ex judaeis		Ant		
15	μελλοντας διαγεινωσκειν α- κρειβεστερον] certius co- gnituri				
17	απαγγειλαι τι] aliquid indi- care	C			
18	λαλησαι] +tibi	NC	Ant		
19	της χειρος αυτου ο χειλιαρχος] tribunus manum illius	B <sup>2</sup> vid NA 81	Ant		
	επυνθανετο] +illum				1838
20	μελλον τι ακρειβεστερον πυν- θανεσθαι] aliquid certius inquisitari				cf. 1838
21	μητε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] non				minn 69
	εισιν ετοιμοι] parati sunt		Ant		
23	om τινας				minn
	ειπεν] +illis				hol.✕
24	παραστησαι] praeparate				cf. hol. mg
25	εχουσιν] continentem	A	Ant		
	τον τυπον τουτου] haec				614 cf. 2147

	Vulgate	NAOSI	Antiochian	D
28	αὐτῶ] +deduxi eum in con- cilium eorum	B <sup>2</sup> of NA	Ant	
30	ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς τὸν ἀνδρα ἐσε- σθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς] de insidiis quas paraverunt ei	of. NA 81 NA	of. Ant	
33	οὐκ ἔως αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παῦλον αὐτῶ] ante illum et paulum			cf. 255
35	κελεύσας] iussitque		Ant	
XXIV				
2	κληθεὶς δε] et citato paulo οὐκ ἔως αὐτῶ			
3	πάντῃ τε] semper (= παν- τοτε)			minn
4	ἀκούσαι σε ἡμῶν συντομῶς] breviter audias nos			minn
10	τε] autem		Ant	
11	ἡμέραι] +quam			minn
14	θεῶ] +meo πιστευόντων] +omnibus	NA 81 cf. A	Ant of. Ant	614
17	προσφοράς] oblationes et vota			
20	τί] si quid εὐρον] +in me	O N	Ant Ant	minn
21	ἐφ'] a			
22	λύσις οὗ χειλιαρχος] tribunus lysiās			minn
23	διαταξάμενος] iussitque			cf. IIS cf. L
24	μετὰ δε ἡμέρας τινὰς] post aliquot autem dies τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναίκε] uxore sua χριστὸν ἠέσων] jesum chri- stum	A N	cf. Ant	2138
26	αὐτὸν μεταπεμπομένους] ac- cersiens eum			808
27	τε] autem			minn
XXV				
4	εἰς καίσαρειαν] in caesares		Ant	
8	παύλου] +autem			cf. Ψ
10	οὐκ ἔως 1 <sup>o</sup>	AC 81	Ant	
11	μὲν οὖν] enim		Ant	
13	ἀσπασάμενοι] ad salutan- dum	81 NAO 81 AO	Ant	
16	δε] -que			
18	πονηρῶν] malam			
20	περὶ τούτων] huiusmodi		of. Ant	
21	ἀναπέμψω] mittam		Ant	
25	τοῦ παύλου] hoc	B <sup>2</sup> NAO 81	Ant	
26	ἀσφαλὲς τί] quid certum			minn
XXVI				
7	οὐκ ἔως ἐκτενεῖα			
9	ἐγὼ] et ego			919
	οὖν] quidem	NAO 81	Ant	
10	διὸ] quod	NAO 81	Ant	
11	βλασφημῶν] +et	NAO 81	Ant	

	Vulgate	NAO 81	Antiochian	D	
13	τους συν εμοι πορευομενους] eos qui mecum simul erant				
14	καταπεσοντων] nos cum decidiassemus	NAO 81	Ant		
16	αναστηθι]+et sta om με	B <sup>2</sup> NAO 81 NA 81	Ant Ant		
17	om εκ 2 <sup>o</sup> ous]+nunc	C	Ant		minn
18	και 1 <sup>o</sup> ]+de	C			L
20	om τε 1 <sup>o</sup> πασαν] in omnem	81	Ant Ant		
21	συλλαβομενοι εν τω ιερω] cum essem in templo comprehensum	NA 81			
23	om τε				LP
24	αυτου απολογουμενου] lo- quente eo et rationem reddente				
26	φησιν] dixit ον]+et om ου 1 <sup>o</sup> ου 2 <sup>o</sup> ] neque	NA 81	Ant Ant		minn minn
28	χρειστανον ποιησαι] chri- stianum fieri		Ant		
29	ο δε παυλος] et paulus				Ψ
31	αξιον]+quid	NA 81			
XXVII					
1	ημας] eum παρεδιδουν] et tradi και τινας ετερους δεσμωτας] cum reliquis custodiis				cf. minn
2	εις τους κατα την ασιαν τοπους] circa asiae loca οντος] perseverante <sup>1</sup> τε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] autem τε 2 <sup>o</sup> ] autem				hcl. mg
3	ο ιουλιος τω παυλω χρησα- μενος] tractans julius paulum	81	cf. Ant		cf. 33 L minn
4	τους ανεμους ειναι] essent venti				cf. minn
5	μυρρα] lustrum	NA			minn
8	λασsea] thalassa				
13	ασσαν] de asson				cf. sah boh
20	επικειμενου]+jam	NAO 81	Ant		
22	ουδεμα] nullius				minn
23	αγγελος αφ'ερ λατρευω] angelus defors <sup>2</sup> του θεου ειμ]+ego	81	Ant		
26	ημας δει] oportet nos	NAO 81	Ant		
27	εγενετο] supervenit προσπαχειν] apparere	A 81			

<sup>1</sup> This seems to rest on a Greek corruption by dittography, *ανηχθμεν οντος* for *ανηχθμεν οντος*. See Peshitto, below, p. 315, note 1.

	Vulgate	NAC 81	Antiochian	D	
27	τινα αυτοις] sibi aliquam				minn
28	και] qui	Σ			
	om και παλιν βολισαντες				minn
29	τε] autem	NC 81			
30	αγκυρας μελλοντων] incipe- rent anchoras	Σ	Ant		
31	μεινωσιν εν τω πλοιω] in navi manserint	Σ			
34	τουτο γαρ προ της υμετερας σωτηριας υπαρχει] pro salute vestra				
37	αι πασαι] universae ως εβδομηκοντα εξ] ducentae septuaginta sex	NC 81 cf. A B <sup>3</sup> NA 81	Ant		cf. 69
39	εκσωσαι] eicere		Ant		
40	ειων] committebant se				
41	περιπεσοντες] cum incidisse- mus				
43	υπο της βιας] +maris εκκολυμβαν] natare πρωτους] +evadere et	cf. C 81 NAC 81	cf. Ant Ant		
<b>XXVIII</b>					
2	τε] vero	Σ	Ant		
	παντας ημας] nos omnes				minn
	om δια 2 <sup>o</sup>	Σ			
6	μεταβαλομενοι] convertentes	Σ	Ant		
	se				
7	εξενισεν] exhibuit				
9	γενομενου] +et	NA 81	Ant		
14	εις την ρωμην ηλθαμεν] veni- mus romam	A 81			
15	om τα περι ημων αχρι απκιου φορου και τριων ταβερνων] usque ad appii forum et tribus tabernis				pesh
21	προς αυτον ειπau] dixerunt ad eum				minn
	περι σου εδεξαμεθα] accepi- mus de te	A			pvid
22	γνωστον ημιν εστιν] notum est nobis		Ant		
23	om τε 2 <sup>o</sup>				minn
25	δε] -que υμων] nostros	Σ	Ant		
27	ιασομαι] sanem	81			S
28	υμιν εστω] sit vobis	NA	Ant		
31	ακωλυτως] +amen				ψ

## APPENDIX III

### THE PESHITTO SYRIAC VERSION

THE following Tables, exhibiting the variants of the Peshitto from the Greek of Codex Vaticanus, are drawn from a collation made by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, who has used the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of 1905-1920. For chapters i-iii the aim is to give all variants of Syriac rendering, indicating in the column headed 'Translation' those which most clearly appear to be due merely to the translator, not to an underlying Greek variant reading. Thus a fair idea can be gained of the great freedom of the Syriac version, a freedom in part made necessary by the peculiar structure of the Syriac language as compared with Greek.

In the succeeding chapters (iv-xxviii) only those renderings are mentioned (with a few exceptions, chiefly in chapter xxiv) to which at least one Greek witness or a rendering in another version corresponds. Here, likewise, many of the minor variants will be recognized as probably to be charged to the account of the translator. Doubtless the form of the Syriac rendering is often merely parallel to the Greek variant, the two having been produced by similar motives working independently. This is especially likely to be the case when the Greek variant is attested by a single minuscule (other than Codex 614). Between versions into different languages the same coincidence is observable. Whether any given variant is due to the Greek text used or to the freedom of the translator is a matter of opinion and is often hard to determine, especially in small additions and in variations of order. It has seemed advisable to be liberal in adducing here such doubtful cases.

The Syriac variants are usually given in English, but occasionally for greater clearness and compactness Greek is used (usually so in matters of mere order of words), and once Latin. Occasionally it has proved impracticable to indicate the position in the sentence, or the order, of the corresponding Greek word or words.

In adducing miscellaneous witnesses in the last column no attempt at completeness has been made. The references are intended only to be suggestive, showing that testimony to the

variant exists in Greek or Latin, occasionally in Sahidic. The Sahidic has not been systematically introduced into the comparison; possibly some additional scraps of 'Western' text could be discovered by a more complete study. Where Codex Bezae is defective, the Latin witnesses have been adduced in somewhat fuller measure. The Vulgate readings referred to are usually common to the Vulgate and the Old Latin texts.

The Tables show only *departures* from the Greek text of Codex B; how far in other cases, where the Tables are silent but where the Greek MSS. show variants, the Syriac not merely accords with but *positively attests* the reading of Codex B can only be learned by an examination of the Syriac text itself.

The reader is warned not to overlook the existence of lacunae in several of the Greek MSS. cited.

	Peahutto	Trans- lation	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
I						
1	ιησους] 'our Lord Christ'	x				
	om τε	x				
2	ανελημφθη after ημερας (order)				D	
3	ους εξελεξατο δια πνευμα- τος αγιου (order)	x				
	om τα	x				vg
4	συναλιζομενος] + 'with them'				D	
8	μου] μοι		81	Ant		
9	υπελαβεν αυτον] + 'and he was hidden'				cf. D	
10	και ιδου ανδρες δυο παρ- ειστηκεισαν] 'there were found two men standing'	x				
12	σαββατου εχον οδον] 'and distant from it about seven stadia'	x				cf. sah
13	ανεβησαν εις το υπερων (order)			Ant	D	
	ησαν καταμενοντες] 'were'	x				
	ανδρας] + 'and'	x				minn
	'and Matthew and Bar- tholomew and'	x				
14	παντες] + 'together'		8			
15	πετρος] Symeon Cephas αδελφων] 'disciples'	x	81	Ant	D	
	ην τε] 'but there was there'		C			
	ονοματων] 'of men'					vg
	om επι το αυτο					perp gig
17	εν ημιν] 'with us'			Ant		Aug
	ελαχεν] 'he had'					
19	αυτων] 'of the country'	x				Aug



	Peshitto	Transl.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
21	συνελθοντων ημιν] 'who were with us'	×				
	ο κυριος] 'our Lord'	×				1827
25	τοπον 1 <sup>ο</sup> ] κληρον		81	Ant		
26	om αυτοις					
	επεσεν] 'rose'	×				
II						
1	την ημεραν] 'the days' ησαν] 'when they were'				D	vg
2	om και 1 <sup>ο</sup>	×				
	om φερομενης	×				
	πνοης βιαιας] νομινατινε	×				
	επληρωσεν . . . οικον]					
	'there was filled with it all that house'	×				
	τον οικον] 'that house'	×				Aug
3	πυρος] νομινατινε	×				
	εκαθισεν] εκαθισαν		8		D	
4	ετεραις γλωσσαις] 'with various tongues'					cf. Aug
	αυτοις αποφθεγγεσθαι (order)	×		Ant		
5	ανδρες κατοικουντες εν ιερουσαλημ ευλαβεις ιουδαιοι (order)	×				
6	τη ιδια διαλεκτω λαλουντων] 'that they spoke in their tongues'				of D	
7	δε] + παντες λεγοντες] + προς αλληλους ουτοι παντες οι λαλουντες ουχι ιδου γαλιλαιοι εισιν (order)	×	NAO 81			S
	om και	×				
	om ημων	×				
9	ιουδαιαν τε και καππαδοκιαν] 'Jews and Capadocians'	×				
	om τε	×			D	
10	om τε 1 <sup>ο</sup>	×			D	
	παμφυλιαν] + 'and'				D	
	om τε 2 <sup>ο</sup>	×				
11	αραβες] + 'lo'	×				
12	τι θελει τουτο ειναι] 'of what is this will'	×				
13	διαχλευαζοντες ελεγον] διαχλευαζον αυτους λεγοντες					
	om οτι γλευκουσ μεμεστωμενοι εισιν] 'these have drunk new wine and are intoxicated'	×			of D	Aug
14	σταθεις δε] 'and afterward arose'					cf. hcl. mg
	ο πετρος] Symeon Cephas	×			of D	

	Peshitto	Transl	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
14	παντες οι κατοικουντες (order)				D	
15	εστιν γαρ ωρα τριτη της ημερας] 'for lo until now it is three hours'	x				
16	ωηλ του προφητου (order)	x				
17	om και 1 <sup>o</sup> μετα ταυτα] 'in the last days'		NA 81	Ant	D	
18	εν ταις ημεραις ταυταις αφ'ερ 'spirit' (order) απο του πνευματος μου] 'my spirit' (accusative)	x				
19	om ανω	x	A			
20	om κατω	x				
22	επιφανη] 'terrible'	x				
22	αποδεειγμενον απο του θεου] 'of God seen'		A	Ant	D	
23	(order) τουτου] 'him who was set apart for this'	x				
	προγνωσει και βουλη (order)	x				
	εκδοτον δια χειρος] 'you delivered into the hands'	x				
24	ον ο θεος ανεστησε] 'but God raised him'	x				
	θανατου] 'sheol'				D	
25	υπ' αυτου] 'in sheol'	x				
25	τον κυριον] 'my Lord'	x	N		D	
	om ενωπιον μου	x				
26	γλωσσα] 'glory'	x				
	σαρξ] 'body'	x				
30	οσφυος] 'womb'					1311
31	ουτε] 'not'	x		Ant		
	σαρξ] 'body'	x				
32	ου] 'and . . . of him'	x				
	ημεις παντες (order)					perp gig
33	ου] 'and'	x				
	τουτο] + 'gift'					h hol. text
	ο] + 'lo'	x		of. Ant		
	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>		NAO 81	Ant		
34	λεγει δε] 'because he said'				D	
36	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	x				minn
37	ακουσαντες] + 'these'	x				
	την καρδιαν] 'their heart'	x				
	πετρον] Symeon	x				
	om ανδρες	x				
38	πετρος δε] 'Symeon'	x				of. 522
	πετρος] + 'said'			Ant		
	ιησου χριστου] 'of the Lord Jesus'				of. D	of. Iren
	om υμων 2 <sup>o</sup>			Ant	D	
39	κυριος ο θεος ημων] 'God'	x				
40	διεμαρτυρατο] διεμαρτυρετο			Ant		

	Peshitto	Transl.	NAO 81	Anthouch	D	
40	ταυτης της σκολιας (order)				D	
41	οι μεν ουν] 'and some of them'	x				
	+ 'readily' <i>before</i> αποδεξαμενοι]			Ant		
	+ 'and believed'				cf. D	
42	ωσει τρισχειλιαι ψυχαι (order)	x			D	
	δε] 'and'					
	και τη κοινωνια] 'and were sharing in'	x				cf. vg
	τη κλασει του αρτου και ταις προσευχαις] 'in prayer and in the breaking of the eucharist'	x				
43	παση ψυχη φοβος] 'fear in every soul'	x				
	εγεινετο δια των αποστολων (order)		AO NAO			
44	αι cloas, + 'in Jerusalem' επι το αυτο] ησαν επι το αυτο και		NAO 81	Ant	D	
45	τα κτηματα και τας υπαρξεις] 'those who had property'				cf. D	
	om αυτα	x				
	πασιν] 'to each'	x				
43	εν τω ιερω ομοθυμαδον (order)		O		cf. D	
	κατ οικον κλωντες (order)	x				
	εν αγαλλιασει] 'rejoicing'	x				
47	καρδιας] 'their heart'	x				
	ο κυριος] 'our Lord'	x				
	καθ ημεραν τους σωζομενους (order)	x				minn
	for επι το αυτο <i>substantives</i> 'in the church'			cf. Ant	cf. D	cf 218
III						
1	πετρος δε] 'and it came to pass that when Symeon Oephas'	x				
2	και] + ιδου				D	
	ανηρ τις (order)	x			D	
	om υπαρχων					
	εβασταζετο . . . θυραν] 'was carried by [i.e. there carried] men who were accustomed to bring and put him at the gate'	x				
3	ος] 'he'				D	
	πετρον] 'Symeon'	x			cf. D	
	ηρωτα] + 'from them'					
	λαβειν] 'that they should give him'	x				

	Peshitto	Transl.	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
4	ατενισας δε πετρος εις αυτον συν τω ιωαννη] 'and there looked at him Symeon and John'	x				cf. 095
	ειπεν] 'and they said'	x				of 1522
5	λαβειν παρ αυτων (order)				D	
6	om δε 1 <sup>o</sup> χρυσιον και αργυριον (order)	x				
	ναζωραιου] + 'rise'		of. AC 81	of Ant		
7	της δεξιης χειρος] 'his right hand'	x				
	δε] 'and'				D	
10	ο προς την ελεημοσυνην καθημενος] 'the beggar who sat daily and asked alms'					cf. 1311
	τη ωραια πυλη] 'the gate called beautiful'	x				
	τω συμβεβηκοτι αυτω] 'that thing'	x				
11	εκθαμβοι after λαος (order)				cf. D	
12	απεκρινατο] + 'and said'				D	
	προς τον λαον] 'to them'				D	h Olrys
	ευσεβεια] 'might'					
	πεποιηκοσι] + 'this'				D	
13	απολυνει] + 'him'				D	
15	ηγειρεν ο θεος (order) ου ημεις μαρτυρες εσμεν] 'and we all are his witnesses'	x				
	εστερειωσεν] + 'and cured'	x				
	om το ονομα αυτου	x				
	δι αυτου] 'in him'	x				
17	αδελφοι] 'my brethren'	x				
	ωσπερ και] 'as did'	x				
20	οπως αν ελθωσιν] 'and there may come'	x				h
	ελθωσιν] + 'to you'					
	ιησουν χριστον (order)		AO 81			
21	χρονων αποκαταστασεως] 'the completion of the times'					cf. pap gig
	των αγων απ αιωνος αυτου προφητων] 'of his pro- phets holy who are of old' (order)					cf. mim
22	μεν] 'for'			of. Ant		
	αναστησαι υμιν (order)	x				
	κυριος ο θεος] 'the Lord'	x				
23	δε] 'and'	x				
	εξολοθρευσεται] + 'that soul'	x				
	του λαου] 'his people'					614
24	και παντες δε οι προφηται] 'and the prophets all'					
	om οσα				cf. D cf. D	

	Peshitto	Transl.	NAC 81	Antioch	D	
25	διεθετο ο θεος (order) υμων] 'our'		NAC 81 NO	Ant Ant	D	
26	εν τω αποστρεφειν εκαστον] 'if you turn and are converted'	x				
IV	των πονηριων] 'yoursins'		NA 81	Ant	D	
1	λαλουντων δε αυτων] 'and as they were speaking these words'				D D	
	αρχιερεis] 'priests'		NA 81	Ant		g'g
3	στρατηγος] 'rulers'					
5	εθεντο] + 'them'		AC			
	εγενετο δε επι την αυριον συν- αχθηναι] 'and on the next day there were gathered'				cf. D	h h
8	om εν ιερουσαλημ πρεσβυτεροι] + 'of the house of Israel			of. Ant	cf. D	vg. <i>codd</i> minn
9	at close, + 'hear'				D	
12	ανακρευομεθα] + 'by you'				D	
	ουδε γαρ] ου γαρ εν ανθρωποις] 'to men'				D	
	om υμας					boh
13	θεωρουντες] 'when they heard'					h
	ησαν] 'had associated with'					cf. h
14	εστωτα συν αυτοis (order) τον τεθεραπευμενον] 'the lame man who had been healed'					vg
15	δε] 'them'					h h
	απελθειν] 'that they should lead'				cf. D	
16	οτι μιν γαρ . . . φανερον] 'for lo a manifest sign which has been done by them to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem is known'					cf. h cf. h
17	διανεμηθη] 'this report go out'					
18	παρηγγειλαν] + 'to them'			Ant		
21	μηδεν] 'not'				D	
	ευρισκοντες] + 'a cause'				D	
	οτι] 'for'					gig e 33
23	προς αυτοis οσα (order)					
24	συ] + 'art God'			Ant	D	
25	ο του πατροs ημων δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος δαυειδ παιδος σου ειπων] 'and thou art he who spoke through the Holy Spirit by the mouth of David thy servant'				cf. D	cf. Iren
26	συνηχθησαν] 'took counsel'					
27	λαοis] 'assembly'					cf. minn
28	η βουλη] 'thy counsel'		N	Ant	D	
29	και τα νυν] 'and also now'					440 minn
	om πασης					
30	την χειρα] 'thy hand'		N	Ant	D	
32	ελεγον] ελεγον		NA	Ant	D	

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
33	του κυριου ιησου της αναστασεως] 'concerning the resurrection of Jesus Christ'	cf. NA	cf. Ant	cf. D	cf. 1522
V					
2	γυναικος] 'his wife'		Ant		
3	ειπεν δε] + 'to him'			cf. D	minn
8	om δε 1 <sup>o</sup>				ninn
9	ο δε πετρος] + 'said'	A	Ant		S
10	αυτου] 'their' νεκραν] + 'and they wrapped her round'			D D	
16	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>				
17	om αναστας 'and there was filled with anger' δεφοτε ο αρχιερευσ				perp
19	δε 1 <sup>o</sup> ] 'then' δια νυκτος αγγελος κυριου (οι δερ) τας θυρας] 'the door'			D D	porp
21	ακουσαντες δε εισηλθον υπο τον ορθρον] 'and they went out at the time of dawn and entered'				cf. e (E)
	πασαν την γερουσιαν] 'the elders'				cf. vg
24	διηπορουν περι αυτων] 'were amazed and thought'				cf. e (E)
26	τον λαον μη λιθασθωσιν] 'lest the people should stone (singilar) them'				cf. h
27	εν τω συνεδριω] 'before all the assembly'				cf. h
	επηρωτησεν] 'began to say'				h
28	λεγων] + 'not'		Ant	D	
29	ειπαν] + 'to them'			D	
	θεω δει πειθαρχειν (order)				cf. 69
32	εν αυτω μαρτυρες] 'are witnesses'	NA	cf. Ant	D	
	αγιον] + 'which'	NA	Ant	D	
33	εβουλοντο] 'thought'	N	Ant	D	
34	om εν τω συνεδριω νομοδιδασκαλος] + 'and'				h
	αποστολους] 'apostles'		Ant	D	
36	ημερων] 'time'				h
	τινα] 'something great'			cf. D	
37	λαον] + 'much'	O	Ant	D	
39	αυτους] 'it'	O	Ant		
	om και			D	
40	απελυσαν] + 'them'		Ant	D	
42	τον χριστον ιησουν] 'our Lord Jesus Christ'	cf. O		D	
VI					
3	επισκεψωμεθα] επισκεψασθε δε] 'therefore'	NAO O	Ant Ant	D cf. D	cf. h
	πνευματος] + 'of the Lord'				
5	ο λογος] 'this word'			D	
6	ους εστησαν] 'these stood'			D	
7	ιερων] 'Jews'	N			
	υπηκουουν] υπηκουεν	A			

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
8	om μεγαλα				1785
14	ημιν] 'you'				S
VII					
1	ειπεν] 'asked'				h
4	τοτε] + 'Abraham'			D	e
	αυτον] + 'God' ( <i>nominative</i> )				
5	om μετ αυτον				H
6	ουτως] 'with him'	N			
	αυτου] 'thy'	N			
	κακωσουσιν] + 'it'	O			
7	ειπεν ο θεος ( <i>order</i> )		Ant	D	
8	ισαακ 2 <sup>o</sup> ] + 'begat'				perp e
	ιακωβ 2 <sup>o</sup> ] + 'begat'				perp
10	+ 'over' <i>before</i> ολον	NAO			
	τουτου] 'his'	B <sup>1</sup> NAO	Ant	D	
12	eis αιγυπτου] 'in Egypt'		Ant	D	
14	τον πατερα αυτου ιακωβ ( <i>order</i> )		Ant	D	
	την συγγενειαν] 'his kindred'			D	
15	ιακωβ] + 'to Egypt'	NAO	Ant	D	
	ετελευτησεν] + 'there'				2125
16	om εν συχεμ				
17	ης ωμολογησεν] 'which God				
	promised by an oath'	81	Ant		gig
19	τους πατερας] 'our fathers'	AO 81	Ant		
20	αστειος] 'beloved'				of perp
				D	gig
	του πατρος] 'his father'			D	
21	εαυτη] +eis	NAO 81	Ant	D	
22	δυνατος] 'ready'				
24	τινα] 'from the sons of his race'			of D	
25	τους αδελφους] 'his brethren the				
	sons of Israel'	cf. A 81	cf. Ant	of D	
	αυτοις σωτηριαν ( <i>order</i> )		Ant		
26	μαχομενοις] + 'with one another'				gig
30	πληρωθεντων] + 'to him there'			of D	of Aug
	αγγελος] + 'of the Lord'		Ant	D	
	φλογι πυρος βατου] 'fire which				
	burned in a bush'	cf. AO			
31	εγενετο φωνη κυριου] 'there said				
	to him the Lord in a voice'	of. O	of. Ant	of D	
33	των ποδων] 'from thy feet'	O			
35	κατεστησεν] + 'over us'	NO 81		D	
	συν χειρι] 'by the hand'	N	Ant		
36	τη 1 <sup>o</sup> ] γη	NA 81	Ant	D	
	αιγυπτω] 'of Egypt'			D	
37	ο θεος] 'the Lord God'	O	Ant		
	εμε] + 'him shall ye hear'	O		D	
38	εξελεξατο] εδεξατο	NAO 81	Ant	D	
	υμιν] 'us'	AO 81	Ant	D	
42	τεσσερακοντα] + 'in the wilder-				
	ness'	B <sup>2</sup> NO 81 of. A	Ant	D	
43	ρομφα] 'rephān'	AO			
45	om διαδεξαμενοι				d
46	οικω] 'the God'	AO 81			P
48	αλλ] 'and'			D	
49	μοι θρονος] 'my throne'			D	
51	καρδιας] 'in your heart'	of. N of 81	of. Ant		

	Peshitto	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
52	om nun				e
54	odontas] 'their teeth'				minn
55	πληρης] + 'of faith and'	8			
56	εστωτα εκ δεξιων (order)	NAO			
58	εκβαλοντες] 'and they seized, they cast him out'	cf. A			
	ελιθοβολουν] + 'him'			D	
	νεανιου] 'of a certain youth'			D	
60	μεγαλη] + 'and said'			cf. D	
VIII					
4	λογον] + 'of God'				Aug
6	'And when the men there heard his words, they gave heed to him and were obedient to all that he said, because they saw the signs which he did'				
8	πολλη] 'great'		Ant	cf. D	cf. 915
9	προυπηρχεν] 'who had lived . . . a long time'			D	perp
	μαγειων και εξιστανων] 'and by his magic arts he had led astray'				
10	om καλουμενη		Ant	cf. D	cf. gag
12	και του ονοματος] 'in the name'				cf.
17	εκ αυτους τας χειρας (order)				vg codd
18	πνευμα] + 'holy'	AC 81	Ant	D	1547
21	λογω] 'faith'				perp gig
22	του κυριου] 'God'		Ant		
24	τον κυριου] 'God'			D	
25	του κυριου] 'God'	A			
	ευηγγελισαντο] ευηγγελισαντο		Ant		
26	οδον] + την ερημον				sah
	om αυτη εστιν ερημος				sah
28	om αυτου			D	
	ησαιαν τον προφητην (order)	O			
	ειπεν] + 'to him'				vg. codd
31	om γαρ				minn
	δυναμην] + 'to understand'				vg. codd
33	τη ταπεινωσει] 'his humiliation'	C 81	Ant		
	+ 'and' before την γένεσιν	81	Ant		
34	λεγει] + 'this'	B <sup>8</sup> NAO 81	Ant		
35	ιησουν] + 'our Lord' before 'Jesus'				Orig.
39	γαρ] 'but'				perp
40	και] + 'from there'				cf. Aug.
IX					
2	της οδου] 'that way'				minn vg
3	περιστραφεν αυτον πως (order)		Ant		vg
4	διωκεις] + 'it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks'				481 h
5	ο δε] 'and our Lord'		Ant		hcl. x
	+ειπεν before εγω	81	Ant		h
	ιησουν] + 'the Nazarene'	AO			h
6	και 2o] + 'there'				hcl. x
10	εν δαμασκω μαθητης τις (order)				614 h
					perp



	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
10	ο κυριος ειπεν προς αυτον εν οραματι (order)	cf. 81	cf. Ant		t cf. 1522
11	κυριος] + 'said'				
12	εν οραματι ανδρα ονοματι αναβιαν (order)		Ant		
	χειρας] 'hand'		Ant		
18	απεκριθη] + 'and said'				2085
	εποιησεν τοις αγιοις σου (order)		Ant		h
14	ωδε] 'lo here also'				cf. h
15	om ουτος				88
17	δε] 'then'				614
	om και εισηλθεν				h
	χειρας] 'hand'				h
19	ημερας τινας μετα των εν δαμασκω μαθητων (order)				cf. h
21	ακουοντες] + 'him'				440
25	αυτου οι μαθηται] αυτον οι μαθηται		Ant		gig
28	εις ιερουσαλημ] 'in Jerusalem'				H
	ιερουσαλημ] + 'and'		Ant		gig
29	του κυριου] 'Jesus'	O	Ant		
	ελληνιστας] 'the Jews who knew Greek'				
30	αυτον 1o] + 'by night'				614
	και] + 'from there'				perp gig
31	του κυριου] 'God'				Ψ minn
32	δια παντων] 'in the cities'				cf. perp
37	λουσαντες δε εθηκαν] + 'her' (position varies)	NAO 81	Ant		
38	εγγυς . . . εν αυτη] 'and the disciples heard that Symeon was in the city of Lydda, which is near Joppa'				cf. hcl. x
	μη σκνησης] 'that he would not delay'		Ant		
	ημων] 'them'		Ant		
39	παρεστησαν] 'gathered, stood round'				cf. 1518
	εποιει μετ αυτων] 'gave to them'				cf. vg
40	παντας εξω (order)	O			
42	γνωστον δε εγενετο] + 'this'				467
	πολλοι επιστευσαν (order)		Ant		
X					
4	αυτω 2o] + 'the angel'				vg. codd
5	om τινα	N	Ant	d	
6	om τινα			d	
7	των προσκαρτερουτων] 'the one who waited on him'				minn
8	αυτοις απαντα (order)	O	Ant	d	
9	εγγιζοντων τη πολει (order)			d	
10	εγενετο 2o] 'fell'		Ant	d	
11	θεωρει] 'saw'			d	
	και καταβαινον σκευος τι ως οθονην μεγαλην τεσσαρων αρχαις] 'and a certain vessel, fastened by four corners, and it was like a great cloth'	cf. O 81	cf. Ant	cf. d	cf. 83 minn

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
11	καθειμενον επι της γης] 'and it descended from heaven upon earth'			d	
13	om πετρε		cf. Ant	cf. D	gig minn
16	om ευθυς				cf. perp hcl. mg
17	ιδου] 'there arrived'				
19	ειπεν] + 'to him'	NAO 81	Aut	D	
	δυο] 'three'	NAO 81			
20	αναστας] αναστα			D	
21	δε] 'then'			D	
	ειπεν] + 'to them'				minn
22	κορνηλιος εκατονταρχης ανηρ] 'a certain man whose name is Cornelius, a centurion'			cf. D	
23	εισκαλεσαμενος ουν αυτους] 'and there brought them in Symeon'			D	
24	εισηλθεν] εισηλθον	NAO	Ant	D	gig
	αυτους 2 <sup>o</sup> ] αυτου	NAO	Ant	D	
28	αλλοφυλω] ανθρι αλλοφυλω			D	
29	om και μεταπεμφθεις] 'when you sent for me'				2180
	ταυτης της ωρας] 'now'			cf. D	
30	ημην] 'I was fasting and'			D	
	φησι] + 'to me'				hol ✕
32	θαλασσαν] + 'he will come, will speak with thee'	O		D	
33	νυν ουν] 'and lo'			cf. D	
	ενωπιον του θεου] 'in thy presence'			D	
	om παρεσμεν ακουσαι] 'and we desire to hear'			D	
	του κυριου] 'God'		Ant	D	
34	το στομα] 'his mouth'	AC			
36	τον] + γαρ λογον] + ον	Cvid		D	
	+ 'and also you' before οιδετε	NC	Ant	D	
37	κηρυγμα] 'baptism'	cf. NAO 81	Ant	D	
38	ως] 'whom'	B <sup>o</sup> NAO 81	Ant	D	
	ος] 'and he it is who'			cf. D	
39	om τε ιουδαιων] 'Judeas'				minn
	ον] + 'the Jews'				sah
41	ημιν before μαρτυσι (order)	cf. C			cf. hcl. ✕
	αυτω after συνεφαγομεν (order)	cf. C			
46	γλωσσαις] 'with various tongues'			cf. d	cf. vg. cod
	τοτε απεκριθη] 'and said'			D	
47	δυναται τις κωλυσαι (order)				minn
48	δε] 'then'			D	
	βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι (order)			D	
	+ 'our Lord' before ιησου χριστου		cf. Ant	D	
	τοτε] 'and'				gig
	επιμεναι] + 'with them'			D	

	Peshitto	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
XI					
1	ηκουσαν δε οι αποστολοι] ακουστον δε εγενετο τοις αποστολοις			D	
3	προς ανδρας ακροβυστιαν εχοντας εισηλθεν (ορδερ)		Ant		
5	τεσσαρσιν αρχαις καθιεμενην] 'and it was fastened by its four corners and descended'				minn H
6	της γης after ερπετα (ορδερ)				
7	δε και] 'and'		Ant	D	
8	η] 'and'				minn
9	απεκριθη] + 'to me'		Ant	D	
10	οτι παλιν ημεν] 'I was lodging'	cf. 81	cf. Ant		1874
12	μοι το πνευμα (ορδερ)		Ant		
13	ειποντα] + 'to him'		Ant	D	
18	εδωκεν την μετανοιαν εις ζωην (ορδερ)				minn
20	ελθοντες] εισελθοντες οτι και 2 <sup>ο</sup> ελληνιστας] 'Greeks'	A	Ant	D	
24	ανηρ ην (ορδερ) ικανος] + 'to our Lord'	N		D	
25	αναστησαι] αναζητησαι	B <sup>3</sup> NA 81	Ant	D	
26	ευρων] + 'him'	B <sup>3</sup> NA 81	Ant	D	
	ηγαγεν] + 'him'		Ant		
	εγενετο δε αυτοις και ενιαυτον ολον συναχθησαι] 'and for a whole year together were they gathered'				
	οτι και δεφοτε ενιαυτον + 'from then' before πρωτως	81	Ant	of. D D cf. D	
27	αυταις] ταυταις	NA 81	Ant	D	
28	εσημαινεν] εσημανεν κλαυδιου] + 'Caesar'	NA 81	Ant		
29	πεμψαι εις διακονιαν (ορδερ)		Ant		1311
XII					
1	βασιλευς] + 'he who was sur- named Agrippa'				cf. sah
4	τεσσαρσιν τετραδιοις στρατιωτων] 'sixteen soldiers'				sah
5	εκτενης] εκτενης εκκλησιας] + 'to God'	81	Ant		
7	αυτου after χειρων (ορδερ)	NA 81	Ant	D	
8	προς αυτον ο αγγελος (ορδερ)			D	L
9	ηκολουθει] + 'him'		Ant		
	δε] 'for'			D	
10	οτι την φερουσαν εις την πολιν απ αυτου ο αγγελος (ορδερ)				L 1838
11	οι του λαου	A			
12	ικανοι] 'many brethren'				minn
13	υπακουσαι παιδισκη (ορδερ)				minn
15	ειπαν 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] ελεγον ειπαν 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] + 'to her'	NA 81	Ant	D	
	+ 'perhaps' δεφοτε ο αγγελος			D	
17	διηγησατο] 'he went in and told'			D	

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
17	ειπεν τε] + 'to them'				minn
21	ενδυσαμενος ηρωδης ( <i>order</i> ) και δεξοτε καθισας	A	Ant	D	minn
22	θεου φωνη] 'these are daughters of the voices of God'			cf. D	
24	του κυριου] 'God' ο δε λογος του θεου ηυξανε] 'and the gospel of God was preached'	NA 81	Ant	D	
25	εις] 'from' ιερουσαλημ] + 'to Antioch'	A		D	minn
XIII					
1	μαναη] 'Manahel'				
2	σαυλον και βαρναβαν ( <i>order</i> )				460
3	απελυσαν] + 'them'				255
5	του θεου] 'our Lord'			D	
6	βαριησους] 'Barshuma'				
9	+ και δεξοτε απενιστας			D	
11	επεσεν] + 'upon him'	NO 81 cf. A	Ant	D	
12	τοτε] 'and'			D	
	εκπληττομενος επιστευσεν ( <i>order</i> )	A		D	
14	ελθοντες] εισελθοντες	A	Ant	D	
15	εν υμιν] 'to you'				H
17	του 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] τουτου οτι ισραηλ	NAO 81	Ant	D	
18	οτι ως τεσσερακονταετη χρονον] 'forty years'			D	
	ετροποφορησεν] ετροφοφορησεν	AC			
19	κατεκληρονομησεν] + 'to them'	AC	Ant		
20	οτι ως + και δεξοτε ερεσι			D	614
	οτι και μετα ταυτα			D	
22	αυτοις τον δαυειδ ( <i>order</i> )	O 81	Ant		
	ιεσσα] + 'a man'	NAO 81	Ant	D	
23	ηγαγεν] ηγειρεν	O		D	
25	τι] τωα	O	Ant	D	
26	αβρααμ] + 'and'	NAO 81	Ant	D	
	ημιν] 'you'	O	Ant		
27	εν ιερουσαλημ] 'of Jerusalem'	O 81			
28	αναρεθηναι] 'that they kill'				
31	ος ωφθη] 'and he was seen'				vg
	εισι] + 'now'	NAO 81		cf. D	
32	τους πατερας] 'our fathers'			cf. D	
33	τοις τεκνοις ημων] 'us their children'			D	
		81	Ant		
34	απεστησεν αυτον] + 'God'				ψ
35	οτι διοτι			D	
38	οτι ανδρες				minn
	τουτο] τουτου	NAO 81	Ant	D	
40	επελθη] + 'upon you'	AO 81	Ant		
41	οτι εργον 2 <sup>ο</sup>		Ant	D	
42	αυτων] + 'from among them'		cf. Ant		
45	τους οχλους] 'turbam magnam'			cf. D	
	τοις] + λογοις			D	
46	τε] δε επειδη] 'but because'	AO 81	Ant		

	Peshitto	NAC 81	Antioch	D	
47	om eis 1 <sup>o</sup> τον λογον του θεου] 'God'			D	
50	των οριων] 'their borders'	NAC 81	Ant	D	minn
51	των ποδων] 'their feet'		Ant	D	
<b>XIV</b>					
1	om εν ικονιω λαλησαι] + 'with them'			D	vg cod. R
4	+ 'all' δεφοτε το πληθος συν τοις αποστολοις] 'clave to the apostles'			D	cf. g <sup>1</sup> g
8	εκαθητο εν λυστροις αδυνατος τοις ποσιν (οι δασ)			of. D	
9	ηκουεν] ηκουσεν ος απενισας αυτω] 'and when there had seen him Paul'	NA 81		D	HL
10	και ιδων] 'and had recognized' φωνη] + 'to thee I say in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ'	cf. O B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	D	h
13	+ 'and' δεφοτε περιπατει πυλωνας] 'door of the house where they dwelt'			D	
14	om συν τοις οχλοις			D	917
17	om οι αποστολοι υμων] 'them'	cf. A 81		D	
19	'from Iconium and from Antioch' (οι δαι) πεισαντες] 'roused'			D	
21	την πολιν εκεινην] 'the sons of that city'			D	
22	+ 'to' δεφοτε αντιοχειαν + 'and' δεφοτε παρακαλουντες και] + 'they said to them'	NAC O		D	of 1611
25	λογον] + 'of the Lord'	NAC 81		D	
26	κακειθεν] + απεπλευσαν	B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	D	
27	μετ αυτων ο θεος (οριδερ)			D	915
28	διετρειβον] + 'there'		Ant		
<b>XV</b>					
5	παραγγελλειν τε] + 'them'				minn
6	τε] δε	NA	Ant	D	
7	οι εν υμων				69
8	δους] + 'to them'	O	Ant	of. D	
11	ιησου] + 'Christ'	O		D	
17	ταυτα] + παντα		Ant		
18	αιωνος] + 'are the works of God'	of. A	of. Ant	of. D	of. g <sup>1</sup> g
19	κρινω] 'I say'				vg. codd
20	επιστειλαι] 'that it be sent'				g <sup>1</sup> g
23	γραφαντες] + 'a letter'	O		D	
	χειρος] 'hands'				minn vg
	+ 'as follows' δεφοτε οι αποστολοι πρεσβυτεροι] + 'and'	81 of. O	Ant	of. D	
24	om εκειδη ημων] + 'have gone out and'	AC 81	Ant	D	g <sup>1</sup> g
	υμων] + 'telling you to be cir- cumcised and keep the law'	O	Ant		of. Iren.
25	+ 'therefore' δεφοτε εδοξεν				g <sup>1</sup> g of. 88 200 perp <sup>2</sup>

	Peshitto	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
29	ειδωλοθυτων] ειδωλοθυτου				minn
30	πνικτων] πνικτου		Ant		vg
33	κατηλθον] 'came'		Ant		gig
	τους αποστειλαντας αυτους] 'the apostles'		Ant		
35	του κυριου] 'God'				minn
36	παυλος προς βαρναβαν (order)		Ant	D	
	om δη				1518
	πασαν πολιν (order)	81	Ant	D	
	πως εχουσιν] 'and let us see what they do'				hol*
37	om και		Ant	D	
38	'But Paul did not wish to take him with them, because he left them when they were in Pamphylia and did not go with them'				
	ηξιου . . . μη] 'did not wish'			D	
40	του κυριου] 'God'	C	Ant		gig
XVI					
1	ιουδαιας] + τινος		Ant		
3	εν τοις τοποις εκεινοις] 'in the region'				cf. 69
	οτι ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου υπηρχεν] 'his father, that he was a gentile'				1175
			Ant	D	
4	παρεδιδουσαν] 'they preached and taught'				cf. D
6	λογον] + 'of God'			D	
7	επειρασαν] 'they wished'			D	
9	οραμα] 'in a vision'			D	
	δια νυκτος] 'of the night'	NAOSI	Ant		
	ωφθητω παυλω (order)	AC	Ant	D	
	+ 'as' before αυτη			D	
	ην εστως] 'who stood'			D	
	om και 3ο				minn
10	ειδεν] + 'Paul'				467
	ο θεος] 'our Lord'		Ant	D	
11	ουν] 'and'	NA 81		D	
12	πρωτη μεριδος] 'head'			D	
13	ενομιζομεν προσευχη ειναι] 'there seemed to be a place of prayer'				
	συνελθουσας] + 'there'		Ant	D	
15	εβαπτισθη] + 'she'				hol*
18	αυτη τη ωρα εξηλθεν (order)				minn
21	καταγγελλουσιν] + 'to us'			d of. D	
22	συνεπεστη ο οχλος] 'a large crowd was assembled'				1518
	και 2ο] 'then'			D	
24	ος] 'but he'			D	
	την εσωτεραν φυλακην] 'the interior of the prison'				
26	ηγεωχθησαν δε] + 'immediately'	NAOSI	Ant	D	gig
29	προσεπεσεν] + 'at the feet of'			D	
30	εφη] + 'to them'			D	
31	ιησουν] + 'Christ'	C	Ant	D	

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
32	του θεου] 'the Lord'	AC 81	Ant	D	
	ουν] 'and'		Ant		
33	αι αυτου] 'those of his house'	A			vg codd
34	τον οικον] 'his house'	NA	Ant	D	
	ηγαλλιασατο] ηγαλλιατο	Ovd		D	P
	πανοικει] 'he and all his house'			cf. D	cf. vg
36	απηγγειλεν] 'entered and said'			D	
	τους λογους] 'this word'	cf NA 81	Ant		
	ουν] 'and'				cf. minn
37	δειραντες ημας δημοσια ακατακρι-				
	τους] 'innocent they flogged			cf. D	
	us before the whole world'				
38	τα ρηματα ταυτα] + 'that had			cf. D	
	been spoken to them'			D	
39	εφοβηθησαν after εισιν (ορδει)				
	ηρωτων] 'asked' (οι 'were			cf. D	
	asking')				
40	ιδοντες τους αδελφους παρεκαλεσαν				
	αυτους (ορδει)		Ant	cf. D	
XVII					
3	εδει τον χριστον (ορδει)				minn
4	πληθος] 'many'			cf. D	
	γυναικων τε των πρωτων] 'and				
	noble women' (νομικαινε)			cf. D	vg
5	αυτους προαγαγειν] 'bring them				
	out thence and hand them			cf. D	
	over'			D	
6	ουτοι] + 'are'				
	+ 'all' δεφοτε την οικουμενην				431
8	εταραξαν δε τον οχλον και τους				
	πολιταρχας ακουοντας] 'but				
	there were troubled the				
	heads of the city and the				
	whole people, when they			cf. D	
	heard'				
10	απηεσαν δεφοτε εις 2 <sup>ο</sup> (ορδει)				gig
11	των] + 'Jews'				perp
12	μεν ουν] 'and'				cf. 614
					206
	και των ελληνιδων γυναικων των				
	ευσχημωνων και ανδρων ουκ				
	ολιγοι] 'and so also of the				
	Greeks many men and noble			cf. D	cf. perp
	women'			D	gig
13	οι και 1 <sup>ο</sup>				
	ο λογος του θεου κατηγγελη υπο			cf. D	
	του παυλου εν τη βεροια (ορδει)				
	σαλευοντες και ταρασσουντες] 'they				
	ceased not to shake and			D	
	trouble'			cf. D	
14	ευθεως δε τοτε] 'and'				minn
15	ηγαγον] 'came with him'				
	λαβοντες] 'when they went out			cf. D	vg
	from him, they received'				E
	επιτολην] επιστολην				cf. minn
	οι εξηεσαν				

	Peshitto	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
16	εν δε . . . το πνευμα αυτου] 'but Paul himself, while he waited at Athens, was vexed in his spirit'				cf. Aug cf. vg
17	αυτους] αυτου μεν ουν] 'and'	κ		D	cf. 614 226
18	οι δε] + 'said'				gig H
21	ευηγγελιζετο] + 'to them'	A 81			
22	η 2 <sup>ο</sup> ] 'and'		Ant		
23	οι 2 <sup>ο</sup> ο] 'whom'		Ant		vg. codd
25	τουτον] 'him'	81	Ant		Aug Aug
26	οι και τα παντα ενος] + 'blood'		Ant	D	33
	επι παντος προσωπου της γης] 'over the face of the whole earth'				
28	ημας] υμας	NA 81	Ant	D	Iron cf. 915
30	μεν ουν] 'for'	A	Ant	D	gig
	απαγγελλει] 'commands'				
33	ειπαν] 'were saying'				1758
XVIII	εξηλθεν ο παυλος (order)				mun
1	μετα ταυτα] 'and'			D	
	χωρισθεις] + 'Paul'	A	Ant		
3	ηργαζοντο] ηργαζετο	A	Ant	D	
	γαρ] 'but'				
5	κατηλθον] 'came'			cf. D	vg vg
	ιησουν ειναι τον χριστον (order)				614 209
6	αυτων] 'the Jews'				cf. h
	τα ιματια] 'his raiment'			D	
7	ηλθεν] 'entered'	NA		D	
	τιτιου ιουστου] 'Titus'	cf. N			cod. iopl.
9	οι εν νυκτι	A			h
10	επιθησεται σοι] 'can'				gig
11	εξ] + 'in Corinth'			D	
	εν αυτοις] 'them'			D	
15	κριτης] + γαρ		Ant		
16	του βηματος] 'his judgment seat'				h
17	παντες] + 'the pagans'		Ant	D	
18	αποταξαμενος τοις αδελφοις (order)				h gig
	την κεφαλην εν κενυραις (order)		Ant	D	
19	οι κακεινους κατελιπον αυτου				1827
	διελεξατο] διελεγετο			D	
20	μειναι] + 'with them'		Ant	D	
21	ειπων] + 'it is necessary for me by all means to keep the coming feast in Jerusalem and'		Ant	cf. D	
22	απηχθη απο της εφεσου] 'and Aquila and Frisilla he left in Ephesus and he went by sea'				cf. 614 mun
	κατελθων] 'came'				gig
	καισαρειαν] + 'and'			D	



	Peshitto	NA <sup>28</sup> 81	Antioch	D	
22	την εκκλησιαν] 'the sons of the church'				of minn
26	ακυλας και πρισκυλλα ( <i>order</i> ) του θεου] 'the Lord'		Ant	D	minn Aug 36 <sup>a</sup>
28	δια] 'from' ειναι του χριστου ιησουν] 'concerning Jesus that he was Christ'			cf. D	
XIX					
3	ειπεν τε] + 'to them'		Ant		
4	om eis 2 <sup>o</sup> ιησουν] + 'Christ' ιησου] + 'Christ'		cf. Ant	cf. D D	cf. perp minn gig
5	χειρας του παυλου ( <i>order</i> )			cf. D	
6	εισελθων δε] + 'Paul'			D	
8	ως δε] 'and'			cf. D	
9	οδον] + 'of God'				minn cf. gig
	πληθους] + 'of the nations' + 'then' before αποστας			D D	
	διαλεγομενος] + 'with them' ωστε] 'until'			D	minn
10	εποιει ο θεος ( <i>order</i> )		Ant		
11	ορκιζω] ορκιζομεν		Ant		
13	τον ιησουν] 'in the name of Jesus'				vg <i>cod. D</i>
					cf. 1765
16	επ αυτους ο ανθρωπος ( <i>order</i> ) αμφοτερων] 'them'		Ant	cf. D	
17	γνωστον εγενετο ( <i>order</i> )		Ant		minn vg
18	εξομολογουμενοι] + 'their sins' του κυριου ο λογος] 'faith of God' ( <i>after verbs</i> )			D	
20	ισχυεν και ηυξανεν ( <i>order</i> ) eis την ασια] 'in Asia'			cf. D D	
22	οδου] + 'of God'				cf. perp gig
23					perp gig
24	γαρ] 'but' + 'there was' at beginning of verse ναους] + 'of silver' παρειχετο] 'who furnished' + 'he' before συναθροισας ημιν] 'our'	A cf. N	Ant	D D D D	
25	ακουετε και θεωρεετε ( <i>order</i> ) εφεσου] 'the people of Ephesus' αλλα] + 'also' om σχεδον + 'the multitude' before πασης της ασιας χειρων] + 'of men'		Ant	D	gig
26	της αρτεμιδος θεας μεγαλης ( <i>order</i> ) λογισθηναι] 'will be reckoned' eis ουδεν <i>after</i> 'be reckoned' ακουσαντες] + ταυτα επλησθη . . . της συγχυσσεως] 'was stirred'	A		D	gig cf. vg <i>cod. R<sup>2</sup> e</i> minn cf. gig
27				D	minn
28				D	
29				D	

	Rehhitto	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
29	η πολις] 'the whole city'		Ant	D	
30	ουκ ειων] 'prevented'			D	
31	οτι προς αυτον				1881
34	οτι μεγαλη η αρτεμις εφεσιων 2 <sup>ο</sup>	NA	Ant	D	
38	μεν ουν] 'but'				cf. vg
	+ 'this' before δημητριος			D	
XX					
1	μεταπεμφαμενος] 'called'	A	Ant	D	
4	αυτω] + 'as far as Asia'	A	Ant	D	
	οτι πυρρου		Ant		
5	οτι δε		Ant	D	
	προσελθοντες] 'went before us'	B <sup>2</sup>		cf. D	
7	τη επαυριον μελλων εξιεναι (order)				gig
10	συνπεριλαβων] + 'him'	C			
	θορυβεισθαι] θορυβεισθε	NA	Ant <sup>1</sup>	D	
18	προσελθοντες] 'went down'			D	
	ασσον] 'Thasos'				LP 614 minn P 614 minn
14	ασσον] 'Thasos'				
15	εσπερα] ετερα	NAO	Ant	D	
	σαμον] + 'and we stopped at		Ant	D	
16	Trogyllum]				
	γενεσθαι εις ιεροσολυμα] 'at				of. vg
17	Jerusalem keep'				
	μετεκαλεσατο] 'sent and				
19	brought'			of D	
	τω κυριω] 'God'				vg. codd
21	ιησουν] + 'Christ'	NAO		D	
22	οτι ιδου				perp
	εγω δεδεμενος (order)		Ant	D	
24	ψυχην] 'my life'			D	HS
25	οτι ιδου				minn gig
26	διوتي] 'because of this'	C	Ant		vg
	παντων] 'you all'				minn e
28	προσεχετε] + 'therefore'	C	Ant		
	του ιδιου] 'his'				1874
29	μετα την αφειν μου εισελευσονται				
	(order)				minn
30	υμων] + αυτων	NAO	Ant	D	
	αποσπαν] turn away'			D	
31	εκαστον] + 'of you'			D	
32	τω κυριω] 'God'	NAO	Ant	D	
	οικοδομησαι] + 'you'			D	
	δουναι] + 'to you'	C	Ant		
34	αι χειρες] 'my hands'			cf. D	
35	+ 'and' before παντα	C			
	'Happy is he who gives rather				Const.
	than he who receives'			cf. D	Ap.
38	μαλιστα οδυνωμενοι (order)			D	
XXI					
1	ως δε εγενετο αναχθηναι ημας				
	αποσπασθεντες] 'and we				
	separated'				gig
3	αναφαναντες] 'arrived'				perp
	ην το πλοιον (order)		Ant		
4	αυτου] αυτοις	A		d	L

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
5	οτε δε εγενετο εξαρισσαι ημας τας ημερας] 'and after those days'			of. d	
6	επορευομεθα] 'go on the way'			d	
7	υπεστρεψαν εκεινοι (ορδερ)			d	
8	παρ αυτοις ημεραν μιαν (ορδει)				minngig
9	παρθενοι τεσσαρες (ορδερ)		Ant		
10	επιμενοντων] 'and while we were there'				L P vg 2147 g <sup>g</sup>
11	οι ιουδαιοι εν ιερουσαλημ (ορδερ)				
13	απεκριθη] + 'and said'	NA		of. D	
17	ετοιμως εχω δεφοτε αλλα (ορδερ)			of. D	gig
18	ασμενως αφετε αδελφοι (ορδερ)				
18	εισκει ο παυλος συν ημων] 'we went in with Paul'			of. D	gig minn
19	παρεγενοντο] + 'with him'				gig
19	ασπασαμενος] 'we greeted'				minn
20	εξηγειτο] + 'Paul'				gig
20	εν τοις ιουδαιοις] 'in Judaea'			D	
20	παντες] + 'these'			D	
22	τι ουν εστιν; παντως ακουσονται] 'since therefore it has been heard by them'				cf. Jerome cf. Aug
24	εληλυθας] + 'hitherto'				gig
24	ουδεν εστιν] 'is false'				vg
25	απεστειλαμεν] 'we wrote'	NAO	Ant		1311
	οι κρειναντες				
	το τε ειδωλοθυτον και πορνειαν και πνικτον και αιμα (ορδερ)				
27	ως δε εμελλον αι εκτα ημεραι συντελεισθαι] 'and when the seventh day arrived'			D	minngig
28	κραζοντες] + 'and saying'				gig
31	ιερουσαλημ] 'the city'				of. 614
32	στρατιωτας και εκατονταρχας] 'centurion and soldiers'				gig
33	τοτε] 'and'		Ant		e
36	δεθηναι] 'bind him'			D	
36	οι του λαου			of. D	minn
37	λεγει] 'said'				
39	οι τι		Ant	D	
39	πολεως] + 'where I was born'			D	L
40	οι δε 2 <sup>ο</sup>				
40	εστως ο παυλος (ορδερ)			D	minn
	τη χειρι] 'his hand'				
	τω λαω] 'to them'			D	
XXII					
1	οι νυχι				gig
2	παρεσχον ησυχιαν] 'were silent'			D	
3	καθως] + 'also'				vg
3	υμεις παντες (ορδερ)			D	
4	ος] 'and'			D	
5	οι και 3 <sup>ο</sup>			D	
6	εγενετο δε μοι πορευομενω και εγγιζοντι] 'and as I was going and was about to arrive'				
8	περι εμε φως ικανον (ορδερ)			of. D	
8	απεκριθην] + 'and said'	N		of. D	

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
10	λαληθησεται σοι ( <i>order</i> )				minn
11	ηλθον] 'entered'				614 minn e
	ουδεν εβλεπον] 'it was not seen by me'	cf. NA	cf. Ant	d	
13	om και επιστας			d	
14	ειπεν] + 'to me'			d	1518
15	εση <i>before</i> μαρτυς ( <i>order</i> )	NA	Ant	d	
17	om γενεσθαι με εν εκστασει				cf. 1829
20	συνευδοκων] 'fulfilling the will of those who killed him'		cf Ant		
21	εις εθνη] 'to preach to the nations'				cf. vg cod. R <sup>a</sup>
23	αερα] 'heaven'			D	
25	εξεστειν υμιν ανθρωπον ρωμαιον και ακατακριτον ( <i>order</i> )			D	
26	απηγγειλεν λεγων] 'said to him'			of D	
28	χειλιαρχος] + 'and said'			D	
	+ 'in it' <i>before</i> γεγεννημαι				hel x minn
29	ουν] 'and'				
30	συνελθειν] 'come'		Ant		
	συνεδριον] 'assembly of their leaders'		Ant		
<b>XXIII</b>					
2	αυτου το στομα] 'Paul on his mouth'				
5	om τε				cf. gig minn
6	+ 'and' <i>before</i> περι				hel x
7	λαλουντος] 'when he had said'	NAO	Ant		
9	τινες των γραμματεων] 'some scribes'		Ant		
	αγγελος] + 'what is there in that'				cf. h cf. gig h gig h minn
10	στασεως] + 'among them'				
	καταβαν] 'come'				
11	ειπεν] + 'to him'				
12	ποιησαντες συστροφην] 'were assembled'				h h
	oi ιουδαιοι] 'some of the Jews'	C	Aut		
	om λεγοντες				
14	οιτινες] 'and they'				cf. h
15	εμφανισατε] 'ask'				cf. h
	ετοιμοι εσμεν του ανελειν αυτον προ του εγγισαι αυτον ( <i>order</i> )				cf. hel. mg
	εγγισαι] + 'to you'				cf. 1522
16	την ενεδραν] 'this plot'				hel x
17	εφη] + 'to him'				hel x
	τι απαγγειλαι ( <i>order</i> )	NC	Ant		h
18	ηρωτησεν] + 'of me'				cf. h
	λαλησαι] + 'to thee'	B <sup>a</sup> vid NA 81	Ant		hel x
19	εκυνηθανετο] + 'of him'				h
20	το συνεδριον] 'their assembly'				1838 h
	μελλων] μελλοντες				483
	περι αυτου] 'from him'				minn h
22	παραγγειλας] + 'him'				1838 h
23	om τινας				81
	ειπεν] + 'to them'				1881 1888 h hel x

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
23	δεξιολαβους] 'throwers with the right hand'	A			cf hcl.mg
	διακοσιους 20] + 'who should depart'				cf. h cf. c
24	+ 'also' before κτηνη				e
	κτηνη] 'an animal'				hcl.mg
28	αυτω] + 'I brought him to their assembly'	B <sup>2</sup> NA	Ant		
29	ον ευρον] 'and I found'				1522
30	εις τον ανδρα] 'against him'				gig cf.
	εσεσθαι] 'which . . . the Jews made'				36 <sup>2</sup> 431
	επεμψα] + 'him'			cf. Ant	gig
	τοις κατηγοροις] 'his accusers'				1758
	επι σου] + 'farewell'	N81	Ant		1888
35	κελευσας] 'and he ordered'		Ant		e
	φυλασσεσθαι] 'keep'				gig
XXIV					
1	om τωνων		Ant		
	om τωνος				ψ 614 minn
2	πολλης ειρηνης τυγχανοντες] 'in much peace we dwell'				vg
	διορθωματων] + 'many'				431 cf. vg
3	παντη τε και πανταχου] 'and we all in every place'				
	αποδεχομεθα . . . μετα πασης ευχαριστιας] 'accept thy favour'				
4	ενκοπτω] 'we hinder'				vg.codd
	ακουσαι σε ημων συντομως τη ση επικεικεια] 'that thou hear our humility briefly'				
5	στασεις] 'sedition'		Ant		
6-8	ον και εκρατησαμεν] 'and having seized him we wished to judge him according to our law, but Lysias the chiliarch came and with much violence took him from our hands, and sent him to thee, and commanded his accusers to come before thee'				ψ 614 minn
11	δωδεκα ημεραι (order)				808
14	πιστευων] + 'all'	NA 81	Ant		vg
	om τοις 20	A	Ant		cf. vg
15	αναστασιν] + 'from the dead'		cf. Ant		cf. e
17	παρεγενομην after πλειονων (order)		Ant		gig
18	εν τω ιερω ηγγισμενον (order)				642
19	παρειναι] παροστηναι				minn
	ει τι] οτι				614
20	ευρον] + 'in me'	C	Ant		vg
21	εστω εν αυτοις (order)		Ant		
22	ο δε φηλιξ ειδωσ τα περι της οδου ακριβεστερον ανεβαλετο αυτους (order)			cf. Ant	
	om λυσιας				cf. vg
23	αυτον] 'Paul'		Ant		(W. and W.)

	Peshitto	NAC 81	Antioch	D	
24	τινας ημερας (order) om ιησουν	A N <sup>A</sup> and AC <sup>vid</sup> NAC 81			HP
26	δοθησεται] + 'to him'		Ant		vg codd
27	'to make favour' (order)				minn
XXV					
1	ουν] 'and'				1829 gig
	τη επαρχια] 'Caesarea'				
3	κατ αυτου] 'from him'	C			vg.codd
5	om φησιν				102 gig
6	εν αυτοις] 'there'			of. Ant	cf. 1838
	om ου πλειους παυλον αχθηναι] 'that they bring Paul'				
7	καταφεροντες] + 'against him'		of Ant		gig
9	om αποκριθεις				L
10	ειπεν] 'answered and said'				gig
	om εστως lo	AC 81	Ant		cf. 1898
	ου] 'here'				vg
11	αδικω] αδικον				gig
	και] 'or'				minn
	om ουτοι				328 vg
					minn
					vg.codd
12	απεκριθη] 'said'				gig
13	κατηντησαν] κατηντησεν om τωνων ασπασαμενοι] 'that they might greet'	C			614 minn
		81			minn vg
16	χαριζεσθαι] 'to grant'				vg
	ανθρωπων] + 'for slaying'		Ant		hcl-x-gig
17	συνελθοντων] 'when I came'				gig
18	πονηρων] πονηραν ων] 'as'	AC			gig
					gig
22	αгриππας δε προς τον φηστον] 'and Agrippa said'	of. O 81	of Ant		cf.
	φησιν] + 'Festus'				vg.codd
23	ουν] 'and'				vg codd
					minn
					cf. vg
24	θεωρειτε τουτον περι ου] 'con- cerning this man whom you see'				cf. Ψ
25	του παυλου] 'he'	B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant		minn
27	τας κατ αυτου αιτιας] 'his fault'				vg
XXVI					cf. gig
1	'to speak for thyself' (order) απελογειτο] + 'and said'				H minn
3	μαλιστα] + 'because I know'	cf. AC			cf. gig
	δεομαι] + 'of theo'	C	Ant		vg.codd
7	βασιλευ] + 'Agrippa'		Ant		
10	διο] 'which'	NAC 81	Ant		vg
11	βλασφημειν] + 'the name of Jesus'				cf.
					vg codd
	περισσως] + τε	NAC 81	Ant		vg
13	om πορευομενους				vg
14	καταπεσοντων] + ημων	NAC 81	Ant		vg
17	λαου] + 'of the Jews'				minn
20	ιεροσολυμοις] 'those who were in Jerusalem'				614 minn

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
22	ουν] 'but'				vg
24	αυτου] 'Paul'				cf. gig
	φησι] 'cried'				cf. h
28	αγριππας] + 'said'		cf Ant		
	χρειστιανον ποιησαι] 'that I				
	should be a Christian'		Ant		vg
29	παυλος] + 'said'		Ant		cf. h
31	πρασσει] 'did'				vg
xxvii					
1	ως δε εκριθη του αποπλειν ημας]				
	'and Festus gave order con-				cf. 97 421
	cerning him that he should				hol. mg h
	be sent to Caesar'				h
	παρεδιδουν] 'he committed'	A			minn
	εκατονταρχη] 'a certain man, a				hol. x.
	centurion'				
2	+ 'and when we were about to				
	sail' <i>before</i> επιβαιντες		of Ant		h gig
	επιβαιντες] 'we descended'				cf. gig h
	ανηχθημεν οντος συν ημιν αριστ-				
	αρχου] 'and there went <sup>1</sup>				
	with us on board the ship				
	Aristarchus'	of N			h gig
3	ο ιουλιος] 'the centurion'				h of. gig
8	om τινα	A			gig
9	νηστειαν] + 'of the Jews'				minn
10	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>				823
11	επειθετο πολλων (order)		Ant		cf. h
14	ευρακυλων] 'Euvelcydon'	81	Ant		
16	μολις ισχυσαμεν (order)		Ant		gig
17	εφεροντο] 'we sailed'				minn
19	ερεψαν] 'we threw'		Ant		
20	χειμωπος τε ουκ ολιγου επικειμενου				
	επι πλειονας ημερας μητε δε				
	ηλιου (order)				gig
	+ 'nor the moon' <i>before</i> μητε				
	αστρων				vg. cod. D
27	προσαχεν] 'were approaching'	cf. NAO 81	cf. Ant		cf. 614
					minn
28	om παλιν βολισαντες				minn vg
31	εν τω πλοιω μεινωσι (order)	N			
34	om και	NAO 81	Ant		vg
37	ως εβδομηκοντα εξ] 'two hundred				
	and seventy and six'	NAO 81 of. A	Ant		
39	+ 'the sailors' <i>before</i> την γην				gig of. 920
	δυναντο] 'it were possible'	C	Ant		
	εκωσσαι] εξωσαι	B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant		vg
41	βιας] + 'of the waves'	O 81	Ant		cf. vg
43	'hindered them from this				
	because he wished to save				
	Paul'				gig
	του βουλευματος] 'this'				gig
44	εγενετο παντας διασωθηναι] 'all				
	were brought safe'				gig

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac and Latin translators seem to have divided the word *ανηχθημεν* into *ανηχθη μεν*. See Vulgate, above, p. 289, note 1.

	Peshitto	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
<b>XXVIII</b>					
1	om διασωθεντες				gig
3	om τι		Ant		gig
4	ο ανθρωπος ουτος φονευς εστι (order)				minn
5	ο μιν ου] 'but Paul'				cf. gig
8	χειρας] 'hand'				gig
9	+και before οι λοιποι εχοντες ασθενειας] 'sick'	NA 81	Ant		gig
12	επεμειναμεν] + 'there'				vg
14	επιμειναι] 'and we were with them'				gig
					vg hol-✕
					gig cf.
					hol-✕
					S 614
15	ηλθαμεν εις την ρωμην (order)	A 81			perp
16	om τα περι ημων επετραπη] 'the caution per- mitted'				perp gig
17	εγενετο . . . συγκαλεσασθαι] 'Paul sent, called'		cf. Ant		cf. perp
18	ανδρες αδελφοι εγω (order)		Ant		gig
21	απολυσαι] + 'me'	Σ			cf. vg
	παραγενομενος] + 'from Jeru- salem'				
22	om απηγγειλεν η				gig
23	om μιν γαρ				2147
	πλειονες εις την ξενιαν (order)				cf. L 206
	om τε 2 <sup>o</sup>	Σ			gig
24	οι μιν] + 'of them'				
28	αυτοι] + γαρ				431
					hol-✕



## APPENDIX IV

### THE SAHIDIC VERSION

THE following Tables and footnotes, together with the introductory paragraphs on the use of the Sahidic and Boharic versions, are drawn from collations with notes generously made for the use of the author of the present volume by Sir Herbert Thompson.

In the Tables for chapters i-iii the Sahidic variant renderings (Codex Vaticanus being adopted as a standard) are noted with great fullness, even where they cannot be supposed to represent a Greek variant and are themselves of no intrinsic interest. In the succeeding chapters, beginning with chapter iv, all variant renderings which correspond to known Greek variants are given, but of the rest only such as possess special interest, either as possibly representing Greek variants otherwise unknown, or as illustrating the habit of the Sahidic translators and the freedom with which they worked. Only such renderings as depart from the text of Codex Vaticanus are included (except in parts of chapters xxv and xxvi, where the Sahidic evidence is of the most meagre); and in using the Tables it must be remembered that Sahidic readings which do not disagree with Codex Vaticanus may yet, by reason of the difference between Greek and Sahidic, be equally explicable from the Greek variants of rival codices. In other words, the 'silence' of these Tables must not be taken, without examination of the passage, for positive evidence that the Sahidic was actually drawn from the Greek of Codex Vaticanus.

The witness of  $\aleph$  A C 81, of the Antiochian text, and of D is always given when any of these support the variant implied by the Sahidic rendering. The references in the last column to other Greek MSS. and to versions are meant to show only that the Sahidic variant is not isolated. They are intentionally incomplete, and merely furnish sign-posts to further examination of the evidence to be found in Tischendorf, von Soden, and Wordsworth and White. The reader is also reminded that there are lacunae in several of the Greek MSS. cited.

In the first column ('Sahidic' MSS.) witnesses are named only where the Sahidic is divided (except in chapters xxv and xxvi).

If no MS. is named in this column, it may be assumed that there is no known variation within the Sahidic version. But the number of Sahidic witnesses varies from verse to verse, and is often not more than two, seldom more than three.

In the second column a cross is set against those readings which are susceptible of explanation as due merely to the idiom of the language or the freedom of the translator. In many cases one or more witnesses from the Greek or from a Syriac or Latin version will also show the same variant. A large proportion of these are probably independent coincidences of variation, although sometimes an actual Greek variant seems to be the source in Sahidic. In very many cases a confident decision is impossible. These cases are all instructive, for they show the similarity in the mental processes of the Greek copyist and of the translator, and constitute a warning applicable to the use of all versions. The marks in this column necessarily represent subjective judgments of probability, and are set with widely varying degrees of confidence.

The discovery in recent years of many Sahidic MSS. (largely, however, fragmentary) renders antiquated Woide's well-known translation, made from the nearly complete Oxford MS. Woide's translation itself requires some correction, and, moreover, has not always been used by Tischendorf with discretion, particularly in drawing inferences from the order of words in Sahidic. The collations of Sir Herbert Thompson were made prior to the publication of Horner's edition of the Sahidic version of Acts (1922), but to Mr. Horner's kindness is due the communication of the readings of the unpublished fragments of a lectionary designated P. In the preparation of the Tables themselves the author of the present volume has been able to avail himself of Horner's edition, and would gratefully express his indebtedness to it.

The known MSS. and fragments of the Sahidic version of Acts, with the exception of two or three unpublished Paris fragments collated by Horner, are enumerated in the list on pp. 322-324, and all have been used by Sir Herbert Thompson. Four cover all parts of Acts, namely B and V (both of the fourth century), W and H<sup>3</sup> (both of the twelfth-thirteenth century). But V and H<sup>3</sup> are fragmentary, V being so defective that it proves disappointing in use; while B (papyrus), although evidently containing an extremely ancient text, is unfortunately very carelessly written and full of blunders. For the present use the original papyrus of B in the British Museum has been freshly collated by Sir Herbert Thompson. Woide's translation was founded on W, with use of H<sup>3</sup>. From Bty (recently acquired) some readings from Acts xx ff. are given.

The following paragraphs on Sahidic idiom are drawn from Thompson's notes to his collation, and present matters which

require attention in any use of the Sahidic for textual criticism of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> See also the corresponding notes on Bohairic idiom, below, pp. 357-360.

(a) The order of words in Sahidic is much more rigid than in Greek, especially in requiring that an adverb or adverbial phrase stand after the verb, so that in the case of Greek variants the inferences from the Sahidic order made by Tischendorf on the basis of Woide's translation are often unjustifiable; e.g. Acts i. 5, i. 13, ii. 22, ix. 10, etc. In some cases the other order could be used in Sahidic, but only if the translator felt strongly the necessity of emphasizing the adverbial expression.

(b) The pervading practice of asyndeton in Coptic makes it in many cases unlikely that the omission of a conjunction implies any Greek variant whatever.

(c) Δ is not a letter of the Coptic alphabet, except for transcription of foreign words, and the Copt does not distinguish between T and Δ, but uses the latter quite capriciously (thus *σαδanas* and *διμωθεus* are as common as the forms with T). In consequence τe almost invariably becomes δε in Sahidic. For instance, in Acts vii. 26 τe, W reads δε, using the Greek word, but nevertheless must not be quoted in favour of an original Greek δε. In this instance B omits δε, but has a particle meaning 'again,' which probably implies τe, certainly not δε. Another good example out of many is Acts xxvii. 8, where Sahidic (B) has δε for the Greek τe, where the Greek text seems assured. Similarly the substitution of ουτε for ουδε in such a passage as iv. 12 means nothing for textual criticism; in this instance W has ουδε, the Greek word being used in both cases. Conversely ουδε represents a Greek ουτε in v. 39, and elsewhere.

(d) T is the feminine article in Coptic, and before Greek words commencing with a vowel it united with the aspirate of the vowel (in some cases, such as *ἐλπίς*, *ἔθνος*, *εἰκόν*, *εἰρήνη*, an unaspirated Greek word regularly receives aspiration when borrowed by Sahidic) to form an initial sound which is very frequently written Θ. Thus *θαρσος*, *θαρος*, Acts xx. 13, may be taken to represent Greek *αρρος*, *αρος*.

(e) When a Greek substantive or a proper name is taken over into Coptic, it is preserved in the nominative singular, without modifying the ending for the plural or for oblique cases. The number is determined by a Coptic article, etc. Hence such a phrase as *κατα πολιν* (Acts viii. 4) does not enable us to say whether the original had *πόλιν* or *πόλεις*.

(f) The Coptic does not admit of the definite article before

<sup>1</sup> See also N. Peters, *Die sahidisch-koptische Übersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Biblische Studien iii.), Freiburg, 1898, pp. 5-30.

a personal proper name; but it always has the article before the titles *χριστος* and *κυριος*. The name Egypt never has an article in Sahidic.

(g) Sahidic does not distinguish between *ἐλληνες* and *ἐλληνισταί*, but uses for both the same Coptic word (a modification of 'Ionians'). Sahidic also adopts the Greek word *ελλην*, as in Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xviii. 4, xix. 17, xx. 21. Bohairic always uses the native word.

(h) *Prepositions*.—In such a case as the Greek *τῇ πίστει*, with or without a preceding *ἐν* (Acts iii. 16), which the Sahidic renders *in fide*, it is impossible to say which Greek reading the translator was following. These distinctions are too fine for the rather concrete Coptic mind.

Between the variants *ἐπὶ* and *πρό* (*τῶν θυρῶν*), Acts v. 23, the Sahidic preposition used, though nearer in sense to *ἐπὶ* than to *πρό*, gives no decision.

Either *πρὸς αὐτοὺς* or *σὺν αὐτοῖς*, Acts xv. 2, could hardly be rendered in Sahidic otherwise than by 'with them.'

(i) Like the Semitic languages, Coptic has a preposition which can mean either 'place in which' or 'instrument.' This is important in such variants as those found in i. 5.

(j) There is no Sahidic word for *μέν*, and it is rarely adopted in its Greek form; *δε* is often used to represent it.

(k) *δε* is constantly used in Coptic for *καί*, and does not necessarily imply anything as to the Greek conjunction employed.

(l) *Questions*.—Where the Greek introduces a question with *μή* or *οὐ*, Coptic uses the Greek *μη* indifferently for both.

(m) The Sahidic indefinite article is sometimes used, for want of an indefinite pronominal adjective, where the Greek has *τις*.

(n) The addition of 'his,' 'their' is often due solely to Coptic idiom, which almost invariably uses a possessive pronoun (as does English), for instance with the names of parts of the body (*e.g.* 'his hands'), and in many phrases where other languages omit it as superfluous.

(o) *Object of verb supplied*.—Coptic has a great reluctance to use a transitive verb without supplying an object; *e.g.* Acts vii. 53, 'ye kept it not' for *οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε*, or vii. 58, 'they stoned him' for *ἐλιθοβολοῦν*. In such cases the object does not imply a Greek *αὐτόν*. Not infrequently Greek copyists have done the same, and it is often impossible to tell on what text the Sahidic rests. Similarly with the Greek dative after intransitive verbs. With the verb 'to follow' the object seems indispensable; for example, in the following passages the Coptic has it, although in some of them it is not reported from a single Greek manuscript: Matt. viii. 10, xxi. 9, Mark x. 32, xi. 9, xvi. 20, Luke xxii. 54, Acts xxi.

36, Rev. xiv. 8. For another example, in Acts xvii. 3, *διαβόλων* and *παρὰτιθέμενος* are both supplemented by a Sahidic rendering of *αὐτοῖς*, but in neither case does this necessarily point to a Greek original, although in the latter of the two cases some Greek minuscules have made the same addition.

(p) Between the relative pronouns *οὗ* and *ᾧ* Coptic does not easily distinguish, having no proper word for *ᾧ*. When the latter must be represented, it is done by a periphrasis.

(q) *Past tenses*.—The imperfect is relatively little used in Sahidic except to express continuous action, and the natural tendency is to put everything into the preterite. The Copt, who was a peasant, was quite wanting in the Greek's delicate sense for shades of meaning in the verb. The Greek imperfect is often rendered by the preterite, so that the latter cannot be taken as necessarily implying a Greek aorist; on the other hand, when the Coptic uses an imperfect in narrative, it may be taken with practical certainty to be rendering a Greek imperfect.

(r) *Greek aorist participle and verb*.—Coptic, having, strictly speaking, no past participle, renders the common Greek construction of participle and verb by two verbs in the preterite, either used syntactically or joined by 'and.' But one of the two verbs may be in a certain verbal form which was formerly regarded as a participle, but is now treated as a tense (past 'circumstantial'), though usually best translated as a participle. This form differs from the ordinary preterite only by having prefixed to it an *ε*, which is frequently lost; hence in the MSS. there is much confusion in the use of the two forms, and no inference can usually be drawn from the form actually found as to whether the underlying Greek had two finite verbs, or a participle with a finite verb. This applies to the Sahidic variants in Acts i. 2. Another good example is *ἀνίστα* or *ἀναστάς*, Acts ix. 11, where the Sahidic is incapable of giving any aid.

The reversing of participle and verb into verb and participle is quite in accordance with Coptic idiom, and does not necessarily imply any Greek variant.

(s) The Sahidic use of tenses often makes it impossible to say whether the translator had a future indicative (*-σο*) or an aorist subjunctive (*-σω*) before him.

(t) *Passive*.—Coptic, having no passive voice, usually expresses the passive by an impersonal 3rd plural of the active verb; thus in Acts vi. 1, for *παρεθεωποῦντο αὐτὸν οἱ χήραι* the Sahidic rendering is literally *negligebant viduus* (cf. Woide), but the Greek original shows that the Sahidic is more correctly represented in Latin by *negligebantur viduus*.

(u) Sahidic often idiomatically substitutes direct discourse for *oratio obliqua*, e.g. Acts v. 36.

## ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

## LIST OF

Symbol	ms.	Date
B	Brit. Mus. or. 7594, papyrus	ca. 350
V	Vienna (no number given)	ca. 400
Bty	Chester Beatty, London	cent. vi
W	Bodleian, hunt. 394, paper	cent. xii-xiii
Wfr	" vellum, fragments	cent. x
H3	" hunt 3, paper, lectionary	cent. xii-xiii
Bodl	" copt. d4, paper, fragments	probably cent.
R1	Vatican, copt. xcv	cent. xi-xii
R2	" " lxxviii	cent. ix
R3	" " lxxix	cent. xi
Wess 1-18	Vienna fragments (details below)	
Brit 116	Brit. Mus. or. 3579B, paper	cent. xi-xii
Brit 117	" " "	cent. xii-xiii
Brit 118	" " "	cent. ix
Brit 119	" " " paper	cent. xii-xiii
Brit 121	" " "	cent. xii
Bdg 1	" " 7020, paper	cent. x
Bdg 2	" " 7021, paper	cent. x
Leid 21	Leiden, Insinger 21	?
Leid 22	" " 22	late
Leid 23	" " 23	?
Lemm	Berlin, or. 409, paper, lectionary	late
Mun	Munich, Royal Library, fragment	cent. xi
Cai	Cairo, fragment, lectionary	cent. xi
Bour	fragments from Asfûn (?)	late
Masp	fragment from Asfûn	late
P	Paris, Bibl. Nat., fragment, lectionary	late
Pet	W. M. Flinders Petrie, fragment	late
T	H. Thompson, fragment, paper	late
Ost	Cairo, Ostraca No. 8137, limestone	cent. vii (?)

## SAHIDIC COLLATION

(vellum where not otherwise stated)

Contents	
i-xxiv, also xxvii-xxviii, fragmentary	Budge, Coptic Biblical Texts, 1912. (The account of this text given below rests on a fresh collation of the original papyrus)
ii-xxvi, very fragmentary	Wessely, Wiener Hdachr. sah. Acta Apost. (Sitz.-ber., Vienna Academy, clxxii), 1913.
i-xxviii	Unpublished.
i-xxiv 19	Woide, Appendix, 1799.
i 19-ii 34	" " Cf Dissert. p. 25 (nonum).
ii-xxvii, fragmentary	" " " p. 19 and Wessely, <i>ut supra</i> , p. 4.
v. 12-21	Winstedt, PSBA, xxvii, pp 60-63.
xvi. 26-xvii 16, xxvii. 11-27	Balestri, Sac. bibl. fragmenta copto-sah, iii, 1904.
xxiii. 17-xxvi. 10	" " " "
xii 4-11	" " " "
xvi 14-35, xx 31-xxi 12	Wessely, Griech. u. Kopt. Texte Theol. Inhalts II, III.
xxi. 35-xxiii. 15	Unpublished
xxii. 10-20	"
xxviii. 15-17, 23-25	"
vii. 34-43	"
x 1-13	Budge, Misc. Coptic Texts, 1915, p. 498.
ii 43-47, iii. 1-12	" " " " p. 428.
v. 16-34	Pleyte-Boeser, MSS. Coptes à Leide, 1897, pp. 90 ff.
xix 29-xx 2	" " " " pp. 93 ff.
iii. 1-8	" " " " pp. 96 ff.
xxiii. 17-34	Lemm, Bibel-fragments iii.
xvii. 15-21	Reich in W.Z.K.M., xxvi, p. 337.
viii. 26-40, xiii. 17-25	Munier in Bull. Inst. fr., xii, p. 256.
ix 36-x. 10	Bouriant, Miss. arch. fr., i, p. 400.
xxvi. 16-19, xxvii. 35-44, xxviii. 2-3, 8-13, 20-23	Maspero, Rec. trav., vi, p. 36.
xiii. 43-47	Unpublished.
x. 9-21	"
xxvii. 9-11	"
	Crum, Ostraca, no. 3.

DETAILS OF VIENNA FRAGMENTS  
PUBLISHED BY WESSELY

(mentioned above)

Symbol	Museum Number	Century	Contents	Reference to Wessely
Wess 1	Litt. Theol. No. 16	ca. viii	i. 6-20	Texte II, p. 14 (No. 59).
" 2	9714	xi-xii	i. 1-6, lectionary	" III, p. 206 (No. 170).
" 3	9710	xi-xii	ii. 1-19 "	" " p. 207 (No. 171).
" 4	9339	ix-x	ii. 12-25	" " p. 108 (No. 147)
" 5	9123	xii-xiii	iv. 14-33	" " p. 110 (No. 148).
" 6	9708	ca. xii	v. 12-18, lectionary	" " p. 209 (No. 172).
" 7	9723	x-xi	vii. 44-50 "	" " p. 187 (No. 164).
" 8	9098	viii-ix	ix. 35-x. 3	" " p. 112 (No. 149).
" 9	9117	xii-xiii	ix. 39-x. 6	" " p. 115 (No. 150).
" 10	9723	x-xi	xiii. 17-22, lectionary	" " p. 187 (No. 164).
" 11	9008-12	xii-xiii	xiii. 29-xvi. 16	" " p. 121 (No. 153).
" 12	9720	ca. xi	xiii. 44-50, lectionary	" " p. 221 (No. 177).
" 13	9061	ca. ix	xvi. 15-31	" " p. 117 (No. 151).
" 14	9049	ca. xii	xviii. 26-xix. 9	" " p. 119 (No. 152).
" 15	9694	xi-xii	xxi. 5-10, lectionary	" " p. 214 (No. 174).
" 16	9008-12	xii-xiii	xxii. 25-xxiii. 18	" " p. 129 (No. 153).
" 17	9152	ca. xii	xxvii. 9-21	" " p. 132 (No. 154).
" 18	9110	xii-xiii	xxvii. 27-34, lectionary	" " p. 198 (No. 168).



	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	ⲚⲀⲐⲐⲛⲓ	Antioch	D	
I							
2	αχρι ης ημερας αν-λημ- φθη εντειλαμενος <sup>a</sup> τοις αποστολοις] + αυ- του πνευματος αγιου] του πνευματος αγιου κη- ρυσσειν το ευαγγε- λιον	B	x			D	vg.cod D
3	οτι και 1 <sup>ο</sup> λεγων] + αυτοις οτι τα	B W	x x			cf. D	Aug vg. cod
4	οτι μου	B	x				perp
5	μου] + ειπεν οτι δε	B	x				
6	ημερας] + αλλα εως της πεντηκοστης οτι μεν μεν ουν] δε	B W Wess <sup>2</sup> BW Wess <sup>2</sup> B	x x x			cf. D	
7	ηρωτων] ηρωτησαν ει] + ουν χρονους η καιρους] τους καιρους και τους χρονους		x				
8	μου] μοι οτι τε		x	81	Ant		vg
9	οτι εν 2 <sup>ο</sup> οτι και 1 <sup>ο</sup> οτι αυτων βλεποντων απηρθη . . . αυτων] νεφελη υπελαβεν αυτον και επηρθη απ αυτων		x	AC 81		D D	Aug
10	οτι και 1 <sup>ο</sup> και ως] ως δε	B W Wess <sup>1</sup>	x			cf. D	perp
11	εις τον ουρανον πορευο- μενου αυτου] αυτω πορευομενω εις τον ουρανον οτι και 2 <sup>ο</sup> οτι οι ουτος] + εστιν οτι ουτος . . . ουρανον (homotele.)		x x x				vg vg Ψ minn
12	'a journey of seven roads' <sup>b</sup>	W	x				
13	εισηλθον] κατηλθον	B	x				
14	οτι ησαν οτι ομοθυμαδον οτι συν 2 <sup>ο</sup> αυτου] + πασιν	B B BW B	x x x x	ⲚⲀⲐ		D	

<sup>a</sup> On the relation of verb and participle here see above, p. 321.<sup>b</sup> See Textual Note, above, p. 6.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
15	και εν] εν δε om τε ειπεν at close of verse ονοματων after εικοσι om ως (Wess <sup>1</sup> defective)		×			D	
16	'the scripture which he foretold in the Holy Spirit' <sup>a</sup>	W	×				
17	ημιν] αυτοις <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>vid</sup>	×				
18	om μεν εκ μισθου] εν τω μισθω εκ μισθου] εκ του μισθου	W B	×				minn
	αδικιας] +αυτου om και 1 <sup>o</sup> om μεσος om και 2 <sup>o</sup>	Wess <sup>1</sup> B B	×			D	
19	εγενετο] + 'hasc res'		×	of. N			
20	εν αυτη] εν τοις σκη- νωμασιν αυτου (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 26)		×				
21	εισηλθεν] +αυτοις εφ ημας] αφ ημων συν ημιν] ημιν	W B	×				
22	ωσηφ] ιωσης		×				minn
23	om και	W	×				
24	και προσευξαμενοι] προσευξαμενοι δε απαδειξον ενα εκ του- των των δυο ον εξελεξω <sup>c</sup>	BWfr	×				minn
	om εκ	BW	×				
26	κληρους] τον κληρον om και 2 <sup>o</sup> and και 3 <sup>o</sup>	B BW	×				
II							
1	om επι το αυτο		×				429
2	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	Wfr Wess <sup>3</sup>	×				minn
	βιαιας] βιαιως om καθημενοι	B	×				
3	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	Wfr Wess <sup>3</sup>	×				
	τυπος] 'εω igne' εκαθισεν] εκαθισαν		×	ND			
4	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	BWfr Wess <sup>3</sup>	×				
	και επλησθησαν] ε- πλησθησαν δε εδιδου] +αυτοις	W	×				
5	om κατοικουντες	B	×		of. Ant		

<sup>a</sup> This is no doubt a blunder, as the verbal change involved is slight.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently, but the MS. (B) is imperfect here.

<sup>c</sup> In this passage the Sahidic was capable of preserving the order of the Greek uncial.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Ti	NAO 81	Antioch	D
6	γενομενης δε] και γενο- μενης γενομενης . . . συν- εχυθη] 'and when this voice came together, the mul- titude was con- founded' <sup>a</sup>	B	x x			perp
7	om και εξισταντο δε] + παντες εθαυμαζον] + παντες	Wfr	x x	NAO 81		S
8	om και om εκαστος τη ιδια . . . εγεννη- θημεν] τη διαλεκτω αυτου εν η εγεννηθη	B B	x x			1872
9	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>	B	x			Aug
11	tais ημετεραις γλωσ- σαις] tais γλωσσαις tais ημετεραις γλωσ- σαις] γλωσσαις tais ημετεραις γλωσ- σαις] tais γλωσσαις αυτων + 'annuntiantes' be- fore τα μεγαλεια τι θελει τουτο ειναι] 'quia est haec res'	B W Wess <sup>3</sup>	x x x x x			Aug
12	γλευκους] + γαστερες αυτων	B	x			D
13	ενδεκα] + αποστολοις απεφθεγξατο] απεκριθη	B W Wess <sup>3,4</sup>	x x			D
14	απεφθεγξατο] λεγων om και 1 <sup>o</sup> μετα ταυτα] μετα εκει- νας τας ημερας οιφονται] 'shall utter'	B Wess <sup>3</sup>	x x	C cf. O, cf. NA 81	cf. Ant	cf. D
20	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>		x			
22	απο] υπο εις υμας] + εν παση υποταγη <sup>b</sup>	B	x			
23 f.	om εκδοτον . . . ο θεος (homosotele.)	B	x			
24	ανεστησε λυσας τας ωδεινας] ανεστησεν εκ νεκρων και των ωδεινων	B	x			cf. minn
26	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	B	x			
27	ψυχην μου] + εν ταις ψυχαις μου του (?) αδου <sup>c</sup>	B	x			

<sup>a</sup> B has blundered here in a manner which cannot be accounted for.

<sup>b</sup> For υποταγη the Greek word itself is used; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 12 (υπομονη).

<sup>c</sup> This has neither sense nor (Coptic) grammar.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
28	οδους [ζωης] τας οδους της ζωης <sup>a</sup> ευφροσυνης μετα του προσωπου σου] της (om της W) ευφρο- συνης του προσωπου σου		×				
33	om ουν πατρος] + αυτου τουτο] + το δωρον	BW B B	×				Iren. perp peah
34	om και 1 <sup>o</sup>	B	×	NAO 81	Ant		
36	om δε om ουν om και 1 <sup>o</sup> τουτον τον ιησουν] ουτος ο ιησους	B B ×	×				vg.codd minn
37	om δε καρδιαν] + αυτων τι] + ουν	B B	×				vg
38	+ 'said' θαφοτε προς αυτον βαπτισθητω εκαστος υμων] βαπτισθητε εν τω ονοματι] επι τω ονοματι <sup>b</sup> ιησου χριστου] του κυριου ιησου χριστου ιησου χριστου] ιησου χριστου του κυριου δωρεαν] + τουτου οσους] ους	BW B W B B	×	of. NAO 81	Ant	of. D	
39	te] δε		?	NA 81			
40	ετεροι . . . παρεκαλει] εν δε ταις ημεραις εκατον λογους ελε- γεν και παρεκαλει <sup>c</sup>						
41	om ουν προστετεθησαν] + αυτοις ψυχαι] ανθρωποι	B B V	×				perp
42	τη κοινωνια της κλασεως			AO			vg

<sup>a</sup> The Coptic article before ζωης is idiomatic, but not so that before οδους. The latter word standing without the article should be rendered in Coptic with the indefinite article, not with the definite article as here. But in Pa. xv. 11 (Sahidic) the definite article is also used to render the Greek οδους without the article.

<sup>b</sup> Sahidic reads literally *eis to onoma*, which, as between *en* and *en*, seems to represent the former, although both *en* and *en* are susceptible of being rendered by their appropriate Coptic prepositions respectively.

<sup>c</sup> The text of B is strangely corrupt, but nevertheless translatable. The intrusive *ekaton* is merely a fragment of the lost word for *πλειον*, but it is impossible to account for the complete disappearance of the Coptic word for *διαμετρηται*.

	Sahidic	Sah MS <sup>y</sup>	Tr	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
48	om δε 1 <sup>o</sup> φοβος] +μεγας παση ψυχη] 'upon every one, upon every soul' δε 2 <sup>o</sup> ] γαρ	W	x				1518
44	επι το αυτο] ησαν επι το αυτο και		x	NAOSI	Ant	D	
45	κτηματα] 'orchards' τα κτηματα αυτων και τας υπαρξεις αυτων		x				
	om και 3 <sup>o</sup>	B	x				
46	διεμεριζον] διεμερισαν τε] δε	B	x				minn
	μετα αγαλλιασεως α- φελστητος της καρ- διας αυτων	B	x				
47	καρδιας] +αυτων		x				
III	om ολον	W					minn
1	om την ενατην επι την ωραν την ενατην επι την ωραν της προσευχης	Lemm	x				
2	om καθ ημεραν	B B	x			cf. D	
3	os] ουτος	Lemm BH <sup>3</sup>				D	
	os] ουτος δε	Lemm W	x				
3 f.	om μελλοντας . . . ιωανη (hoποσοτελ.)	B	x				
3	ηρωτα αυτους διδοναι αυτω ελεημοσυνην		x				
4	om δε	W	x				
5	om ο δε εκειχεν αυτοις (hoποσοτελ.)	B	x				
6	πετρος] +αυτω διδωμι] δωσω		x				h vg. cod <sup>a</sup> Prisc
	om χριστου	B	x				
7	παραχηρημα δε] και παραχηρημα	B				D	
8	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>	WH <sup>3</sup> Lemm	x				
	om και 5 <sup>o</sup>	WH <sup>3</sup> Lemm		A			
9	om και 1 <sup>o</sup> και ειδεν] ειδεν δε	BW H <sup>3</sup>	x				
10	om δε om και 1 <sup>o</sup>		x				pesh
	και επλησθησαν] ε- πλησθησαν δε	BW H <sup>3</sup>	x				
12	απεκρινατο] ειπεν προς τον λαον] αυτοις om προς τον λαον idia δυναμει η ευσε- βεια] δυναμει ημων η ευσεβεια ημων	VWH <sup>3</sup> B	x			cf. D cf. D	
			x			cf. D	

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NA <sup>CS</sup> 1	Antioch	D	
12	του περιπατεω αυτον]					cf. D	
13	τουτο ο θεος αβρααμ, ο θεος ισακ, ο θεος ιακωβ ιακωβ] + και παιδα] υιον οτι μεν ηρνησασθε <sup>a</sup> ] + και κατ- εφρονησατε αυτου	B B	λ ×	NA <sup>C</sup>		D D	vg
14	ηρνησασθε] + κατα προ- σωπον πιλατου	B	×				
16	οτι θεωρειτε και	B	×				
17	και νυν] νυν ουν		×				
18	οτι αυτου	WH <sup>3</sup>	×			minn	
19	επιστρεψατε] + επι τον θεον	H <sup>3</sup>					
20	αν ελθωσιν] εαν ελθωσιν οτι και before απο- στειλη υμων] ημων		×			cf. vg	
21	οτι στοματος	W	×				
22	μεν] γαρ ειπεν] + κατεναντι των πατερων ημων θεος] + ημων	B			cf. Ant		
24	οτι ως εμε	BH <sup>3</sup> W	×	NA <sup>C</sup> of. A 81	cf. Ant	cf. D cf. D	
25	οτι ταυτας υμων] ημων	BH <sup>3</sup> BH <sup>3</sup>	×	NA <sup>C</sup>	Ant	D	
26	οτι και 2 <sup>ο</sup> παιδα] υιον πονηριων] + αυτου		×	cf. C		vg minn	
IV <sup>b</sup>							
1	αρχιερεϊς] ιερεϊς ο στρατηγος] οι στρα- τηγοι	W		NA 81	Ant	D	pesh
2	την εκ νεκρων] των νεκρων				Ant	D	
7	οτι υμεις		×				perp
10	οτι χριστου	B	×				388
12	υμιας] ημιας			NA	Ant	D	
13	ιδιωται εισιν και α- γραμματοι		×				gig
15	οτι δε	B	×			D	
16	τοις ανθρωποις τούτοις] ω ανδρες αδελφοι	B				vg.codd	
18	παρηγγειλαν] + αυτους		×		Ant		

<sup>a</sup> The Sahidic word does not represent a Greek *επαρυναι*, but is the usual word for 'despise,' employed to render *καταφρονειν* and sometimes *ατιμαζειν*. It has no nuance of 'weighing down,' 'oppressing,' or 'treating hardly,' and would never be used to render *βαρυνειν*.

<sup>b</sup> Beginning at this point most of the minor variants which do not correspond to known Greek readings are omitted. Some such, however, have been mentioned because of their relation to the Latin or Syriac version or as illustrations of the freedom of the Sahidic translation.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
24	οι δε] + παντες συ] + ει ο θεος	B			Ant	D	
25	'qui locutus est per spiritum sanctum in ore patris nostri David servi tui dicens' <sup>a</sup>					D	
27	οτι γαρ ιησουν] + χριστον οτι πελατος εθνεσιν, λαοις] τοις εθνεσιν, τοις λαοις λαοις] τω λαω	W B B B etc W Wess <sup>b</sup>	x x x				minn  cf. minn
28	βουλη] + σου		x	Σ	Ant	D	
30	ιασιν] ιασεις						vg
31	παρρησιας] + πασης						gig
32	καρδια] + μια ελεγον] ελεγε			ΣA	Ant	D	Aug
34	των πικρασκομενων] αυτων						Aug
36	ιωσηφ] ιωσης				Ant		
V							
2	γυναικος] + αυτου		x		Ant		
4	οτι μενον εθου] + τουτο δια τι εθου τουτο εν τη καρδια σου ποιησαι το κνηρον τουτο		x x			cf. D	
8	απεκριθη] ειπεν οτι δε		x			D	minn
9	πετρος] + ειπεν + ιστανται δεξοτε επι τη θυρα	B		A	Ant		e
12	+ εν τω ιερω δεξοτε εν τη στοα					D	
14	τω κυριω] + ιησου	R <sup>1</sup>	x			D	
16	οιτινες 'and they'		x			D	
18	χειρας] + αυτων				Ant		
21	παραγενομενοι] παρα- γενομενος			B <sup>2</sup> ΣA	Ant	D	
22	οτι δε <sup>20</sup>	B	x			D	
23	insert μεν in το δε- σμωτηριον ευρομεν	WH <sup>3</sup> Leid <sup>22</sup>			Ant		
25	οτι τον λαον	W					
28	+ ου δεξοτε παραγγελια				Ant	D	
29	ειπας] + αυτοις	H <sup>3</sup> Leid <sup>22</sup>	x			cf. D	
31	ανθρωποις] + εν αυτω <sup>b</sup> δεξια] δοξη	B				D	

<sup>a</sup> This seems to correspond to Codex Bezae about as exactly as Sahidic idiom permits, in both words and order. *In ore* is of course a natural rendering of *δια του στοματος*.

<sup>b</sup> Is this possibly a survival of the 'Western' Greek which underlies the Latin *at ille dixit: deo (gig)*?

	Sahidic	Sah. Ver.	Tr.	NA 81	Antioch	D	
31	αμαρτιων] + εν αυτω					D	
32	οτι εν αυτω			NA	Ant	D	
33	ακουσαντες] ακουοντες + ταυτα δεφοιε δι- επρειοντο	W	x				P minn
34	ανθρωπους] αποστολους	W			Ant	D	
35	προς αυτους] προς τους συναχθεντας προς αυτους] προς τους αρχοντας και τους συναχθεντας	B				of D	
36	οτι τινα	W	x			D	h
37	λαον] + πολλυν οτ ικανον	W		C	Ant	D	
39	αυτους] αυτο + ουτε οι τυραννοι υμων δεφοτε μηποτε	W		C	Ant		
40	παρηγγειλαν] + αυτοις απελυσαν] + αυτοις	B BW	x	of. A	Ant	D	
41	του ονοματος] + τουτου	BW	x				cf. minn
42	τον χριστον ιησουν] τον κυριον ιησουν (τον ?) χριστον	VW					
VI		BW		cf. C	cf. Ant	D	
1	ταυταις] εκειναις πληθυνοντες του αριθμου των μαθητων		x				minn h
2	οτι δε ειπαν] + αυτοις	W	x			D	
3	επισκεψωμεθα] επι- σκεψασθε	W	x			of. D	
4	οτι δε πνευματος αγιου του πνευματος αγιου	W B	x	NAO	Ant	D	
5	οτι και ο λογος] + ουτος	W	x	AO	Ant	D	
8	λαω] + δια του ονο- ματος του κυριου ιησου χριστου	B	x	cf. AO	cf. Ant		minn
9	της λεγομενης] των λεγουμενων					D	
12	ηγαγον] + αυτον		x	NA			
14	ημων] υμων			A			S minn
15	αγγελου] + του θεου	W				h	
VII							
2	+ αποκριθεις δεφοτε εφη		x				
3	ακουσατε] + μου		x				minn
4	της δοξης] των πατερων ημων	B	x				
5	και 2ο] αλλα		x			D	
6	δε] + αυτω αυτου] σου αυτο] αυτους		x	of. N		of. D	
7	και το] το δε		x	N		D	
10	τουτου] αυτου			C			
12	εις αιγυπτου] εν αιγυπτω			B <sup>NA</sup> AO	Ant	D	
					Ant	D	



	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAC 81	Ant.och	D	
15	ιακωβ] +εις αιγυπτου			NAC	Ant	D	
17	ηυξησεν ο λαος] ηυξη-						
	σεν ο θεος τον λαον						
19	om εκακωσεν τους						
	πατερας	B					
20	πατρος] +αυτου		×			D	
21	+εις δεφοι ε υιον			NAC 81	Ant	D	
22	ην δε] και ην					cf. D	
23	+τους δεφοτε υιους			NAC 81	Ant	D	
25	αδελφους] +αυτου			A 81	Ant	D	
31	κυριου] +προς αυτου	W		C	Ant	cf. D	
32	ο θεος ισαακ, ο θεος						
	ιακωβ	B			Ant	D	
34	αυτου] αυτων			NAC 81	Ant		
35	και 1 <sup>o</sup> ] η	B	×				gig
	διασπην] +εφ ημων			NC 81		D	
	συν χειρι] εν χειρι	Bdg <sup>1</sup>		N	Ant		
37	om ο μωυσης		×				
38	om εν τη ερημω	Bdg <sup>1</sup>	×				
	om του αγγελου		×				
	εξελεξατο] εδεξατο			NAC 81	Ant	D	
39	ημων] υμων	W		81			minn
42	om και παρεδωκεν		×				
	τεσσαρακοντα] +εν τη						
	ερημω			B <sup>2</sup> N(A)C 81	Ant	D	
43	ρεφαν			(A)C			
	επεκεινα] 'to this side					cf. D	
	of Babylon'						
46	οικω] θεω	W		AC 81			P
		Wess <sup>7</sup>					
49	μοι θρονος] ο θρονος μου					cf. D	
	οικοδομησατε] οικοδο-						
	μησετε			NAC 81	Ant	D	
51	καρδιας] τη καρδια			81	Ant		
57	κραξαντες δε] ο δε						
	λαος ακουσας ταυτα						
	εκραξε						
	om φωνη μεγαλη	B	×				
58	εκβαλοντες] +αυτον		×	A		D	
	ελιθοβολουν] +αυτον		×				
59	om ιησου	W	×				
60	+επεκαλεσατο λεγων						
	δεφοτε κυριε	B	×			cf. D	
VIII							
1	ημερα] + θλιψις (+					cf. D	
	μεγαλη W) και <sup>a</sup>						
	αποστολων] +μονων οι						
	εμειναν εν ιερου-						
	σαλημ					cf. D	
4	λογων] +κατα πολεις						
	(οι πολιν)						
5	om την			Q 81	Ant	D	perp
6	αυτους] αυτου			N <sup>ind</sup>			
7	δε] τε (?) <sup>b</sup>						61

<sup>a</sup> There is no doubt as to the words of the original, since the Greek words (θλιψις, διωγμος) are retained in the Coptic.

<sup>b</sup> The Sahidic particle here used strongly suggests τε as its original.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
9	om μεγαν						
10	om καλουμενη				Ant		
12	περι της βασιλειας] την βασιλειαν και το ονομα					of D	
13	τα] τε <sup>a</sup>			NAOSI	Ant	D	
16	μονον] πρωτον	B	x				
21	om γαρ	B				D	
24	μηθεν] μη	W	x				1838
25	διαμαρτυραμενοι] +τω πληθει (or οχλω) υπεστρεφον] υπε- στρεφαν		✓	C	Ant	D	
	τε] δε	W					
	om τε	B	x				
	ευηγγελιζοντο] ευηγ- γελισαντο		✓		Ant		
26	οδον] +την ερημον						pesh
	om αυτη εστιν ερημος						pesh
27	om και	B	x				69
	+της δεποτε βασιλισσης		x		Ant		
	om os 2 <sup>o</sup>			NAOSI		D	
28	ησαιαν των προφητην			C			
30	εν ησαια τω προφητη <sup>b</sup>	W	x				
33	ταπεινωσει] +αυτου		x	C 81	Ant		
34	λεγει] +τουτο			B <sup>2</sup> NAOSI	Ant		
35	τον ιησουν] των κυριον ιησουν χριστον						cf. pesh
IX							
1	om επι	BW		N			
2	om της οδου οντας	B					minn
4	σαουλ σαουλ] σαυλε σαυλε <sup>c</sup>						minn
5	ο δε] +κυριος ειπεν +αυτω δεποτε εγω ειμι	W	x	of. N 81	Ant		minn
7	'they were hearing indeed the voice, they not under- standing it; for they were not see- ing anyone (or anything)'	W					
8	om δε 2 <sup>o</sup>		x				minn
	om εισηγαγον	B	✓				
11	κυριος] +ειπεν σαυλον] ταρσεα ονο- ματι σαυλον		x				1522
12	om εν οραματι			NA 81			

<sup>a</sup> Sahidic renders δε, and this is the reading of 242, 467; but τε, found in all other Greek MSS., would also be rendered by δε in Sahidic.

<sup>b</sup> This is probably an error for the literal rendering of the Greek found in B Bour; only the addition of a single letter is involved.

<sup>c</sup> This vocative form is not Ooptic at all, and must have been copied direct from the Greek original.

	Sahidic	Sah. mss	Tr.	NACSI	Antioch	D
13	απεκριθη] αποκριθεις ειπεν (or the like)		^			460
15	των βασιλεων τε και των εθνων	B	x			
17	om δε σαουλ] σαυλε <sup>a</sup> o κυριος] +ιησους om ιησους	B BV	x		Ant	522 minn pesh
18	om και +παραχρημα δεφοτε αναστας <sup>b</sup>		^	cf C <sup>2</sup>		minn cf L
20	συναγωγαις] +των ιου- δαιων τον ιησουν] τον κυριον ιησουν +o χριστος δεφοτε o uios +ιησους o χριστος δε- φοτε o uios	B W	x			perp m 441 Iren
21	ακουοντες] +αυτου om εν ιερουσαλημ +παντας δεφοτε τους επικαλουμενους και. . . εληλυθει] 'and who was sent be- cause of this hither'	W W W	x			440 minn
22	+τους δεφοτε ιουδαιους +παντας τους δεφοτε ιουδαιους ουτος] ιησους σαυλω] παυλω	BV W V W	x	AO 81	Ant	
24	om και 1 <sup>o</sup> αυτου] αυτον om καθηκαν		x		cf Ant Ant	H L
28	εις] εν		x			H
29	+και δεφοτε παρρησια- ζομενος				Ant	
30	καισαρειαν] +νυκτος					minn
31	om και 3 <sup>o</sup>	B	x			323
34	ειπεν αυτω o πετρος] o πετρος απενισας αυτω ειπεν αυτω (om αυτω B) om αυτα +o κυριος δεφοτε ιησους	B	x	A		perp
35	οιτινες] και πολλοι κυριον] θεον	BVH <sup>d</sup>	x			
36	μαθητρια] αδελφη		x			

<sup>a</sup> See note c, p. 334.<sup>b</sup> The word for 'immediately' is clearly taken by the Sahidic translator with *αναστας*, and not with the preceding clause. In W it is followed by *δε*: in V a stop is put after the rendering of *αναβλεψας τε*. In B there is neither *δε* nor stop; but since Coptic idiom puts temporal adverbs at the head of their sentence, the adverb here would naturally be understood as attached to *αναστας*; and this is made decisive by W and V.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
37	om δε	B	x	81			
38	om οι μαθηται παρακαλουντες] + λε- γοντες	B BW	x x				m
39	ιματια και χιτωνας	B	x				
40	om μετ αυτων ουσα om και 1 <sup>o</sup> αναστηθι] + εν ονοματι του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου αναστηθι] + εν ονοματι ιησου χριστου αυτης] + 'immediate- ly'	WH <sup>3</sup> WH <sup>3</sup> W Weas <sup>3,9</sup> Mas <sup>p</sup>	x x x x		Ant		gig vg cod perp
42	κυριον] θεον	H <sup>3</sup>	x				
X							
5	om τωα		x	N	Ant		
7	οικετων] + αυτου		x		Ant		
11	om καταβαινον + ιδου δεξοτε σκευος	W Bdg <sup>2</sup> T <sup>3</sup>				d	
12	om της γης τα ερπετα, τα πετεινα	W	x		cf. Ant		
16	ευθυς] παλιν om ευθυς	BVT <sup>3</sup> BWT <sup>2</sup>	x	of. C	Ant	D	minn
19	ειπεν] + αυτω δυο] τρεις			of. NAO 81 NAO 81 NAO 81	Ant	D	
21	+ η δεξοτε αιτια				Ant	D	
22	ειπα] + προς αυτον					D	
23	αυτους] + (ο) πετρος					D	
24	εισηλθεν] εισηλθεν (-αν) αυτους 2 <sup>o</sup> ] αυτου	W		NAO NAO	Ant Ant	D	vg. cod C
25	om επι τους ποδας	H <sup>3</sup>					
27	αυτω] σοι <sup>a</sup>	BV				of. D	
30	+ νηστευων και δεξοτε προσευχομενος ανηρ] αγγελος του κυριου				Ant	D	
31	η προσευχη] αι προσ- ευχαι	H <sup>3</sup> H <sup>3</sup>					1518
32	θαλασσαν] + os παρα- γενομενος λαλησει σοι λογους οis σω- θηση			of. C	cf. Ant	cf. D of. D D D D D	
33	προς σε] προς ημας τε] δε του θεου] σου om παρεσμεν om παντα κυριου] θεου εκ αληθειας] ιδον λογον] + αυτου	V B	x x				614
36				NAO 81	Ant	D	
37	+ υμεις δεξοτε οιδατε						

<sup>a</sup> Apparently B, which omits και before συνομιλων, attaches συνομιλων σοι to the preceding ανθρωπος εμμ; in V the insertion of δε after the word for συνομιλων cuts off this latter from the preceding.

	Sahidic	Sah. mss	Tr.	NA 81	Ant. och	D	
37	ληρυγμα] βαπτισμα			B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant	D	
39	ημεις] +εσμεν		x		Ant		
	των ιουδαιων] της						
	ιουδαιας		x				pesh minn
41	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>						
	' <i>nohis praedestinati</i>			cf. C			
	<i>a deo</i> ' (order)						
	ρεκρων] +ημερας τεσ-					D	
	σερακοντα						minn
44	ετι] +δε						
46	γλωσσαις] 'οις <i>lin-</i>						
	<i>guis</i> '					of d	
	πετρος] +ειπεν	B	x			cf. D	
48	αυτους] αυτοις			NA			
	τοτε . . . επιμειναι]						
	επεμεινεν δε (om					cf. D	
	δε W) παρ αυτοις						
XI							
1	οι αδελφοι και οι	B	x				
	αποστολοι	B	x				
	κατα] +ιερουσαλημ και						
3	εισηλθεν, συνεφαγεν]			NA	Ant	D	
	εισηλθες, συνεφαγες						
5	om καταβαινον						
6	ειδον] +παντα	B					cf. 1878
7	om πετρε θυσον και	B	x				
10	παλιν <i>placed after</i>						
	<i>εγενετο</i>	W	x				
11	ημεν] ημην			81	Ant		
13	ειποντα] +αυτω	W Bodl	x		Ant	D	
15	om το αγιον	B	x				
17	ουν] δε	BV	x			d	
	εγω] +δε	W Bodl			Ant		
20	om και 2 <sup>o</sup>		x		Ant	D	
22	ηκουσθη] ηλθεν		x				vg
	απεστειλαν] απεστει-						460
	λεν	B	x				
	βαρναβαν] +διελθειν				Ant	D	
23	om τη προθεσει της						
	καρδιας						
24	ικανος] +τω κυριω			B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant	D	
25	αναστησαι] αναζητησαι	BVH <sup>3</sup> Bodl (3 mss.)		B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant		
		W				D	
26	αναστησαι] αναζητων						
	om ολον						e
	χριστιανους (χρεστ- H <sup>3</sup> )						
27	αυταις] εκειναις			cf. NA 81	cf. Ant	cf. D	
28	εσημαινεν] εσημανεν			NA 81	Ant		
29	οι δε μαθηται ωρισαν						
	καθως ευπορειτο ε-						
	καστος αυτων δουναι						
	εις διακονιαν και						
	πεμψαι		x			cf. D	
XII							
1	ηρωδης] αγριππας		x				cf. pesh
2	om δε	W	x				1838

	Sahidic	Sah. vss	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
3	+αι before ημεραι			A 81		D	
4	τεσσαρειν τετραδισις] 'sixteen soldiers'		x				pesh
5	ετηρειτο] + 'strictly' <sup>a</sup> προσευχη] + πολλη οτι εκτενωσ		x			D	
	εκκλησιας] + προς τον θεον			NA 81	Ant	D	
6	ηρωδης] αgridπας		x			D	
7	επεστη] + (τω) πετρω χειρων] + αυτου		x			D	
8	οτι αυτω	BV	x				
9	ηκολουθει] + αυτω δε] γαρ		x		Ant	D	
10	φυλακην] θυραν		x				
11	ηρωδου] αgridπας		x				
12	τε] δε		x	A 81			
13	προσηλθε] εξηλθεν		x				
17	ειπεν τε] + αυτοις ετερον] ερημον		x				minn
18	+ 'immediately' be- fore ην	B	x				minn
	οικ ολιγος] μεγας		x				
19	ηρωδης] αgridπας απαχθηναι] + 'to de- stroy them'		x			of. D	
	απο της ιουδαίας] eis την ιουδαιαν	B	x				
	διετριβεν] διετριψεν + εκει at close of νησε		x	A			vg
20	ητουντο] ηησαντο		x	A			
21	+ και before καθισας			A	Ant	D	
23	θεω] κυριω	W	x				
24	κυριου] θεου			NA 81	Ant	D	
25	eis ιερουσαλημ] 'from Jerusalem'	VW		A		D	minn
<b>XIII</b>							
1	εν . . . εκκλησιαν] εν τη εκκλησια τη εν αντιοχεια		x				vg
2	ειπεν] + αυτοις	BVH <sup>3</sup>	x				cf. minn
3	απελυσαν] + αυτοις		x				255
4	του αγιου πνευματος] των αγιων						perp
5	κατηγγελλον] κατηγ- γειλαν		x			D	
	υπηρετην] υπηρετουντα αυτοις					D	
6	οτι ολην	W			Ant		
	αχρη] + 'a place called'	B	x				
10	παυση] παυεις	B					minn
11	επεσεν] + εν αυτον			NAO 81	Ant	D	

<sup>a</sup> This adverb seems to represent εκτενωσ (or εν εκτενεια; for the Sahidic rendering is in fact indeterminate as between these, although it is in form exactly εν εκτενεια), and to have been transferred from the later to the earlier half of the verse.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NAOS1	Antioch	D	
14	την πιαδιαν] της πιαδιαις την συναγωγην] τας συναγωγας των σαββατων] του σαββατου om εκαθισαν	BV B W	x x x	81	Ant	D	917
15	om τις		x		Ant		
17	om του λαου εξ αυτης] εκ του τοκου εκεινου		x x				1638
18	om ως ετροποφορησεν] ετρο- φοφορησεν					D	
19	κατεκληρονομησεν] +αυτοις	BV Wess <sup>10</sup> Bour B	x  x	AC AC	Ant		
20	om ως om ως . . . πεντηκοντα om μετα ταυτα εδωκεν] +αυτοις κριτας] +ως ετεσι τε- τρακοσιοις και πεν- τηκοντα +του δεσφρε προφητου κατα την καρδιαν μου] 'conscientem in corde meo'	Bour Bour	x  x		cf. Ant	cf. D D	614 minn
22	γαρ] ουν	Bour		O	Ant Ant	D D	
23	ηγαγεν] ηγειρεν om ισραηλ	W Bour	x  x	O		D D	minn
24	ελεγεν] + 'to the multitude ('multa- tudes' W)	most codd.	x				
25	μετ εμε] +ισχυροτερος μου αβρααμ] +και ευρωτες] +κατ αυτου καθειλοντες] +αυτον εθηκαν] +αυτον οιτινες] +εν αυτου] αυτω	Bour	x  x x	NAOS1	Ant	D cf. D	vg
26	αυτου] ουν αυτω πατερας] +ημων	W Wess <sup>11</sup> B	x x			D	
28	ημων] αυτων ημων <sup>a</sup> ιησουν] τον κυριον ιησουν χριστον			81	Ant	D	
29	om μεν	B Wess <sup>11</sup>	x			D D	
31	τουτο] τουτου του ιησου		x	cf. NAOS1	cf. Ant	cf. D	gig

<sup>a</sup> Sahidic connects ημων with αναστησας, 'having raised up to us.' See the Textual Note, above, p. 124.

	Schuldc	Sch. var	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
39	ηδυνθητε] ηδυνθημεν εν τούτω πας ο πι- στευων] πας ο πι- στευων εν τούτω	B	x			Deort	
40	ουν] δε ομι ουν τοις προφήταις] τω προφήτη επελθ] +εφ υμας ηξιουν] παρακαλουν θεου] κυριου τους οχλους] 'the multitude' βλασφημουντες] 'they said, They are blaspheming'	W <sup>ess</sup> <sup>11</sup> BW W W <sup>ess</sup> <sup>11</sup>	x x x				cf. 097 minn
42				AC 81	Ant	D	
44				NAO 81	Ant	cf. D	
45				B <sup>3</sup> NA 81		cf. D	
46	τε] δε	B BV W <sup>ess</sup> <sup>11, 12</sup> Pet	x λ		Ant		
	ειπαν] + 'to them' ομι αιωνιου εντεταλται] ειπεν ο κυριος] η γραφη θεου] κυριου		x x x x			D	
47							cf. Cyp
48		W <sup>ess</sup> <sup>11, 12</sup>		NAO 81	Ant		
51	ποδων] + αυτων		x		Ant	D	
XIV							
1	κατα το αυτο] 'ac- cording to their custom'		x				
5	των ιουδαιων τε και των εθνων	W <sup>ess</sup> <sup>11</sup>					cf. hcl. mg
8	ομι εν λυστροις ομι χωλος εκ κοιλιας μητρος αυτου	B				D	
10	φωνη] + λεγω σοι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων (ομι του κυριου ημων B) ιησου χρι- στου +εγειρε και δεφοτε αναστηθι	B		cf. C		D	
11	λυκαονιστι] 'in their tongue'		x				
14	εαυτων] αυτων		x	NO 81	Ant	D	
15	'that ye should with- draw yourselves from these vanities to turn'		x				
	+τον δεφοτε θεον αυτοις] αυτη αμαρτυρον] + αυτοις αγαθουργων] + αυτοις ομι υμων υμων] αυτων τροφη] + πασης	V B	x x x x x x	A 81	Ant	D	minn pesh



	Sahidic	bah mss	Tr.	NAC 81	Antioch	D	
18	κατεπαυσαν] 'they persuaded' <sup>a</sup>		×				minn
20	αυτον] +και (om και B)						cf. h
21	οφιας γενομενης ευαγγελισαμενοι] 'preached the word of the Lord'	B	×				Ephr
	om εις 2 <sup>o</sup> <sup>b</sup>		×		Ant	D	
24	εις την παμφυλιαν] εις την περιγην της παμφυλιας		×				
25	om εν περιγη τον λογον] + 'in that place'		×				
	ατταλιαν] γαλιλαια	B	×				cf. latt
26	κακειθεν] + απεπλευ- σαν			B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	D	
27	ανηγγελλον] αηγ- γειλαν		×		Ant	D	
	+εν δεφοι ε τοις εθνεσιν	B	×		Ant		
28	διετρειβον] +εκει						
XV							
1	om κατελθοντες	most codd.	×				
	περιτμηθητε] +και περιπατητε εν αλλουσ] +αδελφους	BW	×			D	
2	εις] εν		×				minn
3	om πασιν	W	×				minn
4	ιεροσολυμα] ιερου- σαλημ	BW		NC	Ant	D	cf. HL
5	αυτων] +εν τοις εθνεσιν πεπιστευκοτες] πεπι- στευκοτων	VW Wess <sup>11</sup> B	×				L
	om πεπιστευκοτες		×				
7	om εν υμιν		×				minn
	δια] εκ	W					Iren
11	του κυριου] +ημων	all codd exc B	×				g'g
14	εξηγησατο] ειπεν ημιν +παν δεφοτε καθως	Wess <sup>11</sup>	×				
15	τουτω] ουτως					D	
17	+αναστρεφαντες δε- φοτε εκζητησωσω	W	×				
20	πνικτου] 'anything dead'		×				

<sup>a</sup> This Sahidic reading, in which the Greek verb *πειθεω* is used, may represent no Greek variant, for the Copts were very fond of that word and not infrequently used it where there is no reason to suspect a Greek original; it was completely adopted into the Coptic language. It may here have been suggested by vs. 19.

<sup>b</sup> The omission of *εις* before both 'Iconium' and 'Antioch' is idiomatic in Sahidic. By using another conjunction, however, the translator could have repeated the preposition, if he had wished to do so.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
20	αιματος] + και ο μη θελωσιν αυτοις γι- νεσθαι ετεροις μη ποιειν (γενεσθαι for ποιειν W)					D	
23	αυτων] + επιστολην ουτως		!	cf. C		cf. D	61
24	οι αδελφοι +ελθοντες προς υμας δεφοτε εταραξαν			cf. AC 81	cf. HL cf. PS	cf. D	
25	οι συν τοις αγαπητοις ημων	B	x				
27	απαγγαλλοντας] απ- αγγελουντας					D	
28	οι και ημιν οι των <sup>a</sup>	W	x	8		D	
29	οι και αιματος και πνικτων] 'and the things which die'	H <sup>3</sup>	x				
	πορνειας] + α μη θελετε υμιν γινεσθαι (οι υμιν γινεσθαι H <sup>3</sup> ) μη ποιειτε ετερω (οι ετεροις)	VWH <sup>3</sup> Wess <sup>11</sup>	x				
32	τε] δε	B Wess <sup>11</sup>	x			cf. D D	
33	αδελφων] + εις ιερου- σαλημ		x				
	οι προς τους απο- στειλαντας αυτοις	B	x				
34	εδοξεν δε τω σιλα επιμειναι αυτου			cf. C		cf. D	minn
35	διετρειβον] + εν τη εκ- κλησια	W	x				
37	κυριου] θεου		x				minn
38	οι και		x		Ant	D	
39	τον τε βαρναβαν . . κυπρον] βαρναβας μεν λαβων μαρκον επλευσεν εις κυπρον					cf. D	
XVI							
6	+την δεφοτε γαλατικην		x				
7	οι ιησου				Ant		
9	+ωσει δεφοτε ανηρ εστως] + 'before him'	W Wess <sup>11</sup>				D D	
10	ωσ δε το οραμα ειδεν] 'but when he had arisen he said unto us the vision'					cf. D	
12	πρωτη μεριδος] η πρωτη μερις	W Wess <sup>11</sup>					cf. E

<sup>a</sup> B has a stop after τουτων, so as to read τουτων\* επαναγκες απεχεσθαι κτλ.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NAC 61	Antioch	D	
12	om διατρειβοντες		>				
13	+τον βοφοι ε ποταμον ου ενομιζομεν προσ- ευχη ειναι] 'to a place wherein we are accustomed to pray' συνελθουσας] 'who had come out to us'					D	
14	add της before πολεως θεον] κυριον	Brit <sup>17</sup>	x	cf NC		D cf. D*	
15	εβαπτισθη] +αυτη ει κεκρικατε με πιστην τω κυριω ποιειν	W Wess <sup>11</sup> Brit <sup>17</sup>	x				minn
	ει κεκρικατε με χρι- στιανην ποιειν και πιστην τω κυριω	B	x				
17	υμων] ημων			A 81	Ant		
18	om δε 1 <sup>o</sup> om και επιστρεψας om χριστου	W B B	x x x				H
22	ο οχλος] 'a consider- able multitude'	Wess <sup>10</sup>					vg. cod. E
23	δε] 'and'			NAC	Ant	D D D	
24	εις το ξυλον] εν ξυλω						
26	ηνωχηθησαν] +παρα- χηρημα			NAC 81	Ant	D	
29	προσεπεσεν] + 'at the feet of' <sup>a</sup>		x			D	
30	εφη] +αυτοις		✓			D	
31	ησουν] +χριστον			C	Ant	D	
32	θεου] κυριου			AC	Ant	D	
34	τε] δε οικον] +αυτου ηγαλλιασατο] <i>im-</i> <i>perfect</i> θεω] κυριω	VWR <sup>2</sup>	x	C NA	Ant	D	P minn
35	οι στρατηγοι] ο στρα- τηγος	B	x				
36	τους λογους] +τους οι στρατηγοι] ο στρα- τηγος	B		NA 81	Ant		
37	ακατακριτους] 'there being no offence in us' (= αναιτειους, <i>placed after</i> ρωμαιους υπαρχοντας)		x			cf. D	
38	om γαρ οι ραβδουχοι] οι φυ- λακες	WR <sup>2</sup>	x				33

<sup>a</sup> The preposition following the verb means literally 'at the feet of'; but this does not necessarily imply here *προς τους ποδας* in the original.

	Sahidic	Sah. vss	Tr.	NA CS1	Antioch	D	
38	οι ραβδουχοι] οι δια- κονοι και οι φυλακες <sup>a</sup> εφοβηθησαν δε] και εφοβηθησαν ομι αλουσαντες	B BWR <sup>2</sup> B	x  x			Ant	
40	ιδοντες τους αδελφους παρεκαλεσαν αυτοις				Ant	cf. D	
XVII							
2	ομι και	W	x			D	
3	παραιθεμενος] + αν- τοις		x				minn
5	ομι εθουρβουνητην πολιν	B	x				
6	τινας αδελφους] + αλ- λους	W	x				e
8	δε] 'and'		x			D	e
11	λογον] + του κυριου	B	x				
12	και των ελληνιδων ... ολιγοι] 'and rich Greek women and many men' (as part of subject)						
13	τους οχλους] τον οχλον	W				cf. D	H
14	ομι τοτε	W				cf. D	minn
	ομι εως					D	S
15	εντολην] + παρ αυτου					cf. D	vg
17	+ τοις δεξοις εν τη αγορα					D	
18	ομι και 1 <sup>o</sup>	VW Cai B	x x x				minn
	δε και] μεν						
19	δυναμεθα] 'we wish'		x				
20	θελει ταυτα ειναι] 'are these'		x				
23	ομι και 2 <sup>o</sup>		x				1898
25	και τα παντα] 'to everything' και τα παντα] 'to the world' και τα παντα] 'in everything'	B W H <sup>3</sup>			cf. Ant cf. Ant		
27	και 1 <sup>o</sup> ] η			A	Ant	D	
28	ημας] υμας			NA 81	Ant	D	
30	απαγγελλει] παραγ- γελλει <sup>b</sup>			A	Ant	D	
32	ομι και παλιν						
33	+ και δεξοτε ουτως				Ant		
34	+ ο δεξοτε αρεσπαγειτης			NA	Ant		
XVIII							
1	μετα] + δε	W	x		Ant		
3	ηργαζοντο] ηργαζετο	W		A	Aut	D	
6	την κεφαλην] τας κεφαλαις	B					minn

<sup>a</sup> B uses the Greek word *διακονοι* and a Coptic word for *φυλακες*. The Sahidic does not use in this verse the same word for *ραβδουχοι* as in vs. 35. V is defective here, as usually happens at points of critical interest.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek word is used.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Ti	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
7	οικιαν] +αδελφου τιτιου ιουστου] τιτου		✓	cf. N			pesh
9	δι οραματος εν νυκτι				Ant	cf. D	
11	οη δε	B	x				522
	+εκει δεφοτε ενιαυτον					cf. D	
12	και] +επιθεντες τας					cf. D	
	χειρας αυτων αυτω						cf. vg
14	κατα λογον] ευλογως <sup>a</sup>						
15	δε] νυν ουν		x				
	περι λογου και ονοματων						
	και νομου] περι ονο-	B					
	ματος η περι λογων	cf. W	x				
	του νομου		>		Ant		
17	εγω] +γαρ				Ant	D	
18	παντες] +οι ελληνες						minn
	αποταξαμενοις] +αυτοις		>				
	και συν αυτω πρει-						
	σκιλλα και ακυλας]		x				
	συν πρισκιλλα και						
	ακυλα						
19	εφεσον] +τω επιοντι					D	
	σαββατω						
	οη κακεινους λατ-						
	ελιπεν αυτου (cf.						pesh
	vs. 21)						
	αυτος δε] παυλος		x				
20	επενευσεν] 'he re-						
	mained'		x				
21	αλλα] + κατελιπεν						
	εκεινους (τουτους V)						cf. minn
	αυτου						pesh
	αποταξαμενοις] +αυτοις		x		cf. Ant		
	οη παλιν					D	
23	οη και φρυγιαν	B	x				
25	την οδον] την διδαχην	W				cf. D	
	κυριου] του κυριου		x	NA	Ant	D	
	οη δε			A cf. N	Ant	D	
26	οη αυτου	H <sup>j</sup>	x				255
	πρισκιλλα και ακυλας]						
	ακυλας και πρι-	WH <sup>3</sup>			Ant	D	
	σκιλλα <sup>b</sup>						

<sup>a</sup> The Greek adverb *ευλογως*, here used in the Sahidic text, is otherwise practically unknown in Coptic literature (it occurs once in a theological tract), and is not found in the Greek O.T. or N.T., except once in *Maccabees* (of which we have no Coptic version). In view of this it is almost certain that it was taken over from the translator's Greek original. Compare the Latin renderings, *rationaliter* e, *merito* gig, *recte* vg. It is worth noting that the Bohairic version here renders *κατα λογον* by the Greek adverb *καλως*. Now *καλως* is very common in Coptic literature, and was fully adopted into the language. As the Copts often substituted a familiar Greek word for an unfamiliar one, it seems likely that in the Bohairic, again, it is *ευλογως* or some other adverb, rather than *κατα λογον*, which is represented by *καλως*.

<sup>b</sup> V here follows the Greek order. B has the names in the order 'Aquila and Priscilla,' but it looks as if the order had originally been different; for when

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D	
28	δια] εκ των γραφων] αγιας γραφης	W	×				
XIX							
2	πιστευσαντες] + και βαπτισθεντες οι δε] + 'said' αλλ ουδ . . . ηκου- σαμεν] 'we have not even heard that such a one receives a Holy Spirit'	W	?		Ant		
3	ειπεν τε] ειπεν αυτοις		×		cf. Ant		
4	ιησουν] + χριστον	W			cf. Ant	cf. D	
5	ιησου] + χριστου					D	
6	om το αγιον γλωσσαις] 'other tongues'	Wess <sup>1d</sup>	?				vg. hol. mg
12	'so that they took napkins and aprons, having applied them unto his body, and put them upon those who are sick' εκπορευεσθαι] + απ αυ- των				cf. Ant	cf. D	
13	πονηρα] ακαθαρτα ορκιζω] ορκιζομεν	B W	×		Ant		vg. codd
15	om μεν			NA	Ant	D	
16	αμφοτερων] 'them seven'		×		cf. Ant		
19	τα περιεργα] 'vain- glorious things' <sup>a</sup>						
20	μυριαδας κεντε] μυριαδα του κυριου] του θεου <sup>b</sup> 'thus the word of the Lord grew and was established and prevailed'	B W	×				minn
						cf. D	

(as here) the subject follows the verb, a particle (similar to English 'namely') is required before it. Thus W has 'when they heard him *namely* Aquila and Priscilla,' and V has likewise '*namely* Priscilla and Aquila'; but B reads 'when they heard him and Aquila *namely* Priscilla.' This is ungrammatical nonsense, but it strongly suggests that the Coptic scribe of B had in his Coptic original the same reading as that of V, with the names perhaps marked to be reversed.

<sup>a</sup> The Sahidic MSS. (BW), and a citation of this verse in a Coptic version of the legend of Cyprian of Antioch, have here an abstract word formed from the Greek word *περιεργος*. Such an out-of-the-way word suggests a corruption in the translator's Greek original.

<sup>b</sup> W reads του θεου, but has του κυριου against it in the margin. B and V read του κυριου in the text.

	Sahidic	Sah. mss	Tr	NA <sup>CS</sup> 81	Antioch	D	
21	διελθων] 'go out of' 'to go out of Macedonia and Achaia and proceed to Jerusalem'			cf. A		D	vg. <i>cod. u</i>
22	εις την ασiam] in 'Asia'					D	cf. P
24	'for a silversmith called Demetrius' ναους] + αργυρους		x	A of N	Ant	D	
25	ους συναθροισας και] ουτος συναθροισας ειπεν] + προς αυτους ανδρες] + συντεχνιται		y			D D D	
27	'but not only this profession is in danger of being dispersed from us' om θεας		x ?				vg
28	εφεσιων] (της) εφεσου <sup>a</sup>		x				
29	πολις] + ολη επλησθη η πολις της συγχυσεως] η πολις ολη συνεχυθη	B			Ant	D	
33	om συνεβιβασαν (προ- βαλοντων δεiuy maide prinoynai verb)		x			D	
	αλεξανδρον] τινα ονο- ματι αλεξανδρον	W Leid <sup>23</sup>	x x				cf. vg. <i>cod. D</i>
34	εφεσιων] (της) εφεσου <sup>a</sup> μεγαλη . . . εφεσιων] omcs omly		x	NA	Ant	D	
35	την εφεσιων πολιν] την πολιν εφεσον νεωκορον . . . διοικητους] 'worships the great Artemis and Zeus'		x				cf. gig
37	τουτους] + ενθαδε					D	
40	om ου 2 <sup>o</sup> στασεως περι της σημερον] 'concern- ing the ("this" B) tumult of to-day' om περι της συστροφης ταυτης		x x			D D	
XX							
1	παρακαλεσας] + και	W		N			
3	μηρας τρεις] ημερας ικανας (or πλειους) δια μακεδονias] 'to Macedonia'	B	x x				
4	σωπατρος] σωσιπατρος ασιαναι] + εξ εφεσου προσελθοντες] προ- ελθοντες			B <sup>a</sup>		cf. D D	minn

<sup>a</sup> B has the article with 'Ephesus,' W omits it.

	Sahidic	Sah nse	Tr.	NACSI	Antioch	D	
8	ἦσαν] 'were lighted'		<				
13	προσελθόντες] προ- ελθόντες			NC			L
	τον ασσον] θαρσος	Bty	x				LP
	τον ασσον] θασος <sup>a</sup>	W	x				
14	τον ασσον] θαρσος	Bty	x				P
	τον ασσον] θασος	W	x				
15	τη δε εσπερα] 'on the morrow' <sup>b</sup>			NAC	Ant	D	
	σαμον] +και μεινας εν τριγωνιω				of. Ant	of. D	
18	+αδελφοι αψτε υμεις	W					
	+αδελφοι αψτε επι- στασθε	B			Ant	D	
22	εγω δεδεμενος					D	
23	μενουσιν] +εν ιερου- σαλημ					D	
24	οτι ιησου	W	?				gig
	διαμαρτυρασθαι] +τοις ιουδαιοις και τοις ελλησιν					D	
25	βασιλειαν] +(του)ιησου					D	
28	προσεχετε] +δε το πνευμα το αγιον]	W	x				
	ο θεος	W	x				
	θεου] κυριου			AC	of. Ant	D	
29	οτι εγω] εγω γαρ				Ant		
31	εκαστον] +υμων					D	
32	κυριω] θεω	B		NAC	Ant	D	
		Brit <sup>117</sup>					
	οικοδομησαι] +υμας		x			D	
	δουναι] +υμιν		x	C	Ant		
	εν τοις ηγιασμενοις]						
	των ηγιασμενων	BW	x				
34	αυται] μου	W				D	
35	των λογων] του λογου						LP
36	ειπων] +ο παυλος	W					
		Vprob	x				
	οτι πασι	W	x				481 (?)
	προσευξατο] προσευ- ξαντο	BW	x				
38	'ye will not again see my face' <sup>c</sup>		x			of. D	gig
XXI							
1	παταρα] +μετα ταυτα					of. D	gig
	εις μυρρα						
4	ανευροντες δε] και ανευροντες				Ant		
	αυτου] 'αρτι εος'			A		d	L
11	τας χειρας και τους ποδας		x	A			
	εις] +τας		x	N			

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 319 (d).<sup>b</sup> The same word is used to render τη εκπορευση and τη ερχομενη.<sup>c</sup> The conversion here of oratio obliqua into recta is quite in accordance with Coptic idiom.



	Sahidic	Sah MSs	Tr	NACSI	Ant <sup>4</sup> ,uch	D
13	παυλος] + 'saying' eis] + en		x	cf. NA		
16	+τινες before των μαθητων	Γ <sup>1</sup> W	x			minn 623
18	παντες (τε παρεγε- νοντο) πρεσβυτεροι] 'some elders'	BW	x			
19	om εν before τοις εθνεσιν	B				D
20	εν τοις ιουδαιοις] εν τη ιουδαια					D D
23	+ουτοι before παντες αφ εαυτων (as in B <sup>h</sup> Bohairic) <sup>a</sup>					
25	εθνων] + ουδεν εχουσι λεγειν προς σε ημεις] + γαρ απεστειλαμεν] επε- στειλαμεν αιμα και πικτον 'blood and ('of,' B) dead things'		x	NAC	Ant	D D
27	ως δε εμελλον αι επτα ημεραι συντελεισθαι] 'but when the seven days were completed'					D
28	του νομου και του τοπου τουτου] 'the law of this temple' <sup>b</sup> του νομου και του τοπου τουτου] 'the law and the 'this' temple'	W Bty	x x			

<sup>a</sup> The Coptic preposition used here, though capable of a great variety of meanings, cannot mean to take a vow 'on one,' i.e. be responsible for it, which would appear to be the meaning of *εφ εαυτων* (AC, Antiochian, D). The primary meaning which the Coptic preposition suggests is to make a vow 'for,' or 'on behalf of,' oneself; and perhaps it might be stretched so as to mean 'of oneself,' 'of one's own accord.' It is so used in John xii. 49 (*εξ εμαυτου*), and hence probably stands here in Acts for *αφ εαυτων*. Some confirmation of this may be found in the Bohairic version, where another preposition is used which makes no sense in Coptic, but is a literal translation of *απο*.

<sup>b</sup> The word 'temple' also stood in V, which is defective. What Greek word is rendered by the native word 'temple' is difficult to say. It might even be *τοπος*; for though that would normally be rendered by the native word for 'place,' yet in later Coptic, at any rate, the Greek word was adopted into the language with the technical sense of 'shrine,' usually the burial-place of a saint, and that association (supposing it to have existed so early as this Coptic version, as to which it would be rash to hazard an opinion) may have suggested the rendering 'temple' for *τοπος*. But of course the same native word is used to render *ιερον* in the present passage; while at the close of the verse *τοπον* is rendered by the Coptic word for 'place.'

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NAOSI	Annooth	D	
30	οτι και ευθως εκλει-						
31	σθησαν αι θυραι	B		of. N			
32	τε] δε	W	x		Ant		
39	χιλιαρχον] + και τους						of. 257
40	εκατονταρχας						
40	ταρσευς] + δε		?			of. D	
xxii	αυτου] του χιλιαρχου					D	
1	οτι μου	B	x				2147
5	εμαρτυρει] μαρτυρει			NA	Ant	of. D	
	οτι και δεψοτε επι-						
	στολας		x			D	
	οτι προς τους αδελφους		x				
7	σαουλ] σαυλε					D	
	σαυλε <sup>a</sup>						
8	απεκριθην] + λεγων	B	x	of. N			
9	εθεασαντο] + και εμ-						
	φοβοι εγενοντο					D	LP
10	οτι κυριος					D	
11	ως δε] + ανεστην					d	cf 1611
	ουδεν εβλεπον] ουκ						
	ερεβλεπον			NA	Ant	d	
	του φωτος της δοξης	B	x				gig
		Brit <sup>119</sup>					
12	κατοικουντων] + εν				Ant		
	δαμασκω						
13	σαουλ] σαυλε					d	614
	οτι εις αυτον					d	5
14	ειπερ] + μοι		x				minn
18	οτι εν ταχει		x				
22	αυτου] + 'the multi-						
	tude('multitudes'						
	W Brit <sup>118</sup> )'		x				
29	ουν] δε <sup>b</sup>		x				minn
	οτι δε		x	N			
	δεδεκως] + και παρα-						
	χρημα ελυσεν αυτον						614 1611
30	οτι ελυσεν αυτον και						See
							Textual
							Note
	eis αυτους] 'in their						
	midst'		x				
xxiii							
6	και αναστασεως] της	B	x				
	αναστασεως	Wess <sup>10</sup>					
7	επεσε] εγενετο			NAO	Ant		
8	τα αμφοτερα] 'that						
	there is resurrec-						
	tion and there is						
	angel and there is						
	spirit'						h
9	αγγελος] + μη θεομαχω-						
	μεν (θεομαχειτε B)				Ant		
10	αγειν] + τε			NAO	Ant		

<sup>a</sup> So also Bty in xxvi 14.<sup>b</sup> Beginning at this point D is lacking for the rest of the book.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr.	NA C 81	Ant. col.	D
11	ειπεν] + αυτω	W Brit <sup>119</sup> Wess <sup>10</sup>				minn
12	οι ιουδαιοι] τινες των ιουδαιων				Ant	
	οτι ποιησαντες συ-	W	×			
14	στροφην τοις πρεσβυτεροις και τοις αρχιερευσιν	BV <sup>vid</sup> Brit <sup>118</sup> Wess <sup>16</sup>	×			
15	υμεις εμφανισατε τω χειλιαρχω] 'we beg you to do this for us: collect the council and tell the chiliarch'					h
	eis υμας] 'into our midst'	W				minn hcl. mg
	ως μελλοντας] 'as if ye would'			81 (?)		h
16	οτι παραγενομενος και		×			
17	'he hath something to say unto him			NC	Ant	h
18	αυτον] τον νεανιαν νεανιαν] νεανισκον <sup>a</sup>		×	NA 81 B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant	
	λαλησαι] + σοι					minn h
20	μελλων] μελλοντες					minn
23	οτι τινας εβδομηκοντα] εκατον <sup>b</sup>		×			minn h
28	τε] δε τε] ουν αυτω] + καταγαγον αυ-	BR <sup>3</sup> W Mun	×	81	Ant	
	τον εις το συνεδριον αυτων			B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant Ant	
29	οτι δε	B	×			
30	εσεσθαι] + υπο των ιουδαιων επεμψα] + αυτον		×		Ant	1758

<sup>a</sup> Coptic has two words for 'boy' or 'youth,' both native. One of these was used in vs. 17, and in the Coptic variant from the Greek at the beginning of vs. 18. For the Greek νεανιαν here (later, in vs. 18) the other Coptic word is used, as if to denote the change from νεανιας to νεανισκος (NA 81), although this motive is by no means certain, as both the words are very common in Coptic. The second word often (but not necessarily) implies a more advanced age; the first may be used even of a small child, the second never of anything less than a youth. The Bohairic uses in both places the same word (the 'second' one mentioned above). In vs. 22, for νεανισκον, the Sahidic translator uses the 'second' word again, thus confirming the inference that in vs. 18b he read νεανισκον.

<sup>b</sup> In Sahidic  $\xi\epsilon=100$ ,  $\xi\phi\epsilon=70$ , with a difference of only one letter. In B there is a small space left between  $\xi$  and  $\epsilon$ , but probably no letter lost, although there is a bare possibility of  $\xi\phi\epsilon$  having been corrupted into  $\xi\epsilon$ . In W there is presumably no doubt of the reading 100; V is defective.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Ti.	NA C81	Antioch	D
30	τοῖς κατηγοροῖς] + αὐτοῦ λεγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν] 'to try their cause against him' (=τα πρὸς αὐτὸν)		x	81	Ant	1838
31	διὰ νυκτὸς ἡγαγον		?			
33	οἱ καὶ 2 <sup>ο</sup>					minn
34	δε] + ο ἡγεμῶν				Ant	
35	οἱ καὶ κελευσας] ἐκέλευσε δε (οἱ τε)	B	x		Ant	minn
xxiv			x		Ant	460
2	δε] + αὐτοῦ			NA 81	Ant	
3	ἀποδεχομεθα] 'we are honoured with much favour'		x			
4	ἐνκοπτῶ] ἐνκοπτῶμεν		x			
5	στασεις] στασιν <sup>a</sup>	B			Ant	
8	δυνῆσθαι] + δε καὶ ἀνακρινῶ] ἀνακρινεῖν	W				cf. minn cf. 181 cf. g <sup>1</sup> g cf. g <sup>1</sup> g
10	οἱ ἐπιγινῶναι	W				
13	ἐτῶν] ἡμερῶν	R <sup>3</sup>				
14	οἱ σοὶ τῷ πατρὶω θεῷ] 'the god of my fathers'				Ant	
	πιατευν] + πασι + τον before παμον			NA 81 NA 81 A	Ant Ant Ant	cf. 614
15	οἱ τοῖς 2 <sup>ο</sup>	BW	x			
18	οἱ καὶ 1 <sup>ο</sup> <sup>b</sup>	WR <sup>3</sup>			Ant	
19	οἱ δε οὗς] 'but these'		x		Ant	
22	εἰδεῖ] δεῖ + ακουσαι ταυτα αἱ opening of verses τα περὶ τῆς οδοῦ] τὴν οδὸν		x		Ant	
	διαγινωσσομαι τα καθ υμας] 'I will listen to you'					
23	αὐτὸν] (τον) παυλον αὐτῷ] + η προσερχε- σθαι αὐτῷ				Ant	vg
24	τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικί] τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ <sup>c</sup>			NA of C	cf. Ant	

<sup>a</sup> The Sahidic here uses the Greek word; but, as always, in the nominative treated as indeclinable. B prefixes the indefinite article, which shows that his original was *στασιν*. W and R<sup>3</sup> have no article at all, so that for them it is impossible to say whether the original was singular or plural. The Bohairic has the plural.

<sup>b</sup> B has a lacuna from xxiv. 16 to xxvi. 32; W is lacking from xxiv. 20 to the end.

<sup>c</sup> With *χριστον*, vs. 24, both V and R<sup>3</sup> fail us; but R<sup>3</sup> resumes at vs. 25 *ἐγκρατειας*.

	Sahidic	Sah. mss.	Tr.	NAC 61	Ant. coll.	D
26	χρηματα δοθησεται υπο του παυλου] 'that Paul will give him money' δοθησεται] + αυτω παυλου] + οπως λυση αυτον		x	NAC 61	Ant	
27	'but when the two years of Felix were completed, there came in his place Porcius Festus'		x		Ant	
XXV <sup>a</sup>						
1	επαρχεια] επαρχια (Greek word used)	R <sup>3</sup>		BC (81)	Ant	
2	οι αρχιερεις	R <sup>3</sup>		BNAC 81		
6	'but when he had spent [eight] or [ten days] there (or with them?)' <sup>b</sup>					
9	δε δε] ουν επ εμου	R <sup>4</sup> V R <sup>3</sup> R <sup>1</sup>		BNC 81 A BNAC 81 NAC 81	Ant Ant Ant	pesh
10	εστωσ once only + τους before ιουδαιους		x			
13	ασπασαμενοι] ασπα- σομενοι		?	81		
15	ανεφανισαν] + μοι αιτουμενοι κατ αυτου καταδικην] 'demand- ing him to put him to death'		x			E
16	χαριζεσθαι τινα αν- θρωπον] 'to give (up) a man to slay him'		x		Ant	
18	ουδεμαν . . . ποιηρων] 'they set up no evil thing against him such as I thought (or think) it so'					
22	δε] + εφη		x	AC C 81	Ant	
25	αυτου δε του παυλου] τουτου δε			of BNAC 81	Ant	

<sup>a</sup> For chapter xxv we use only two fragmentary mss., namely R<sup>3</sup> and V. In vs. 1-12 all Sahidic readings which relate to any disputed point are cited, including those which agree with the Greek of Codex Vaticanus, and from the silence of the tables for these verses nothing can be inferred as to the Sahidic. From vs. 13 to the end of the chapter, R<sup>3</sup> is nearly complete, and, in accordance with the general plan of the tables, may be taken, wherever its reading is not here noted, as not disagreeing with the Greek of Codex Vaticanus (except, as usual, in points probably referable purely to the translator).

<sup>b</sup> The words supplied fill the lacunae exactly, and can hardly be doubted.

	Sahidic	Sah. mss	Tr.	NAO 81	Antioch	D
<b>xxvi<sup>a</sup></b>						
3	δεσμαι] + σου		x	C	Ant	
4	+ οι δεσφοτε ιουδαιοι		x	NA	Ant	
5	μαρτυρειν] + τη αλη- θεια		x			
	ημετερας] εμης		x			
7	το δωδεαφυλον ημων] 'the twelve tribes of our γένος'	R <sup>3</sup>	x			
10	διο] 'but this'			cf. NAO 81	cf. Ant	
11	+ 'against his name'	Bty				vg. <i>codd</i>
17	αποστελλω] αποστελω	P		cf. 81	Ant	096
18	επιστρεψαι] + αυτους + απο δεσφοτε της εξουσιας	P	x	O		VL
	αφεσιν αμαρτιων] την αφεσιν των αμαρ- τιων αυτων	P	x			
19	οθεν] + ουν	P	x			
<b>xxvii<sup>b</sup></b>						
6	om eis αυτο	B	?			h
13	αραντες ασσον] 'hav- ing put forth (lit. arisen) from Alasos'					vg. esp. <i>cod. D</i>
14	καταυτης] 'againstus'		x			
16	καυδα] κλαυδα (-τα)			NA 81	Ant	
19	om αυτοχειρες την σκεην] + πασαν πλοιου] + eis την θα- λασσαν	Wess <sup>17</sup>	x			
20	add λοιπον δεσφοτε περιηρειτο	Wess <sup>17</sup>		NAO 81	Ant	minn
21	την [ημω]ν ταυτην και την υβριν	B	x			
23	του θεου ου ειμι] του θεου μου		x			of <i>gig</i> 2147
27	om και προσαχεν τινα αυτοις χωραν] 'quod αρ- γοστινιμανεστιμιας alicui regioni'					
29	μη που] μηπως μη που] μηποτε <sup>c</sup>	Wess <sup>18</sup> H <sup>3</sup>		of NAO of. A	cf. Ant Ant	

<sup>a</sup> In chapter xxvi we have vs 1-10 in R<sup>3</sup>, and unfruitful fragments in V as far as vs. 8, and in Horner's Ood. 20 to vs. 7. For the remainder P has vs. 16 ειδες με to vs. 19 οκτασια; B reappears in the last four words of vs. 32; otherwise the only Sahidic authority for xxvi. 11-32 is Bty (uncollated).

<sup>b</sup> For chapters xxvii and xxviii a nearly continuous text has been preserved, and the method ordinarily employed in constructing these tables is followed. But the very free renderings of the Sahidic, where no Greek variant is implied, are adduced somewhat more sparingly than hitherto.

<sup>c</sup> Both μηπως and μηποτε are common in Coptic, and often interchanged, so that the Coptic evidence for differences in the original is not strong.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NA C 81	Antioch	D
29	εκπεσωμεν] εκπεσωσι		?	81		minn
33	+ιδου δεφυγε τεσσα- ρεσλαιδεκατην		x			
34	om διο om και απο] εκ (προβαδλυ)	H <sup>3</sup>	x	NA C 81 N	Ant Ant Ant	
35	απολειται] πεσειται εσθιεν] + επιιδους και ημων	H <sup>3</sup> P				minn
36	ευθυμοι δε γενομενοι] 'ganisi sumus'	H <sup>3</sup>	>			
37	ως εβδομηκοντα εξ <sup>a</sup>					
39	ουκ εγεινωσκον] 'the sailors did not know' εγεινωσκον] επεγνω- σκομεν	P				gig
40	om eis την θαλασσαν	B	x			
41	om ερεισασα βιας] + του ανεμου	B	x			gig
	+τη πνευση εις τον αγκυραλον at close of verse	BP	x	cf. C 81	cf. Ant	cf. vg
43	'he commanded those who could swim to leap the first ashore'	B	<			
XXVIII <sup>b</sup>						cf. gig
1	μελιτηνη] μελιτη			B <sup>2</sup> NA C 81	Ant	
2	om παντας δια το ψυχος το εφ- εστος και τον νετον		x	A		
	om δια 2 <sup>o</sup>		x	N		
3	απο] εκ (προβαδλυ)		x			minn
4	om προς αλληλους <sup>a</sup>		x			pesh
7, 8	ποπλιω] πουπλιος <sup>a</sup>			81		
8	τας χειρας] την χειρα	B	x			gig
9	+και before οι λοιποι			NA 81	Ant	
11	διασκοιροις] διασκορος <sup>a</sup>					cf. minn
15	ηλθαν . . . ταβερνων] 'came out from Thr[ee . . .] to Ap- prios Phor[os] to meet us'					cf. vg

<sup>a</sup> H<sup>3</sup> Bty P Brit<sup>120</sup> have the reading of Cod. Vaticanus; B has '[ . . . se]venty-five', which leaves indeterminate the number, as well as the presence or absence of *ws*.

<sup>b</sup> In chapter xxviii we have B with lacunae (vss. 21, 22, 23, 29, and part of vs. 30 are missing); together with P for vss. 2-3, 8-13, 20-23; and Brit<sup>121</sup> for vss. 15-17, 23-25.

<sup>c</sup> After μεταβαλομενοι, vs. 6, there is a gap in B till ονοματι, vs. 7.

<sup>d</sup> The spelling που- (so Bty, vss. 7 and 8) is definitely attested for vs. 8 in B, and no doubt was also found in the same name (now mutilated) in vs. 7.

<sup>e</sup> After παρεκληθημεν, vs. 14, there is a gap in B till εις απαντησιν, vs. 15.

	Sahidic	Sah mss	Tr	NAOSI	Antioch	D
16	ρωμην] +ο εκατονταρχος παρεδωκε τους δεσμιους τω αρχοντι των στρατιωτων (οτ τω στρατοπεδαρχη) επετραπη] +δε				Ant Ant	
17	τους οντας των ιουδαιων πρωτους] 'the αρχοντες of the Jews'	Brit <sup>121</sup> B	'			
	om συνελθοντων δε αυτων	B	x			
20	προσλαλησαι] 'to speak with you'		x			cf. perp
23	om μυνσεως και	B	x			
27	ωσιν] +αυτων <sup>a</sup>	B	x	NA		
31	om τα om πασης	B	x			1319 Ψ minn

<sup>a</sup> We have no Sahidic text from ηκουσαν, vs 27, to απεδεχετο, vs. 30, except Bty, which came to light too late to be fully included in these Tables.



## APPENDIX V

### THE BOHAIRIC VERSION

THESE paragraphs and Tables are due to Sir. H. Thompson.

Eleven MSS. of the Bohairic version of Acts were collated by Horner for his edition (1905); he has given them the following symbols :

- A. Brit. Mus. or. 424. A.D. 1307. Said to be copied from a text written A.D. 1250.
- B. Milan, Ambrosiana. 14th century. An oriental polyglot.
- Γ. Dayr el Muharrak, Egypt, 12th century.
- F. Paris, Bibl. Nat. copt. 21. A.D. 1338.
- G. Rome, Vat. copt. 14. A.D. 1357.
- K. Rome, Vat. copt. 12. 14th century.
- N. Oxford, Bodleian, hunt. 43. A.D. 1683.
- O. Rome, Vat. borg. copt. 51. A.D. 1740.
- P. Brit. Mus or. 8786 (formerly Curzon). A.D. 1797.
- S. Paris, Bibl. Nat. copt. 66. A.D. 1609.
- T. Paris, Bibl. Nat. copt. 65. A.D. 1660.

These MSS. fall by date into two groups :

- (1) A B T F G K            12th to 14th century.
- (2) N O P S T            17th to 18th century.

None, therefore, is very early.

As regards their text they fall even more distinctly into two main groups :

- (1) A B P + F S.
- (2) F N O T.

G K lie between these two groups.

The group F N O T present virtually a single text, F being the oldest extant MS. of any type. The text of this group seems to be somewhat influenced by the Sahidic.

A B P are closely associated; but B is a very close follower of the Greek Codex Vaticanus, while A is an eccentric MS. with many peculiar, and often corrupt, readings. A was unfortunately adopted by Horner for his text and translation (*The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, vol. IV, 1905), which therefore do not correspond to the average Bohairic version.

Practically A, B, and Γ are the only MSS. of any importance. In the following tables the minor MSS. are often indicated by a figure; thus 'A + 4' means A and four later MSS., not including B or Γ. Where only some of the MSS. are referred to, it may be taken for granted that other MSS. offer the competing reading. The MSS. referred to in the column giving the readings are Bohairic MSS. in every case. Greek words used in the Bohairic text are usually represented in Greek letters.

For chapters i-iii the Bohairic variants from the Greek of Codex Vaticanus are given fully, although most of them are due only to the necessity of Bohairic idiom or the freedom of the translator. Beginning with chapter iv, as a rule only those Bohairic readings are mentioned which show with more or less probability that a variant from Codex Vaticanus was present in the Greek text used by one or more of the Bohairic MSS.; minor variants, for which no Greek evidence is found in the apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden, and which are not attested by the Latin or Syriac version, are usually omitted. No comparison with the Sahidic is here attempted; that would involve much greater complication than the purpose of the tables permits, although such a study, with adequate knowledge of the Egyptian vernacular, would be interesting and fruitful. Where no Greek evidence is at hand for a Bohairic variant, Syriac or Latin evidence is sometimes adduced; these statements, however, have not been made complete; they merely call attention to the fact that such evidence exists, and give one or two specimens of it.

The lacunae of the Greek MSS. C 81 D must not be overlooked. As in the Tables for the other versions, only departures from Codex Vaticanus are noted; 'silence' does not indicate that the Bohairic positively attests the reading of Codex Vaticanus as against a variant of other Greek MSS.

The close agreement of the Bohairic with the Old Uncial text will be observed. A large proportion of the variants included in the Bohairic Tables (in so far as they represent Greek variants at all) are cases where Codex Vaticanus stands alone among Greek MSS., or has but very slight support, perhaps due to independent coincidence with it in error on the part of one or more minuscules.

Tischendorf's statements about the Bohairic version require some revision in the light of present knowledge of the Bohairic MSS.

The following are some of the points which need to be borne in mind in seeking the Greek text implied by the Bohairic translation. It must, however, be remembered that a translator will sometimes force his native tongue to abnormal constructions which he would not use in original composition.

(a) Owing to frequent confusion of Δ and T in the transliteration of Greek words in Coptic, δε may represent τε as well as δέ, and not necessarily imply a variant reading; cf. Acts i. 15, ii. 40, xiii. 52.

(b) Asyndeton, such as the Greek does not permit, is normal in Coptic.

(c) Coptic has no vocative, so that, for instance, for σὺ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων (Acts iv. 25) the idiomatic Coptic rendering is 'he who spoke.'

(d) Coptic does not distinguish between χριστός and ὁ χριστός (the article being always used); nor between κύριος and ὁ κύριος (always 'the Lord,' when used of God or Christ). Before the proper name of a person (e.g. ὁ Ἰησοῦς) Coptic does not admit of the definite article. Before the name of a city the article was sometimes used, sometimes omitted; it was never used before such a name beginning with Θ (cf. θεσσαλονικην, Acts xvii. 1), which was regarded as already containing the feminine article (T in Coptic).

(e) In such a case as τοὺς ἀδελφούς (Acts vii. 25) Bohairic idiom requires the rendering 'his brethren.'

(f) The Coptic so-called 'future in NA' is habitually used to render the Greek aorist subjunctive, and therefore may represent either -σομεν or -σωμεν; cf. Acts ii. 37, iv. 16.

(g) Two indicatives (without a connecting 'and') form the idiomatic Coptic rendering of a Greek aorist participle and indicative (similarly with aorist participle and infinitive).

(h) The Bohairic can give a quotation only in *oratio recta*, having no construction of accusative with infinitive after a verb of saying.

(i) τὸ εἰρημένον and τὸ ῥηθέν are often rendered in the Bohairic version by a relative sentence with the verb in the 3rd sing. active, 'the Lord' being understood as subject; cf. Acts ii. 16.

(j) Coptic does not put the adverb before the verb.

(k) Coptic is often incapable of reproducing the artificial order of Greek, e.g. Acts xxvii. 23, xxviii. 7.

(l) In such an expression as Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς, Acts ii. 38, the addition of the verb 'said' is required by Coptic idiom.

(m) In such a case as Acts ix. 37, λούσαντες δὲ ἔθηκαν, 'but having washed her, they placed her' (Boh), the Coptic cannot omit the object after the transitive verb.

(n) In such a case as καὶ εἰς Λύστραν, Acts xvi. 1, the preposition could be repeated in Coptic, though it is more idiomatic not to do so.

(o) The following are some instances in which Coptic does not indicate a distinction proper to Greek :

between 'in' (local) and 'by' (instrumental);

- „ ἀπό and ἐκ;
- „ 'only,' adverb and adjective (e.g. Acts xi. 19);
- „ λεγόμενος and καλούμενος (e.g. Acts iii. 2);
- „ ἔλληνες and ἑλληνισταί (Acts ix. 29, xi. 20);
- „ πρὸς αὐτοὺς and σὺν αὐτοῖς (Acts xv. 2).

(p) 'From the beginning' is the usual phrase employed to render προ- ('fore-') in compounds, as προτεταγμένους, Acts xvii. 26 (Codex Bezae).

(q) The Copts frequently rendered an unfamiliar Greek word by a familiar one, also Greek; thus Acts xviii. 14, for κατὰ λόγον Bohairic reads καλῶς, not the uncommon εὐλόγως (so Sahidic); Acts xix. 39, Bohairic has νόμιμος for the unfamiliar ἔννομος.

	Bohairic	Transl	NAO81	Antioch	D	
1						
2	ανελημφθῇ + 'to heaven' <sup>a</sup>	x				
3	om τα	x				
5	ου . . . ημερας 'after not many days these (things) happened'	x				
6	'wilt thou restore'				d	
7	ειπεν (cod. A+2)] ειπεν δε (codd. BΓ etc.) ειπεν ουν (cod. K)		NA 81 B <sup>corr</sup> AO 81	Ant		Aug
8	om εν 2 <sup>o</sup>				D	
10	και ως] ως δε (except codd. FS, which lack both words)	x				
	om και 2 <sup>o</sup> (cod. A)	x				
11	om εις τον ουρανον 2 <sup>o</sup> (codd. A+2)				D	
13	και οτε (codd. Γ etc.)] τοτε (cod. A); 'and τοτε' (codd. BG)	x				
	και ιακωβος (codd. BG+4)] om και (codd. A+4)				D	
14	ουτοι] + δε (codd. A+1)	x				
15	'but (δε) there was a multitude gathered together making about 120 names'	x				
17	'the reckoning came to him of the κληρος of this διακονια'	x				
19	'and he was manifest' <sup>b</sup>	x				

<sup>a</sup> The usual Coptic rendering of the Greek word is 'taken upward'; here the adverb is replaced by 'to heaven.' Probably, however, this merely represents *ana-*, and not a reading *eis τὸν οὐρανόν* in the original.

<sup>b</sup> Elsewhere in Acts, where this phrase occurs, the Coptic (which has no neuter) inserts 'the thing' as subject. Here this is not done, and the strict translation is 'and he was manifest.'

	Bohairic	Transl	NAC 81	Antioch	D
20	om kai 2° (except cod. F)	x			
25	πορευθησαι] 'having gone' (cod. A)				minn
II					
2	om kai 1° (cod. A)				minn
3	'and they appeared to them as tongues of fire divided' <sup>a</sup>	x			
	'they sat'		Σ		D
4	πνευματος αγιου (codd. AB etc.)] 'the Holy Spirit' (codd. Γ+3)	x			
	'according as the Spirit gave to them to make answer'	x			
5	'but there were some dwelling in Jerusalem, Jewish men, having fear'	x	cf. C		
6	το πληθος (codd. FS)] 'the multitudes'	x			
7	εξισταντο δε] + 'all' και εθαυμαζον] 'wondering'	x	NAC 81		
8	om kai (codd. A+2)	x			
	ημεις] + 'all' (codd. BΓ+3)	x			
11	om tais ημετεrais (except codd. FSK)	x			
12	τι θελει τουτο ειναι] 'what is this that hath happened'				cf. D
13	'these have filled their bellies with new wine' μεμεστωμενοι εισιν] + 'but (δε) others were saying, These are drunk' (cod. A)	x			
14	αυτοις] + 'saying' (codd. FS)		O		cf. pesh cf. lat
16	το ειρημερον] 'that which he said'	x			D
17	om kai 1° μετα ταυτα] 'in the last days'	?			
19	om kai 1°	x	ΣA(C) 81	Ant	D
22	τους λογους τουτους (codd. Γ etc.)] 'these my words' (codd. AK); 'my words' (cod. B)	x			
23	'(ye) having delivered him into the hands of the lawless (men), ye crucified him and ye slew him'	x			
24	τον θανατου] 'of Amenti' (Hades)				D

<sup>a</sup> The position of 'divided' at the end is necessary idiomatically.

	Bohairic	Transl.	NA81	Antioch	D
25	om sti	×			
28	odous] 'the ways'	×			
29	του πατριαρχου] 'our patriarch	×			
33	om ouv (codd. AB+3; not codd. Γ+5)	×			
34	τους ουρανους] 'the heaven' (cod. A)	×			
	om δε	×			
36	'made him Lord, and made him Christ'	×			
37	om λοιπους (codd. FS) ποιησωμεν] 'shall do'	×			D
38	πετρος δε] + 'said' εν τω ονοματι] 'to the name' (= επι τω ονο- ματι) <sup>a</sup>	×			
39	τεκνοis] 'fathers' (cod. A)	×	NA 81	Ant	
40	τε] δε	×			
41	om ωσει (except codd. BG)	×			
42	'and the fellowship of the breaking of the bread'	?			d vg
	προσευχαις (codd. Γ+5)] προσευχη (codd. AB+8)	×			
43	φοβος] 'a great fear' (cod. F)				1518
	εγενετο 2 <sup>o</sup> ] + 'in Jerusa- lem, but (δε) a (+ 'great', cod. F) fear was on them all'		NA C		
44 f.	'but all those who be- lieved were together and they had every- thing in common'		NA C 81	Ant	D
46	αφελσγητι καρδιας] 'a pure heart'	×			
III					
2	και] δε 'he used to be lifted up daily and placed at the door'	×			
	αιτειν] 'receive'	×			
3	ηρωτα] 'was praying them'	×			
	ελεημοσυνην λαβειν 'wish- ing to receive an alms from them'	×			
5	'but he looked at them, thinking that he would receive an alms from them' (except cod. A,				

<sup>a</sup> The Bohairic rendering suggests an original *eis to onoma*; but if this is unlikely, the rendering probably represents *επι*, since Coptic cannot say 'on (*επι*) the name,' and *εν* is made unlikely by the fact that elsewhere for *εν* in similar phrases another preposition ('in') is used.

	Bohairic	Transl	NAC 81	Anticodon	D	
	<i>which renders</i> 'but he was thinking that,' etc.)					
6	περρος] + 'to him'	×				
7	περιπατει] 'rise, walk'		AC 81	Ant		1522
10	om δεξιας (codd. A)	×				
12	om αυτω (codd. AFS)	×				
12	η 2 <sup>o</sup> (codd. AB+4)]	×				
	'and' (codd. Γ+4)	×				
13	'the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'		NAC AC		D	
16	τη πιστει] 'in the faith'			Ant	D	
	εσπερωσαν] 'hath made strong' (codd. Γ+6)]					
	'hath healed' (codd. AB+2)	×				
18	των προφητων] 'his prophets'	×		Ant		
20	ελθωσιν] 'come to you'	?				{ hcl-*
	αποστείλη υμιν τον προ- κεχειρισμενον	×				{ Iren
	χριστον ιησουν] 'Jesus Christ'		AC 81			
21	ουρανον] 'the heavens'	×				
	χρονων] 'the time'	×				
	'by the mouth of his holy (om 'holy,' codd. A) prophets from eternity'	×				
22	αυτου ακουσεσθε] 'listen (αμπερατνε) to him'					minn
23	του λαου] 'her people'					614 minn
24	και παντες δε] 'and all'	×				
	om οσοι υμεις] + δε (codd. A+2)	×			cf. D	perp
25	υμων] 'our' (except codd. Γ+3)	×	NC	Ant	D	1872
26	'sent him to bless you so that'	×				
	εκαστων] 'each one of you'					minn
IV						
1	λαλουντων δε αυτων] + 'these things' (codd. Γ+4)					
	αρχιερευς] 'priests'		NA 81	Ant	D	
	ο στρατηγος] 'the strategi'				D	pesh
12	εν ανθρωποις] 'to men'				D	
	σωθηναι υμας] 'that they should be saved'					pesh
21	μηθεν . . . λαον] 'not having found any pretext against them with regard to the mode of punishing them on account of the people'				D	
28	η βουλη] 'thy counsel'		N	Ant	D	
32	ελεγον] ελεγε		NA	Ant	D	

	Bohairic	Transl.	NAC81	Antioch	D	
33	του κυριου ιησου] 'Jesus Christ' (codd. FS); 'Jesus Christ the Lord' (codd. GKP), 'Christ Jesus the Lord' (codd. BFO); 'Jesus Christ our Lord' (cod. A), 'Christ Jesus our Lord' (codd. NT)	'	NA			minn
36	'Barsabas' (except cod. B)	'				
V						
3	ειπεν δε] + 'to him' (except cod. B)	'			cf D	
8	απεκριθη] 'said'		A		D	
9	τη θυρα 'the doors'					
21	παραγενομενοι] παραγενομενος		B <sup>2</sup> NA	Ant	D	
26	ηγεν] 'they brought them'				D	
32	ομεν αυτω (except cod. A)		NA		D	
36	λεγων ειναι τινα εαυτον] 'saying, I am he'					h
42	τον χριστον ιησουν] 'Jesus Christ' (except cod. B) (order)			Ant		
VI						
3	επισκεψωμεθα] επισκεψασθε		NAC	Ant	D	
	δε] ουρ		O	Ant		
13	om τουτου (two late codd.)		NA	Ant	D	
VII						
6	το σπερμα αυτου] 'thy seed'		N			
8	ισαακ τον ιακωβ και ιακωβ] 'Isaac begat Jacob and Jacob begat'	'				pesh
10	+ 'over' δεσους ολον τον οικον τουτον] 'his house'		NAC			
			B <sup>1</sup> NAC	Ant	D	
12	ορτα σειτια] 'that wheat is sold'					
15	'but Jacob came down to Egypt'		NAC	Ant	D	
26	ωφθη αυτοις] 'he appeared to others'					
30	αγγελος] 'an angel of the Lord' (cod. B)			Ant	D	
31	ιδων εθανμασεν το οραμα] 'having seen the vision wondered' (order)					minn
32	'and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'			Ant	D	
33	το υποδημα σου των ποδων] 'the shoe from thy feet' (order)		NAC81	Ant	D	
35	αρχοντα και δικαστην] 'over us'		NC81		D	



	Bohairic	Transl	NAC81	Ant.och	D	
36	τη αιγυπτω] 'the land of Egypt'		NA 81	Ant	D	
37	ως εμε] + 'listen to him'		C		D	
38	εξελεξατο] 'received'		NAC81	Ant	D	
42	'sacrifices on (the) desert forty years'		B <sup>N</sup> NAC81	Ant	D	
43	του θεου] 'your god'		NAC81	Ant		
	ρομφα] ρεφαν (codd. B+5); ρηφαν (codd. AΓ+3)		AC			
46	τω οικω] 'the God'		AC81			
49	και η γη] 'but (δε) the earth' (codd. AB+4)		NAC81	Ant	D	
	οικοδομησατε] 'ye will build'		NAC81	Ant	D	
51	καρδιας] 'in their heart'		81	Ant		
55	πνευματος αγιου] 'of faith and the Holy Spirit'		N			
VIII						
5	την πολιν] 'a city'		C81	Ant	D	
14	η σαμαρια] + 'also'					minn
25	του κυριου] 'God'		A			
28	om και δεψτε καθημενος	?			D	
34	λεγει] + 'this'		B <sup>N</sup> NAC81	Ant		
IX						
5	ιησους] + 'the ναζωρεος' (codd. B+2)		AC			minn
12	om εν οραματι (except cod. A)		NA 81			
17	ιησους placed after κυριος (order)	?				perp
24	σαυλω] 'Paul' (cod. B+3)	?				H
25	om αυτου			Ant		
28	του κυριου] + 'Jesus' (cod. A)			Ant		
X						
3	om ωσει					minn
6	θαλασσαν] + 'this one who if he shall come will speak to thee words in which thou wilt be saved, thou (om 'thou,' one cod.) with all thy house' (codd. GK)					minn
7	δυο των οικεων] 'two servants of his'			Ant		
11	om καταβαινον				d	
	om επι της γης	?				
18	επυθοντο] 'they were asking' (impf.)		NA	Ant	D	
19	το πνευμα] + 'to him'		NAC81	Ant	D	
	δυο] 'three'		NAC81			
21	αιτια δι ην] 'the thing concerning which'		NAC81	Ant	D	
24	τους συγγενεις αυτους] 'his kinsfolk'		NAC81	Ant	D	

	Bohairic	Transl	NAO81	Antioch	D	
26	ανθρωπος εμυ] + 'like thee' (codd. KS)				D	
37	οιδατε] 'ye ( <i>προσποιουν</i> ) know'		NAO81 B <sup>3</sup> NAO81	Ant Ant	D D	
XI						
8	εισηλθεν, συνεφαγεν] 'thou wentest,' 'didst eat'		NA	Ant	D	
4	οτι καθεξης					L
11	ημεν] 'I was'			Ant		
24	προσεταιθη οχλος ικανος] 'a great multitude followed the Lord'		B <sup>3</sup> NA81 B <sup>3</sup> NAO81 A (cf. BD)	Ant Ant Ant	D D	
25	αναστησαι] 'seeking for'					
26	χριστιαν- (codd. B+4)		NA81	Ant	D	
27	χρηστιαν- (codd. AΓ+5)		NA81	Ant	D	
28	αυταις] 'those'		NA81	Ant	D	
	εσημανεν] 'signified'					
	( <i>πρεπει ντε</i> )		NA81	Ant		
XII						
5	εκκλησιας] + 'to God'		NA81	Ant	D	
18	προσηλθε] 'came forth'		B <sup>3</sup> N			
24	του κυριου] 'God' (codd. AΓ+5)		NA81	Ant	D	
25	εις ιερουσαλημ] 'from Jerusalem'		A		D	
XIII						
6	βαριησους] βαριησου		N			vg
9	οτι απερισας εις αυτον					
13	οι περι παυλον] + 'and Barnabas' (codd. AB+1)					
14	την πισιδιαν] 'of Pisidia'		81	Ant	D	cf. pesh
18	οτι ως ετροποφορησεν] 'he nourished them'		AC		D	
20	οτι και πεντηκοντα <sup>a</sup>	x				
22	ιεσσαι] + 'a man'		NAO81	Ant	D	
25	τι] 'who'		O	Ant	D	
26	αβρααμ] + 'and'		NAO81	Ant	D	
28	αιτιαν θανατου] + 'in him'				D	
	ανααιρεθηναι αυτον] 'to kill him'					cf. pesh vg
31	εισι] + 'now'		NAO81		of. D	
33	τοις τεκνοις ημων] 'the sons' (codd. AB+4); 'their sons' (codd. Γ+4)					
38	τουτο] 'this (man)'		NAO81	Ant	D	minn
39	εν τουτω] 'but in this one'	?				
40	επελθη] + 'on you'		AC81	Ant		
46	λαληθηται] 'to speak'	?				vg

<sup>a</sup> This omission was a very easy error in Bohairic, as the reading is NTNPOMIII instead of NTNPOMIII.

	Bohairic	Transl	NAC 81	Antioch	D	
46	επειδη] + δε (codd. BΓ+2)		A(C) 81	Ant		
49	om δε (codd. Γ+8)	?				minn
50	γυναικας] + 'and'		N	Ant		
XIV						
8	τω λογω] 'on the word'		NA			
10	φωνη] + 'I say unto thee in the name of Jesus Christ' (four late codd.)		C		D	
	ηλατο] + 'and'		B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	D	
12	'they were calling μεν Barnabas Zeus'			Ant		
15	'preaching to you to withdraw yourselves from the vanities and (om 'and' Γ+5) to turn yourselves to the living God'	?				
23	προσευξαμενοι] 'and hav- ing prayed'	?			D	
26	κακειθεν] + 'they sailed'		B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	D	
XV						
2	στασεως και ζητησεως] 'disturbance' (except codd. FSm <sup>s</sup> )					minn
	προς αυτους] + 'with some others of them; placed here instead of after παυλον και βαρναβαν	?				
11	ιησου] + 'Christ' (7 later codd.; not A B Γ+2)		C		D	
23	πρεσβυτεροι] + 'and' (codd. NT)			Ant		
	συριαν και κελικιαν] 'Cilicia and Syria'	x				
24	εξ ημων] 'from you' (codd. B Γ+5)		N			
	+ 'having come forth' before εταραξαν (order)		AO 81	Ant	D	
27	τα αυτα] 'these things'				D	
33	τους αποστειλαντας αυτους] 'the apostles' (cod. K)			Ant		
34	'but Silas wished to abide in that place' (codd. ΓK)		C		D	
35	του κυριου] 'God' (codd. A B Γ+2)					minn
XVI						
1	om eis before λωστραν		C	Ant	D	
6	τον λογον] 'the word of God'				D	
7	το πνευμα ιησου] 'the spirit of the Lord' (codd. Γ+2)		C			
18	πολης] 'city (πολις)' (codd. A B+8)			Ant		
	ποταμον] 'the river'				D	
19	και 1 <sup>o</sup> ] δε		NC 81	Ant	D	

	Bohairic	Transl	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
26	'but immediately all the doors were opened'		NAOSI	Ant	D	
30	εφη] + 'to them' (except BΓ+1)				D	
32	του θεου] 'the Lord'		ACSI	Ant	D	
34	τον οικον] 'his house'		NA	Ant	D	
37	τραπεζαν] + 'before them'	?				pesh vg
	om nun (codd. AF)	?				
XVII						
3	παρατιθεμενος] + 'before them'					minn
	ο χριστος ο ιησους] 'Jesus Christ' (order)		N		D	
4	om τε 1 <sup>o</sup>					
18	την αναστασιν] 'his resurrection'	?				minn
25	om και τα παντα (except Γ+5)					38
	και τα παντα] 'in all places' (three later codd.)			Ant		
26	προσ τεταγμενος] 'appointed from the beginning'				D	
28	ημας] 'you'		NA 81	Ant	D	
29	και ενθυμησεως] 'or thought'				D	
34	αρεσπαγειτης] 'the αρεσπαγειτης (or -γητης)'		NA	Ant		
XVIII						
7	τιτιου] 'Titus'		N			
9	εν νυκτι δι οραματος] 'by means of a vision in the night' (order)			Ant	cf. D	
19	κατηντησαν] 'he went'			Ant		
21	om παλιν (codd. AB+4)				D	
22	om αναβας και					
24	απολλως] απελλης					
25	om δε αβθρ ελαλει		A of N	Ant	D	
XIX						
2	om προς αυτον (codd. AK)	?				
4	ιωαννης] + μεν			Ant		
7	om ωσει					
12	η] 'and'					minn
	αποφερεσθαι απο του χρωτος αυτου] 'were taken from his body and placed'					
24	ναους] 'silver temples'		(N)A	cf. Ant	cf. D	
26	θεωρειτε και ακουετε] 'hear and see' (codd. FS)			Ant	D	
	om πειςας		N			
27	οικουμενη] 'the οικουμενη'		NA	Ant	D	
28	ακουσαντες δε] + 'these (things)'				D	
34	om μεγαλη η αρτεμς εφεσιων 2 <sup>o</sup>		NA	Ant	D	

	Bohairic	Transl	NA 81	Antioch	D	
37	την θεον] 'gods'	x				
40	ημων] 'your'			Ant		
XX	om ou 2 <sup>o</sup>				D	
5	προσελθοντες] 'having					
	been before us'		B <sup>2</sup>		D	
11	αλασας] 'and having		NA C	Ant	D	
	broken'		NC			L
13	προσελθοντες] 'having					
	gone before'		NA C	Ant	D	
15	εσπερα] 'on the follow-		NA C			
	ing day' (codd. FGKS)					
21	om ημων (codd. Γ+5)	?	NA C	Ant	D	minn
	ιησουν] + 'Christ'				(D)	
23	με μενουσιν] 'await thee'					peah
24	ως] 'until'					c
25	την βασιλειαν] + 'of God'			Ant		
	(codd. AB+3)					
26	παντων] 'you all'					minn
28	του θεου] 'the Lord'		AC		D	
	(except cod. G)		NA C	Ant	D	
29	om οτι 1 <sup>o</sup>					
XXI						
4	αυτου] 'with them' (codd		A		d	L
	Γ+3)					
	'there with them' (codd					
	AB+2), 'having found					
	the disciples there,					
	we abode with them'	?			D	
	(codd. FGS)					
16	μωασινη] νασων ορ νασων		N			
	(codd. AB+3); ιασων					
	(codd. Γ+4); ασων					
	(cod. S)					
18	παρεγενοντο] 'came to					
	him'	?			cf. D	
20	εδοξασαν] 'glorified' (pre-		N		D	
	terite) (codd. AB+4)					
34	om εν τω οχλω (except					920
	codd. AN)					
XXII						
3	εγω] + μεν			Ant		
	'of Gamaliel, he who					
	trained me in the					
	strength of the law of					
	our ('the,' some codd.)					
	fathers'	x				
5	εμαρτυρει] 'witnesseth'		NA	Ant		
XXIII						
6	κρινομαι] 'I (pronoun)		NA	Ant		
	am judged'		NA C	Ant		
7	επεπεσε] 'happened'		NA C	Ant		
8	γαρ] μεν γαρ					
9	om των γραμματος του		A			
	μερους		B <sup>2</sup> NA 81	Ant		
18	λαλησαι] + 'to thee'					

	Bohairic	Transl.	NAC81	Antioch	D
28	αὐτῶ] + 'I brought him to their council'		(NA)	Ant	
XXIV					
14	πιστευον] + 'all' om εν τοις 2 <sup>o</sup>	?	NA 81 A	Ant Ant	
26	δοθησεται] + 'to him' παυλου] + 'and thus that he might release him'		NAC 81	Ant  Ant	
XXV					
10	om εστως 2 <sup>o</sup>		N(of. AC 81)	cf Ant	
25	του παυλου] 'he'		B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	
XXVI					
3	om παντων		A		
9	ον] μεν ουν om δευ	?	NAC 81	Ant	
10	διο] 'thus which'		NAC 81	Ant	
11	περισσως] + δε		cf. NAC 81	cf Ant	
14	παντων δε καταπεσοντων] 'but we all having fallen'		NAC 81	Ant	
15	ειπεν] + 'to me'		B <sup>2</sup> NAC 81	Ant	pesh e
16	αναστηθι] + 'stand'				
28	ποιησαι] 'to make my- self' χριστιαν- (codd. BNS) χρηστιαν- (codd. AT+6)	?	A 81 N	cf. Ant Ant	
XXVII					
1	'but it came to pass when he ('they,' codd ATK) had decided that we should sail' παρεδιδουν] 'he delivered' κυλικιαν] 'Cyprus' (codd. AB)	?	A		
5	μυρρα] 'Lystra' λυκιας 'of Cilicia'	?	NA		vg perp vg. codd.
13	αραντες ασσων] 'they put to sea from Assos' παρελεγοντο] 'they left'	x x			vg
16	καυθα] 'Olanda'		NA 81	Ant	
17	εφεροντο] 'we floated along'		NAC 81	Ant	minn
20	επικειμενου] + λαικων				
27	αδρια] ανδριας προσαχων] 'that they approached'		AC 81	Ant	minn
34	προ] '(the) first (thing) unto'		NAC 81	Ant	
37	'two hundred seventy six' (codd. ABFGKPS) 'one hundred seventy six' (codd. I <sup>2</sup> NOT)		N(A)O 81		
38	τροφης] 'the food'	x		Ant	

	Bohairic	Transl.	NAOSI	Antioch	D	
41	βιας] + 'of the waves'		OSI	Ant		
44	παντας] us all' <sup>a</sup>	?				
<u>XXVIII</u>						
7	ποπλιω] πουπλιος (except cod. P)		81			
8	ποπλιου] πουπλιος (ex- cept cod T)		81			
15	αδελφοι] 'the brethren'		NA 81	Ant		
21	περι σου] 'against thee'		N			Ψ

<sup>a</sup> Codd. Γ + 4, while reading 'us,' have 'all' in the 3rd person plural (declined, with pronominal suffix) instead of the 1st person. This indicates some confusion of text.





# THE COMMENTARY OF EPHREM ON ACTS

By FREDERICK C. CONYBEARE

[THE translation here published of the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on Acts and of the sections drawn from it in the ancient Armenian catena, and most of the accompanying footnotes, were prepared for this volume by Dr. Frederick C. Conybeare, Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford, who died January 9, 1924.

The editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* would here express their gratitude to their friend Dr. Conybeare, and their honour for his memory. His extraordinary learning in fields explored by but few scholars, his conscientious sense of obligation for making his great acquisitions useful to the world of learning, his unremitting diligence in labour, and the fruitful activity of his distinguished and ingenious mind, are known to a wide circle of students of the subjects which touched his own. With these high qualities was associated a singular generosity in contributing assistance (not to be secured easily, if at all, from other sources) to the work of his acquaintances and friends. Those who knew him intimately not only received liberal aid from his far-ranging and freely imparted information, and from his kindly but penetrating criticism, but learned to value still more the sincerity, the single-minded fidelity to truth, the firm purpose, and the lovable nature of their friend.]

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

An Armenian catena on Acts was published in 1839 by the Mechitarist fathers of San Lazzaro in Venice<sup>1</sup> from two codices in their library, one written in the year 1049 of their era, that is, A.D. 1600, the other old but undated. The mss. supply two notes, one a colophon by the Armenian translator of Chrysostom's commentary on Acts, the other a preface by the catenist George of Skevrha, who

<sup>1</sup> Meknut'iun Gorooç Aṙak'eloc khmbagir arareal nakhneaç Yoskeberanē ev Yēp'remē, i Venetik, i tparan srboyn Ghazaru, 1839 (Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles excerpted by the ancients from Chrysostom and Ephrem, Venice, Press of St. Lazarus, 1839).

adapted and abridged that translation, and interwove it, as he says, with the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on Acts.

The earlier note begins thus: "In the year 6501 of creation, and in 1077 of our Saviour's advent, and 525 of the Armenian era of Khosrov, in the reign of Michael, son of Ducas, and in the patriarchate of Kosmas, I, Gregory son of Gregory the Parthian (Palhavuni) . . . having been found worthy of the throne of my ancestor St. Gregory, was in accordance with the vision of the seer St. Isaac driven out by the violence of the Scythians' sword and made my way to the gleaming abode of St. Constantine [*i.e.* Constantinople]. And I discovered there the interpretation, sought for by many, of Acts by the great John Chrysostom. . . . And meeting with the wise rhetor Kirakos, who was equipped with Greek and Armenian culture, I gave the treasure of my soul to be with abundant grace translated. And having received it with sincere joy, as if it were the tablets of the first prophet, I traversed with much fatigue the expanse of the Libyan and Asiatic Sea, and providentially reached the portion of Shem on the slopes of Taurus, the angelic abode of saints, and there found my son, the gifted Kirakos, my spiritual son, and pupil of the learned George my vicegerent [*or* successor]. He gladly undertook to repair the rude text of the rhetor, remoulding it in our idiom so as to be easy to listen to and harmonious."

The above is an account of the version of Chrysostom's commentary used for this catena. If, as the Armenian editors allege, an old fifth-century translation of that father's commentary once existed, we have not got it here.<sup>1</sup>

In the other note the catenist dedicates his work to the Lord Johannes, Brother of the King, Bishop of Dlek Maulevon, and Overseer of the holy clergy of Grner. He declares that he has been requested by that prelate to compose this catena, asks his readers to pardon his shortcomings, and recommends them to read for themselves the full commentaries, which he has abridged and woven together.

The bulk of the catena contained in the two codices consists of extracts from Chrysostom. Next in amount to this father comes Ephrem. The catena also contains matter attributed in the *lemmata* to Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianz, David the Philosopher, Dionysius [of Alexandria ?], Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril [of

<sup>1</sup> The text of Chrysostom's commentary from which this eleventh-century version was made was almost identical with that of the tenth-century Greek ms. of the commentary in the library of New College, Oxford, which was used by Savile for his edition, but too much neglected by the Benedictine editor Montfaucon. The monastic library at Valarshapat contains a copy of the same Greek text, dated A.D. 1077, according to the catalogue of Kareneantz, but really written two centuries later.

Alexandria ?], Kirakos, and Nerses Catholicos, patriarch of Sis in Armenian Cilicia. This last father died about 1167, so that the catena may have been made soon after that date.<sup>1</sup>

The sections of this catena headed 'Ephrem' were translated by me for Dr. Rendel Harris, who printed the chief part of them in his *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894. I subsequently contributed a fuller study of it to the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii., 1896, pp. 135-171.

It has been supposed by scholars that Chrysostom's commentary, which contains many Bezan readings, rests on the work of an older commentator, who used a Bezan text. I suggested in the *American Journal of Philology* that the Armenian catenist might have had in his hands not Chrysostom's commentary at all, but this assumed earlier work, perhaps written by Chrysostom's master Diodorus of Tarsus. Such an hypothesis seemed to explain several characteristics of the Armenian. *First*, the fact that its text follows the order of the verses, whereas Chrysostom, after running over a long section of the text in its proper sequence, then, after the stereotyped remark: ἀλλ' ἵδωμεν ἄνωθεν τὰ εἰρημένα, proceeds to pick out a verse or verses here and there, in any sort of order, and to append detached comments which cohere with, and sometimes even repeat, the comments made in his first and more orderly review. Not seldom, too, his commentary cites the same verse in several forms. *Secondly*, the catena, in sections ascribed in the lemmata to Chrysostom, has many Bezan readings. Were not these drawn from the older commentary used by him, from which were derived other Bezan readings of the Greek text which he was translating? *Thirdly*, the catena constantly presents a text of Chrysostom widely different from Montfaucon's. Were not these variations of text such as might be expected, if the Armenian document said to be a version of Chrysostom really preserved the work of another older author whom Chrysostom had exploited?

This hypothesis broke down when in 1919 I collated the New College ms. of Chrysostom on Acts, for there I found a text of Chrysostom identical with that of the catena, and so greatly different from Montfaucon's that it must represent another edition of his homilies. A comparison of the two texts suggests indeed that he

<sup>1</sup> [The Armenian historian Kirakos of Gandzak (thirteenth century) states in his *History of Armenia* (Tiflis edition, 1910, p. 104) that the Vardapet Ananias of Sanatin (in the Borzhalo district near Tiflis) "made into a commentary on the Apostle the words of Ephrem and John Chrysostom and Cyril and other saints." Conybeare, however, to whose attention this was brought, became convinced after investigation that Kirakos was in error. Ananias, as the leading exegete of the period in the Caucasian district, was a natural subject for a compliment of Cilician origin.—R. P. B.]

delivered the homilies twice over, and that Montfaucon's text and the New College codex rest upon the shorthand notes of two different deliveries. The catenist certainly had the genuine Chrysostom in his hands, and it was he who skilfully rearranged the *dissecta membra* of the Greek original to form an orderly whole. Further, since the catenist combined Chrysostom and Ephrem, the explanation suggests itself that Bezan variants in the catena not found in the Greek texts of Chrysostom are due to the catenist's use of the only Bezan text he possessed, namely that of Ephrem.

This last surmise has been justified by a further discovery. Father Joseph Dashean's catalogue of the Armenian MSS in the Mechitarist convent at Vienna prints from Cod 571 the beginning and end of a long fragment, and the closing paragraph resembles the last citation from Ephrem given in the catena. By the kindness of Father Akinean, librarian of the convent, a copy of the codex was procured, and it proved to contain an almost complete text of the lost commentary of Ephrem on Acts, amply revealing the character of the earliest Syriac version used by that writer. The Mechitarist Fathers of Vienna published in 1921 the Armenian text, which is a translation made in the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

This commentary of Ephrem is brief and cursory; the author only touches on the text here and there, passing over large tracts of it without remark, and summarising only the portions which interested him, especially the speeches, in which, unfortunately, are found fewest peculiarities of the Bezan text.<sup>2</sup> Ephrem seldom quotes the text verbatim; and perhaps it is well for us that he does not,

<sup>1</sup> K'nakan Hratarakutiun Matenagrut'ean ev Targmanut'ean Nakhneaq Hayoc. Hator B., Prak I., Surb Ep'em: Meknutiun Gorcoq Arak'eloc, hratakeq H. Nersēs V. Akinean mkhit'i ukhtō. Vienna, Mkhit'arean Tparon, 1921 (Critical Editions of the Literature and Translations of the Ancient Armenians. Section II., Part I. Saint Ephrem: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, edited by Father Nerses Akinean of the Mechitarist Brethren. Vienna, Mechitarist Press, 1921).

<sup>2</sup> See the careful study of August Merk, 'Der neuentdeckte Kommentar des hl. Ephraem zur Apostelgeschichte,' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vol. xlviii., 1924, pp. 37-58, 226-260. Merk's conclusion (p. 227) as to the relation of Ephrem's Commentary to the renderings of the Armenian New Testament is as follows: "Die Untersuchung sämtlicher Schriftstellen in Kommentar wir in Scholien hat zu dem Ergebnis geführt, dass häufig der Wortlaut der armenischen Bibel bis in alle Einzelheiten übernommen ist, dass jedoch eben so oft Unterschiede sowohl in der Wortwahl wie in der Wortfolge zutage treten. Bisweilen sind die Verschiedenheiten sehr gering, in andern Fällen machen sie sich stark geltend." Merk's observations on the readings in detail include valuable comparison with the quotations from Acts in other works of Ephrem. In a number of cases his contributions have made it possible to add something to Conybeare's footnotes.

since Armenian translators regularly reproduced texts from Scripture in the current form familiar to them after the year 430. In its meagre brevity, and in the way in which it leaps from chapter to chapter, omitting entire episodes, the work resembles Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron, or Cassiodorus on Acts.

Between the catena and the full commentary there is a marked difference in Armenian style. The commentary is no more than a Syriac treatise written with Armenian words; Syriac idioms and syntax colour every sentence, and the result is often a chaos which I have not tried to set in order. The split relative is everywhere, for example (chap. v 1), *illos 'quod' [indefinite case] spiritus sanctus omnia explorans habitabat in illis*. The personal endings or references of the Syriac verb are regularly reproduced, although the Armenian inflexions render them superfluous; thus, *implebant illi, dicit ille*, where *implebant* and *dicit* alone would suffice. The Semitism 'added and' before verbs is frequent. It is the most Syriacising version of a Syriac original I have ever met with in Armenian literature. It is dated by Father Akinean in the fifth century, a period in which the Armenians rendered many books from Syriac, even such, like the works of Eusebius, as they afterwards had in Greek.

The catenist, on the other hand, tried to eliminate such peculiarities, and to turn the text into good Armenian. Although he largely removed uncouth Syriac idioms, he was otherwise accurate in his excerpts.<sup>1</sup>

In the Venice codices of the catena not a little Ephremic matter is labelled 'Chrysostom' in the lemmata; and not a little of it is embedded in sections drawn from Chrysostom. The whole catena, like the work of Chrysostom on which it rests, is divided into fifty-five homilies, headed: "I. That it is not right to defer baptism; II. Against the Hellenes," etc. At the beginning of each homily the name of the author cited is omitted, but the matter is in such cases Chrysostom. I have often, following Akinean, headed it 'Anon.' The Chrysostom matter is rearranged to suit the order of chapter and verse, as in the Greek catenae.

In the midst of his Chrysostom the catenist often introduces a single sentence of Ephrem, so that only since the recovery of Ephrem's integral text has it been possible to disentangle so confused a skein. Not so often he slips sentences of Chrysostom into sections mainly taken from Ephrem. We see here how ancient texts came to be conflated.

As to Ephrem's text of Acts, the evidence is not so ample as could be desired, but it is decisive. *First*, Ephrem knew nothing of the Peshitto text. *Secondly*, he used a primitive Syriac version

<sup>1</sup> On the date of the catena see below, p. 391, note 3.

of a Greek text almost identical with that of Codex Bezae. *Thirdly*, whenever he does vary from the Bezan text, it is never to agree with the great Greek uncials, but with the scholia of Thomas of Heracleia, or with the Fleury palimpsest of the Old Latin, or with Gigas or some other of the Old Latin texts, or with Irenaeus, Tertullian, or those parts of Augustine which preserve what I believe to have been the primitive text of Acts.

The bulk of the text of the commentary is only contained in Codex 571, f.1a-22a of the Mechitarist convent in Vienna, written A.D. 1284. In this the beginning as far as chap. ii. 14 is lost. The first part of the lost passage is found in two manuscripts of the same library, Cod. 47, f.143a-145b, and Cod. 305, f.74b-76a. Variants of Cod. 305 rarely affect the sense, and almost wholly concern the spelling.

Codex 571, besides the long lacuna Acts i. 1-ii. 14, has others, viz. : vii. 43-viii. 28 (one folio lost), xv. 3-12 (one folio), xvii. 29-xix. 9 (one folio). It is also much lacerated, so that in folios 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, numerous lines or parts of lines are lost or illegible.

I have rendered the text of the three codices of the commentary into Latin, my only care being to make my version quite literal and to retain the *ordo verborum* of the original. I have added in English (with references to the pages and lines of the Venice edition, 1839) the Ephremic sections of the catena, which possesses the value of a second manuscript of the text and must be consulted, not only to fill up lacunae big or little, but also for the restoration of many passages of the unmutilated text. Citations of the Armenian vulgate in the catena are rendered into Latin.

Most of the shorter lacunae of Codex 571 admit of being filled up from the catena with absolute certainty, and these supplements are added in square brackets.

Where the catena does not help us, Father Akinean has conjecturally restored the lost text, and this conjectural matter I have enclosed in round brackets.

In footnotes I have drawn attention to Bezan or primitive readings found in Ephrem. Careful scrutiny may reveal more of these.

I have excluded from my version of the catena a few sections labelled 'of Ephrem,' but really derived from Chrysostom, as a comparison of them with the original Greek, especially with the New College codex, suffices to prove. On the other hand, the catena contains, as stated above, under the heading 'of Chrysostom,' much which is really Ephrem. Where the latter's text is preserved it was a simple matter to detect these elements; but in the long lacunae it needed much weighing of evidence to do so, and

I was guided by two considerations: first, that certain passages are in the style of Ephrem and marked by Syriac idiom, secondly, that the Greek sources altogether lack them. It is to be hoped that a second copy of the integral text may be found in some collection of Armenian mss. In Valarshapat, according to Kareneantz's catalogue, there are seven copies of Chrysostom's commentary and eight of a commentary on Acts by Matthew Vardapet. In some of these the work of Ephrem may easily be lurking<sup>1</sup>

F. C. C.

<sup>1</sup> Before the late war the Valarshapat codices were removed to the Lazarevski Institute in Moscow, and are for the present inaccessible.

## COMMENTARY

Codices 47  
and 305.

1. **LIBER Actuum** (*praks*) Apostolorum Lucae Evangelistae est sicut didicimus. Is autem quamvis unus ex discipulis est, minime sodalis fuit domini nostri. Apostolorum vero ab initio socius erat. Qui quamvis evangelium, sicut audivit a discipulis, conscripsit, Actus Apostolorum tamen scribendo personaliter fuit oculatus testis. Is igitur quum videret insidias, quia post evangelium<sup>1</sup> quod scripsit sumpserunt fecerunt<sup>2</sup> evangelium, cuius titulus Pueritia<sup>3</sup> Domini Nostri, sodales vero eorundem Librum Quaestionum in nomine Mariae Discipulorumque scripserunt, qui dicunt quod XVIIIesimo mense ascendit Primogenitus, de quo Apostoli eius post XL dies scribunt quod ascendit—ergo ut frustraret insidiosos libros heterodoxorum de evangelio domini nostri, iuventutis, dico, et senectutis, posuit in initio libri quem scripsit, scilicet Actuum (*praks*) Apostolorum, initium evangelii domini nostri atque finem; ut demonstraret omnem actum, quacunque inveniatur scriptus in nomen domini nostri, qui senior est quam baptisma Iohannis, et iunior est et posterior quam dies ascensionis eius post XL dies, alienum et superfluum esse quoad verum evangelismum. Quoniam igitur dixit, Nisi ego discedam, paracletus non veniet ad vos, ergo paracletus ad finem pentecostes venit, et manifestum fuit quod ad finem XL dierum, sicut dixit apostolis, ascendit ille; falsiloquusque fuit insidiosus sermo heterodoxorum qui dicunt quod post XVIII menses ascendit.

2. Scripsit etiam de resurrectione domini nostri et de adscensione eius et de adventu spiritus ad exitum pentecostes.

3. Scripsit etiam de paucitate discipulorum et de incremento quod quibusdam diebus lapsis factum est illorum.

4. Scripsit etiam de curatione claudi de utero matris eius, etiam quod per curationem in quadagesimo anno duo millia additi sunt ecclesiae.

5. Scripsit etiam de adventu Sauli ad Damascum et de visione quae evenit in via, de caecatis et apertis oculis eius, et de persecutione eius in Iudaea, et quod dimiserunt eum in sporta de muro, ille autem profectus est Ierusalem.

6. Scripsit etiam de descensu Shmavonis ad Lidiam urbem, et de curatione eius qui per octo annos paralyticus fuerat.

7. Scripsit etiam de muliere beata, quae experta est curationem

<sup>1</sup> Catena adds *post* which codices omit. They had the genitive-dative case and added *in* before it so as to yield the sense *in evangelio* and make grammar of their text.

<sup>2</sup> Sumpserunt fecerunt—a Syriasm.

<sup>3</sup> Cuius titulus pueritia; literally, in nomine pueritiae—a Syriasm.



## CATENA

Of the Acts (*gorts*) of the Apostles the author is Luke the gospeller, p 13 13-  
 who though from the beginning of Christ our Lord's preaching he 14. 22  
 was not with him, yet joined the apostles of the Lord Christ from  
 the beginning forth of the descent of the Spirit and earlier. And  
 although the gospel which he wrote, as he heard from Christ's  
 disciples, he did write, yet of the Acts of the Apostles which he  
 wrote he was with his own eyes an eyewitness sure. This then is  
 later than his gospel which he wrote, for he saw that certain im-  
 postors wrote out of their heads a gospel, in name, 'Of the Child-  
 hood of Christ our Lord,' and others, a book of 'Questions' in  
 the name of Mary and of the disciples of Christ, in which they say  
 that after the resurrection it was after eighteen months he ascended,  
 the Firstborn, of whom his apostles write that it was after forty  
 days exactly that he ascended into heaven,—so then Luke, in order  
 to frustrate the false books of the heterodox from the gospel of  
 Christ our Lord, who invent an older and younger series of works  
 about the Lord Jesus, some of them prior to his baptism and others  
 subsequent to his ascension after forty days, lays down in the book  
 of Acts of the Apostles a beginning and end of our Lord's deeds,  
 in the same way as do the other gospellers, beginning from the  
 Lord's baptism by John until his ascension on the fortieth day,  
 in order to show that any deed, wherever it be found written, in  
 the name of the Lord Christ, prior to his baptism or later than the  
 fortieth day of his ascension, is a deed foreign to Christ our Lord.  
 And it is clear thence that Christ himself said to his disciples :  
 Unless I go, the Comforter will not come. And the Comforter at  
 the close of Pentecost came on the fiftieth day after his resurrection.  
 It was clear then that at the fulfilment of the quadragesima, as  
 the apostles said, Jesus ascended, and false are the impostors who  
 say his ascension was after eighteen months. So then Luke wrote  
 about the resurrection of our Lord, about his ascension, and about  
 the coming of the Spirit, and the increase of the disciples, and of  
 whatever followed.

per Shmavonem; et de revelatione; factum enim est super eum venire Caesaream, ut per Cornelium incircumcisum proveheretur novo modo evangelismus domini inter ethnicos.

8. Scripsit de discipulatu qui factus est Antiochiae per Paulum et Barnabam, et quod appellati sunt ibi novo modo Christiani.

9. Scripsit etiam de Agabo qui prophetavit de fame quae evenit, cuius in tempore famis dederunt portari discipuli evangelii de quovis quocumque eorum fuit ad ministerium sanctorum in Ierusalem.

10. Scripsit etiam de Agrippa, quod occidit Iacobum fratrem Ioannis gladio. Voluit occidere etiam Petrum; in eadem vero nocte solvit vincula angelus et egressus est, liberatus est usque Caesaream. Etiam quod propter eum accepit Agrippas retributionem peccatorum suorum, et mortuus est de vermibus quum degrederetur de bemat<sup>1</sup> suo.

11. Scripsit etiam quod segregati sunt Paulus et Barnabas per manuum impositionem apostolorum ad docendos gentiles.

12. Scripsit quod percussus est oculos suos Barshuma magus et admiratio<sup>2</sup> occupavit hegemonia.

13. Scripsit curationem quae fuit per Paulum claudi ab utero matris eius, ita ut propter curationem eius deos nuncuparent Paulum et Barnaban.

14. Scripsit de disputatione eorum quae facta est Antiochiae, contra Iudaeos, discipuli evangelii, qui volebant subiicere ethnicos, qua causa a Shmavone et Iacobo.<sup>3</sup>

15. Scripsit quod separati sunt invicem Paulus et Barnabas, et quod circumcidit Timotheum Paulus ipse qui impeditor erat circumcisionis.

16. Scripsit quod praepediti sunt quin loquerentur in Asia, et quod properarunt abire et intrare Macedoniam.

17. Scripsit de puella incantatrice quae divinationibus suis quaestum praestabat dominis suis, sed curatio eius auxit tribulationem apostolorum.

18. Scripsit etiam de motu terrae qui factus est in carcere et de fide facta apud custodem carceris.

19. Scripsit etiam de profectu eius usque Thessalonicam,<sup>4</sup> et quod praepeditus est a spiritu quin loqueretur illic, quia persequabantur illum ab initio quum veniret evangelizaturus eos.

20. Scripsit etiam de adventu eius ad Athenas et de circuitione inter idola et controversione eius contra philosophos.

21. Scripsit et de adventu eius ad Corinthum et doctrinam quae aucta est et de Apolos (sic).

22. Scripsit de Ephesiorum iterato baptismo, quia in baptisma

<sup>1</sup> xii. 23 καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος D.    <sup>2</sup> xiii. 12 ἐθαύμασεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν D.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph lacks grammatical sequence.

<sup>4</sup> xvii. 15 παρήλθεν δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν· ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον D. Is Θεσσαλίαν an error for Θεσσαλονίκην?



Ioannis baptizati erant, et acceperunt per manuum impositionem eius spiritum in omnibus linguis loquendi.

23. Scripsit de virtutibus quae per Paulum factae sunt et de Iudaeis idolorum filiis, qui dolo exorcizabant daemonia in nomine Iesu quem Paulus praedicabat.

24. Scripsit etiam de persecutione quae exorta est contra eos Ephesi per Demetrium auri opificem.

25. Scripsit etiam de congregatione suorum noctu in coenaculo, et quod obdormivit homo ceciditque, mortuus est, et suscitavit eum Paulus.

26. Scripsit de vinculis quae manebant illum in Ierusalem et de ingressu eius, et quod purificatus est et intravit templum, et quod conturbaverunt urbem contra eum Iudaei Asiani.

27. Scripsit de centurione qui dimisit eum ad proconsulem, ne putaret quod per phantasiam tradiderit eum morti.

28. Scripsit de iudicio eius coram proconsule, et quod detentus est ille in carcere biennium donec advenit alius hegemon.

29. Scripsit de Paulo, quod proconsul volebat dare eum munus Iudaeis, et quod appellavit Caesarem, ut praetextu Caesaris ante mortem suam praedicaret in Roma urbe.

30. Scripsit de descensu eius ad mare et de fluctibus tumefacti maris qui oborti sunt contra eum, quod vero dixit illi angelus in visione quod nemo eorum qui tecum sunt in nave periturus sit.

31. Scripsit de vipera quae circumvolvit sese brachio eius, et quod exoussit proiecitque eam, neque nocuit illi.

32. Scripsit de ingressu illius Romam, et quod dedit mercedem biennio aedis de labore manuum suarum, dum opitulabatur cotidie hominibus qui ingrediebantur ad eum.

Codices 47  
and 305.  
i 1-3

Haec omnia scripsit Lucas evangelista, sicut initio sermonis sui dixit: Primum sermonem de quo<sup>1</sup> incepti dicere, O Theophile, quod delectabilis est deo, neque actus apostolorum sunt quos narrare paratus sum, sed quodcumque coepit dominus noster facere. Quae ergo sint ea quae fecit, nisi quae evangelizabant, fecit scripta Lucas? Et quando coepit facere? A baptismo Ioannis. Et quando iterum finivit? In qua die iussit apostolos in Galilaea annuntiare evangelium.<sup>2</sup> Quos elegit:—id est inter omnes gentiles quos vocaverat ille.<sup>3</sup> Monstravit sese quia mansit post crucem non sine signis sed cum multis signis et prodigiis, quae fecit quadraginta dies, quo tempore apparebat illis in omnibus similitudinibus et loquebatur de regno quod annuntiabat ante mortem suam, una<sup>4</sup> cum ceteris. Cui gloria in saecula, amen.

<sup>1</sup> Armenian vulgate has λόγον δν. This may explain the addition *de quo*. Chrysostom adds δν, showing that it is no *proprius error* of the Armenian.

<sup>2</sup> See note on i. 2 *supra*, pp. 256-261. Ephrem's text plainly lacked ἀνελήμφθη and had κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Did it read εἰς ἡμέρας?

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps render: qui appellarunt eum; but the grammar is defective.

<sup>4</sup> Una, etc., is an addition by the scribe.

Ephrem: Usque in diem præcipiendi apostolis per spiritum p 19  
sanctum. As beforehand we said at the beginning of the acts of i 2  
the Lord, and he fixes the end, saying: usque ad diem præcipiendi,  
which is the day of his ascension, in order to dumbfound the utterers  
of lies.

Ephrem: He showed then that he remained after the cross p 20.  
not without signs, but in many signs and in many prodigies, which i 3  
he wrought in the forty days, the while (or how) he appeared to  
them in all similitudes, sometimes among those who knew him,  
sometimes among those who knew him not, as he elsewhere says:  
oculi eorum tenebantur, that they should not know him. And Lk xxv. 16  
subsequently: cognoverunt eum.<sup>1</sup> Lk. xxv. 35

Ephrem: Not as having any wants of nature thenceforth, of p 21.  
food, but condescending to a certain demonstration of the resur- i 4  
rection.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem: And this with such firmness, because he willed not p 22.  
to reveal to them this day of his ascension, which they saw with i 7  
their own eyes.

<sup>1</sup> Arm. vlg. here cited, literally rendered means 'he gave clues to them.'

<sup>2</sup> The paragraph, Catena, p. 22. 3-31, though headed 'Of Ephrem,' is  
Chrys. 7 D E.

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Ephrem : Nam accipietis virtutem and encouragement super-<sup>p. 30.</sup>  
veniente spiritu in vos. And ye shall go forth from the upper room<sup>l. 8.</sup>  
and shall be manifest to the world, witnesses of my resurrection,  
and of what ye heard and saw from me, not only in Jerusalem, the  
city of crucifiers where ye were terrified, but also among Samaritans  
and all races.

Ephrem : But as Elias ascended in sight of Elisha, lest they<sup>p. 31.</sup>  
should say : Jezebel slew him. For as the signs wrought by Elisha<sup>l. 9.</sup>  
make credible his ascension, so too the miracles wrought by the  
apostles make credible the Lord's ascension. Lest they should  
say : they stole him. Et nubes concealed eum ab oculis eorum,  
clearly by his passing within, lest the apostles should over-weary  
themselves by gazing after him.

Shmavon then the Zealot is by Matthew and Mark called Simon<sup>p. 35</sup>  
the Cananean. Perhaps in Hebrew he was called literally zealot,<sup>l. 13.</sup>  
and it is affirmed by many that he was son of Joseph, father of  
God, and brother of the Lord. Furthermore Juda son of Jacob  
was a brother of the same Simon and son of Joseph, and he also  
was the Lord's brother. It was he who wrote the Catholic epistle,  
called after his name the Epistle of Juda, at the beginning of which,  
instead of terming himself brother of the Lord, he humbly writes,  
Brother of Jacobus. Whence it is clear that he is the very person  
named Lebeos and Thadeos by Matthew and Mark. Nor is it true  
that they refer to one person and Luke to another ; they only call  
one and the same person by different names ; nor need we be sur-  
prised, for in Hebrew a man often had two names or more. Hence  
the discrepancy of the evangelists in respect of Thadeos and of  
Juda son of Jacobus is one of names only and not of persons,  
for of the first ones chosen by Christ not one was lost save Juda  
the traitor. It is certain, then, the other Thadeos who was with  
Abgar was one of the LXX, as their tombs bear witness. For the  
Thadeos who was of the LXX died in Armenia in the Canton of  
Artaz ; but Juda son of Jacobus, the one who according to Matthew  
and Mark was Thadeos one of the XII, died in Ormi of Armenia.  
Thus is confirmed the harmony of the evangelists as regards the  
names of the apostles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That all the above, except the last two sentences, is Ephrem, is shown  
by its recurrence in Isho'dad's commentary on Acts, *Horae Semiticae*, Cam-  
bridge, 1913, p. 5. Here the order of the apostles is enumerated from the  
Diatessaron, and the text proceeds thus : " From which it is evident that  
Simeon the Canaanite, whom Matthew and Mark mention, and the Diates-  
saron, is Simeon Zelotes, whom Luke mentions in his two books, and Judah  
bar Jacob, whom Luke mentions in his two books, is Lebbaeus, who was called  
Thaddai by Matthew and Mark, whence the one of the evangelists who men-  
tions him does not mention the other ; and the one who mentions Simeon the  
Canaanite does not mention Simeon Zelotes. Now Lebbaeus is not the name

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of a man, but the name of his village, to say that he is a Lebbaean, and from this it is evident that Thaddai and James were Lebbaeans, that is, from Lebhi; and the father of James was Halfai. But the name of Thaddai was once Judah, and, at the last, in his discipleship, his name was changed and he was called Thaddai; as also Simeon was called Peter, and the sons of Zebedee Benai Ragshi, and Levi Matthew."

[To the above note by Conybeare, Professor Burkitt adds the following:

There are grave reasons for doubting whether any of the section attributed to Ephrem on i. 13 (the names of the apostles) really comes from him or from any of his contemporaries.

1. The Catena (on Acts i. 13) speaks (end of col. 17) of 'Jude son of James,' i.e. *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*, and says that this Jude was son of Joseph, therefore brother of James, and adds: "It was he who wrote the Catholic epistle." The writer of this sentence knew the Epistle of Jude and accepted it as canonical. Therefore he was no Syrian, for the Peshitta only includes James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, out of the seven Catholic Epistles. And further, even this reduced canon of the Peshitta seems to have been one of Rabbula's innovations, for there is no certain trace of any of these Epistles in Syriac before 411. Ephrem himself never refers to them in any of his voluminous genuine works. The most that can be alleged is a quotation of 1 Peter and a quotation of 1 John in the 'Severus-Catena' (see the beginning of Samuel), itself a suspect source. When, therefore, we find Armenian compilations of a later age contradicting the testimony of the ancient Syriac evidence, it seems pretty certain that the compiler has affixed a wrong label, or has derived his material from a tainted source.

2. The compiler goes on to tell us about Lebeos and Thadeos. 'Thaddaeus,' of course, is the true reading of Mark iii. 18, including syr.sin, while the Westerns have 'Lebbaeus' (D lat.eur), or 'Judas' (e and virtually o), or omit altogether (W). In Matt. x. 3 the 'true' text again has 'Thaddaeus,' but D lat.afr have 'Lebbaeus' and lat.eur has 'Judas Zelotes.' Here syr.sin (*hwt cur*) has 'Jude son of James,' in which it is supported by the *Acts of Thomas*, and virtually by Isho'dad's Diatessaron-hst (see my Note, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē*, n. 270 f). The later Greek mss. and the Peshitta have 'Lebbaeus surnamed Thaddaeus,' but there is no trace of this name in Syriac before Rabbula (411-435).

All therefore that the Armenian catenist and Isho'dad put in about 'Lebbaeus who was called Thaddaeus by Matthew and Mark' can hardly come from Ephrem or from a Diatessaron source. It must be later, something written after the Peshitta had supplanted both the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē*. Isho'dad's express quotation of the Diatessaron-list is all right; no doubt his source knew the Diatessaron-text as well as that of the Peshitta of Matthew. That is to say, it was probably a Syriac-speaking scholar writing about the middle of the fifth century, not earlier. Or was it possibly the learned Jacob of Edessa?

3. The Christian missionary who 'was with Abgar' and evangelized Edessa was called 'Addai,' according to the unanimous testimony of the Syriac-speaking Church. Eusebius identified Addai (which in Greek would be Addaeus) with Thaddaeus, but this identification had no influence in Syriac-speaking lands (in Eus. *H.E.* i. 13 [Syriac] 'Thaddaeus' is called not Thaddai but Haddai in one of the two Syriac mss.). Therefore 'Thadeos who was with Abgar' is not likely to be Ephrem's remark.

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<sup>1</sup> But that he fell to earth and burst asunder and his bowels were poured out, comes to the same thing. For he shut the door against himself before he strangled himself, and remained on the gibbet there during Paraskeve Sabbath. When he swelled up and became heavy, was cut the cord by which he hung, he fell, burst asunder and was poured out. But the stench of corruption of the heap and of his guts brought together the sons of Israel to come and see his infamy and the awful sign which heralded for him hell-fire.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem: De quo excessit Judas ambulare in locum suum. Not into that which is luminous which the Lord promised him, but into the dark.<sup>3</sup>

[Dion(ysius): For the lot so called manifests a sort of divine gift of the holy rank of that divine election, whence also (it shows) how they received into the apostolic number of the holy Twelve the one divinely manifested by the divine lot. For he was numbered and called cum undecim apostolis twelve.<sup>3</sup>]

4. It is true that neither the extant part of the Commentary nor the Catena mentions Matthias by that or any other name. At the same time a genuine Old Syriac Commentary on Acts might be expected to exhibit the most remarkable known peculiarity of that text, viz. the substitution of the name 'Tholomaeus' for 'Matthias': so Aphraates 4, 6 (Parisot 149. 22), and the Syriac Eusebius, *H.E.* i. 12 (ed. M<sup>c</sup>Lean, p. 49) and iii. 29 (ed. M<sup>c</sup>Lean, p. 161).

I feel pretty sure that Isho'dad and the Armenian translator of the Catena must have taken their information from something labelled Ephrem that had very little claim to be his. Possibly it is all connected with the 'Severus-Catena,' a great mass of material compiled in A.D. 861, some of it genuine Ephrem, some of it not. It seems to me to show that we should be very cautious in taking any statement in the Armenian Catena as good evidence for Ephrem's opinions or for the lost Old Syriac text of Acts.—F. C. B.]

<sup>1</sup> The section, Catena, p. 38 8 ff., labelled 'Ephrem,' is from Chrys. 26 x.

<sup>2</sup> This passage, though coming in the middle of a section of Chrysostom, is almost certainly Ephrem. Chrysostom contains nothing of the kind. It may be taken by the catenist from the old Armenian version of Ephrem's comment on the Diatessaron, but Ephrem may equally well have repeated his story in commenting on Acts. In any case it corresponds to the reading of Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, 'collum sibi alligavit,' and of *vg.codd* 'suspensus.'

In rendering Chrysostom on this verse, the catenist cites the Armenian vulgate: 'and having swollen up he burst asunder.' The old Georgian had the same reading, equivalent to *κρησθῆς* or *κρησμένος* found in Euthymius. The Armenian and Georgian must have preserved it from the older Syriac, and Ephrem must have read it in his text of Acts.

<sup>3</sup> This (not from Ephrem) involves *συνκατεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν ἐνδεκα ἀποστόλων δωδέκατος*, or some similar conflate text; cf. Aug. *C. Felicem*. D *hol. text* have 'twelve.' I record the passage because of the coincidence with D etc. The ordinal number was signified by the cardinal.

The first, and longer, sentence of the extract is from Dionysius Areopagita, *Eccl. hier.* v. 5 (p. 238; Migne, col. 513): *περὶ δὲ τοῦ θελοῦ κλήρου τοῦ τῷ Μαρτίᾳ θεωδῶς ἐπιτεσύντος ἔτεροι μὲν ἄλλα εἰρήκασιν οὐκ εὐαγῆς, ὡς οἶμα, τὴν ἐμὴν δὲ καὶ*

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Chrys: He shows also the prediction of Christ to have been in part fulfilled in regard to the traitor: *Vae homini illi, bonum erat ei si natus non fuisset*, which might be said in regard to the Jews, to wit, Wretched are ye, for if your guide Judas suffered thus, much more yourselves. But he did not say anything of the kind, but seeing that what they bought for the Tombs of the Strangers is aptly called the place Akeldama after the issue in chief, that is, through the desolation which Jerusalem suffered at the hands of Titus and his. Wherefore, setting forth next the suitable award of the field, he adduces the prophet: It is written, he says, in the Book of Psalms, that is in the hymns of David: *Fiat commoratio eius deserta, et in his abode (or roof) let no one dwell*. This he said about the city and house. Very aptly, for what is more waste than a tomb. But the desolating of the house in which the traitor strangled himself harbingered the last desolation of the Jews. For the men of Vespasian and Titus wasting them with the sword and hunger, the city became according to the Jews' decision a grave of strangers, that is, of the besieging soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἐρῶ. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὰ λόγια κλῆρον ὀνομάσαι θεαρχικὸν τι θῶρον, ὑποδηλοῦν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ ἱεραρχικῷ χωρῷ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θέας ἐκλογῆς ἀναδεεργμένον. The identification is due to Professor Burkitt, who remarks that the Syriac translation of Dionysius was made by Sergius of Ras 'Ain, who died in 536, a fact which gives us a measure of the date of the catena. Isho'dad also (Comm. on Acts i. 26, *Horae Semiticae* x. p. 7) quotes Dionysius on Acts i. 26: "Dionysius says that they received a revelation about this." The second, shorter, sentence, referring to the 'eleven,' is not taken from the passage in Dionysius Areopagita.

<sup>1</sup> Here as usual the catenist weaves into one connected whole the disjecta membra of Chrysostom, 24 B and 27 B C, thus:

24 B: γεννηθῆτω ἡ ἑπαυλις αὐτῶν ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας.

27 A B: ὁ θεὸς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν οὕτω καλέσαι 'Εβραϊστὶ 'Ακελδαμά· ἀπὸ τοῦτου καὶ τὰ 'Ιουδαίους ἐπιέναι μέλλοντα κατὰ θῆλα ἦν· καὶ δείκνυσιν τέως τὴν πρόρρησιν ἐξεληθοῦσαν ἐκ μέρους, τὴν λέγουσαν Καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ (New Coll. MS. μὴ) ἐγεννηθῆ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος. καὶ περὶ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων τὰ αὐτὰ ἀρμύζει λέγειν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ γενόμενος ὁδηγός, πολλῶ μᾶλλον καὶ οὕτοι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων λέγει τέως. εἰτα δεικνύς ὅτι περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο 'Ακελδαμά, ἐπάγει τὸν προφήτην λέγοντα· Γεννηθῆτω ἡ ἑπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος. τί γὰρ ἐρημώτερον τοῦ τάφου γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ εἰκότως ἂν αὐτοῦ κληθεῖν τὸ χωρίον. ὁ γὰρ τὸ τίμημα καταβαλὼν, εἰ καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ ἡγορακότες εἶεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη δίκαιος λογιέσθαι κύριος ἐρημώσεως μεγάλης. αὕτη ἡ ἐρήμωσις προοίμιον τῆς 'Ιουδακῆς, εἰ γέ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξέτιςσει. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι θαντοὺς ἀνέλων λιμῶ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτευναν, καὶ τάφος γέγονεν ἡ πόλις τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

The form of citation of Ps. lxi. 25 (lxvii. 26) in the catena is noteworthy. The first part agrees with the Armenian vulgate (while Chrysostom 24 B, but not 27, reads αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ). The second part is given in a unique form, not found in Chrysostom's citation (24 B) nor anywhere else, but apparently implied in the following sentence, τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας.

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Ephrem (?) : Et cum complerentur dies pentecostes, erant omnes p. 44.  
concorditer in uno loco. Pentecost with the Greeks is called fifty, u. 1.  
and it was one of the great and notable feasts of the Jews, appointed  
seven times seven days after Zatik on the 50th, and at the same time  
the beginning of harvest, on which day also took place the giving of  
the law in Sinai. Moreover the 50th year was at that time honoured  
in Israel by remission of debts and a return afresh of patrimony.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem : A voice of violent wind was in the house where the p. 45  
ii. 2

The catenist goes further, and refers to 'the house in which the traitor strangled himself,' a description to which nothing in Chrysostom's text corresponds. I believe this touch must be from Ephrem, and that the catenist also derived his citation of Ps. lxi. 25 from Ephrem's commentary. We may conclude: (1) that the older commentary on Acts used by Chrysostom had the reading of Thomas of Harkel; (2) that Ephrem had the same. The only alternative supposition is that the text of Chrysostom used by the Armenian translator of A.D. 1077 contained *καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ*, so that the catenist took it from the Armenian version of Chrysostom. Unfortunately, of this version a few pages only have been printed in Venice, so that we cannot test the hypothesis; but it is improbable, because the New College text of Chrysostom, which otherwise perfectly fits the catena, shows no departure from the Greek text of Acts in the second part of the citation. The form of citation in the catenist does not exactly correspond to the Armenian version of the Psalms, and in any case the catenist would have had no reason to turn away from the Armenian vulgate text of Acts i. 20. The T.R. reads:

γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βιβλῳ ψαλμῶν,  
γενηθήτω ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔρημος,  
καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατακίων ἐν αὐτῇ.

This is also the reading of D. Professor A. C. Clark notes that *αὐτῶν* is read for *αὐτοῦ* probably in Thomas of Harkel's scholion, which agrees substantially with the Syro-hexaplar (see above, p. cxi), and certainly in d t, while for *καὶ μὴ . . . αὐτῇ* Thomas has 'et in tabernaculo eorum non sit qui habitat,' equivalent to *καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῳματι αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατακίων*.

The first *αὐτῶν* is found in mss. of the Armenian lectionary, and is due to the influence of codices like C 81 from which the earlier Armenian text of Acts was revised about the year 430. The longer variant of Thomas is not recorded by Zahn or Blass, yet it stands *en toutes lettres* in the catena.

<sup>1</sup> One of the two Venice mss. of the catena adds this note from the catenist's hand:

"Mark this passage. Pentecost is in his own commentary called by John 'the beginning of harvest,' but he means the Levitical zatik by 'beginning of harvest,' for it was at zatik they dedicated on the altar, and so far forth pentecost appears to be the end of harvest. Choose as you please. Moreover it was the 50th year in which the Lord was crucified and the Spirit descended. It is not clear. This last information we derive from Philo and the Chronicon and were perplexed."

I can find no similar passage in the Greek texts of Chrysostom. In the catena it begins the fourth homily and is accephalous, as the first section of a homily always is; yet I doubt if Ephrem wrote it.

Codex 571. . . . stabant circa illos. Coepit annuntiare evangelium ad  
 ii. 15-22. exitum pentecostes. Non dicit, Musto ebrii sumus, sed Spiritu sancto  
 impleti sumus. Ergo considerate et mementote propheticum spiritum  
 de ore Ioel prophetae et videte quae in illo tempore locutus est et in  
 diebus salutis patrum nostrorum, quae facta sunt a Sennacherim rege  
 Assyriae, mysteriose consummata sunt, en, hodie persalutem gentilium.  
 Coram vobis actibus et re vera consummantur. Id enim quod dixit  
 deus: In diebus novissimis emittam spiritum meum super omnem  
 carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiae vestrae, et iuvenes vestri  
 visiones videbunt, en hodie consummatum est re vera et actibus,  
 sicut vox superna et odor internus et linguae, quae inter nos omnes  
 loquuntur, testificantur nobis. Audite abhinc non verba Galilaeorum,  
 sed verba apostolorum qui spiritu sancto digni facti sunt. Iesus  
 igitur ille qui educatus est in Nazareth, vir ille qui apparuit in signis  
 et prodigiis, quaecunque fecit deus per illum. Praedicabant cum  
 illis virum, ut tanquam lac darent illis evangelium, ut postquam  
 perfecti forent et fierent confirmati, praedicarent illis iudicem et  
 creatorem et deum tanquam verum cibum.

Hunc ait qui definitus separatus fuit consilii dei, ad haec omnia  
 ii. 23. quae fecistis apud illum, quia eum suscitavit deus, iuxta quod non  
 decebat neque commodum erat quod maneret in inferno,<sup>1</sup> id quod  
 ii. 25-34. David cecinit de eodem: Dixit dominus domino meo, sede ad  
 dextram meam. Iterumque dixit: Non dereliquisti animam meam  
 in inferno neque dedisti sancto tuo videre corruptionem.

Quod minime de David implentur ista, manifestum est, quia  
 ii. 29. sepulchrum Davidis usque in hodiernum diem apud nos est. Iesum  
 autem deus suscitavit, nosque sumus testes eius, nobisque testa-  
 fificantur, ecce, vox et odor, omnesque linguae quibus iam ante vos  
 loquimur. Non igitur David, qui sepultus est inter vos, ascendit in  
 coelos, sed filius Davidis cui promissus est per Davidem thronus dei.  
 Scripsit enim: Dixit dominus domino meo, sede ad dextram meam.  
 Ergo e testimonio prophetarum et Davidis quod adducitur vobis, et e  
 voce quam audistis, et odore fragrantiae quem accipitis, et omnibus  
 linguis quas loquimur et auditis, vos, omnis domus Israelis, qui con-  
 gregati estis hodie hic, sciverunt (sic) et cognoverunt quod fecit  
 Christum et sedere fecit eum ad dextram, hunc Iesum quem vos  
 crucifixistis.

<sup>1</sup> ii. 24 τοῦ θεοῦ D Iren.



disciples of Jesus were assembled, and a sweet smell exhaled from the violence of the wind and filled all the house.

Nyss. Eph. : Et replevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes. And p. 45.  
how did the wind fill the house ? Evidently with a sweet odour ii. 2  
and brilliant light.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem : Seditque supra singulos eorum. That is, the tongues p. 47.  
appearing sat upon them individually. It is clear they severally ii. 3  
sat on each, all the portions sitting down on them one by one. This  
is why, resuming the whole of the portions in one because of their  
identity of nature, he uses the singular and says, It sat upon each.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem : Facta autem hac voce, convenit multitudo et con- p. 49.  
gregata est. The voice which came from heaven was audible to ii. 6-8  
all citizens, and the smell which exhaled from the violence of the  
wind collected the many together. This is the sound which there was.

Ephrem : These same people whom the dread sound stirred p. 49.  
and the fragrant smell led gathered together, when they saw the ii. 6  
Galleans talking in all tongues, wondered, as he says : Quoniam  
audiebat uniuscuiusque linguis loqui eorum. But let no one imagine  
the Apostles were speaking in their native tongue, while their hearers  
heard (them speak) in their own several tongues.

And showed their good will, for, amazed at what had happened, p. 50.  
they said, What is the meaning of this ?<sup>3</sup> ii. 12.

Ephrem : For as the dawn is sign of sunrise, so the signs on the p. 55.  
day of the cross of Christ harbingered the outpouring of the Spirit ii. 17.  
of God.

Ephrem : Whoselighthe vouchsafed to the Gentiles, and the vapour p. 56.  
of smoke to the crucifiers for the exacting from them of requital for ii. 20.  
the blood of Christ and of the just. And there is darkened upon  
them the sun before they be caught in the lake of fire, of which he  
says : Antequam venerit dies domini magnus et manifestus.

Ephrem : He proclaims him man human, that as with milk he p. 58.  
may feed them with the gospel, but, when they be made perfect, ii. 22-36.  
they shall proclaim him judge, creator, and God.

<sup>1</sup> The above is headed Nyss-Ephrem, but it can hardly be from Gregory of Nyssa. But compare a paragraph in a later paragraph of the catena (p. 46) headed Nazianzen : "Therefore in various forms it appears, for not a wind and smell and light only, but tongues visible they saw, and these like fire, to indicate many persons through fire." But Nazianzen is no more likely than the other Gregory to have had a reference to the odour of sanctity in his text of Acts, and we may suspect here the influence of Ephrem.

<sup>2</sup> Chrysostom 33 B D is a little similar, but there is no reason to regard the ascription to Ephrem as wrong.

<sup>3</sup> The catenist injects into the middle of a passage from Chrysostom the words *ἐν τῷ γεραιότερῳ* (so D Aug. *Contra ep. Fund.*). His source must have been Ephrem, for Chrysostom lacks the words, and the catenist hardly added them *de suo*.

ii. 37-41.

Quidam vero ex iis,<sup>1</sup> postquam viderunt verba prophetarum, nam iterabat Shmavon re vera, sed et linguae quidem testificabantur de eodem, exterriti sunt, et incipiebant dicere illi : Quid autem faciemus et vivamus ? Ait illis : Postquam confessi eritis eum quem negastis et poenitentiam egeritis, et baptizati eritis in nomen illud quem crucifixistis, remissio quae latet in baptismo eius expiat vos ab iniquitate quam patrastis, quum crucifixistis eum. Postquam autem expiati estis et purificati, tum denique muneribus spiritus quem vidistis apud nos digni fietis vos. Admiserunt multi, baptizati sunt, et appositae sunt illis animae fere tria millia.

iii. 1-16.

Iterum quum accedebant ad ecclesiam, curaverunt ibi claudum ex utero matris eius, et quoniam non sciebat ambulatio quid esset, exsilens exsiliabat, et ingressus est ecclesiam. Incepit dicere congregationi quae congregabatur illic videre claudum : Deus, ait, glorificavit filium suum variis miraculis quae fecit inter vos. Sed vos spreveritis et negastis eum coram Pilato, qui volebat liberare eum,<sup>2</sup> quia scivit propter odium eos tradidisse sibi eum ; et petivistis Baraban et trucidastis caput repromissum vitae. Eum enim suscitavit deus, nosque testes eius sumus, nobisque testis curatio quam vobis omnibus coram dedimus illi

iii. 17-26.

Ne igitur profigaret spem eorum quia crucifixierant, et omnino prorsus perderentur, allevavit ex illis Shmavon dicens ipse : Scimus,<sup>3</sup> ait, quia per ignorantiam fecistis hoc, ipsissima verba quibus usus est dominus, Non sciunt quod faciunt. Iteravit ea etiam Paulus, Si scivissent, non crucifixissent dominum gloriae. Deus, ait, quod praenuntiavit<sup>4</sup> per os prophetarum, quod crucietur Christus, eodem modo implevit ; neque : Vos fecistis, quamvis per invidiam vestram fecistis. Si enim prophetae, utique non volentes, impleverunt apud eos, non ait : Poenitemini quia oblitterabuntur peccata vestra. Et advenient vobis<sup>5</sup> tempora refrigerii pro iudiciali ira quae per Daniele m imposita est vobis. Moses ergo dixit quod prophetam suscitabit vobis dominus deus e fratribus vestris sicut me, illum audistis quodcunque locuturus dicturusque sit, quia filius dei est, et quia etiam prophetae qui post Samuelem locuti sunt de his diebus. Ne fraudemini benedictione quam benedixit deus Abraham dicens : In semine tuo benedicentur omnes populi terrae. Propter hoc enim ad vos missus est, non ut trucidaretis eum, sed ut benedicamini per eum.

<sup>1</sup> ii. 37 καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπαν D.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 13 ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν θέλωντος D. Chrysostom knew of this reading. Just before in the same verse the text warrants more than the single word ἠρτήσαυθε ; in vs. 14, Aug. *De pecc. mer.* reads 'inonorastis et negastis.'

<sup>3</sup> iii. 17 ἐπιστάμεθα D h ; cf. Ephrem on 1 Cor. ii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, praevenit praedicavit—a Syriasm.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 20 vobis h Iran. hol ✕, see Textual Note, p. 30.

Ephrem : Cui omnes nos sumus testes. And to us is witness p. 62.  
the violent sound which resounded, and the sweet odour which ii. 32.  
exhaled, and the strange tongues we speak.

Ephrem : For the remission which lies hidden in his baptism p. 66.  
is absolver of you from iniquity, for that ye crucified him. And ii. 38-39.  
when ye are absolved and sanctified, then of the gifts of the spirit  
ye behold in us ye become worthy, ye also. And he confirms his  
utterance and says : Vobis enim est repromissio et filiis vestris.  
Clearly it is from Joel, this thing gospels : Effundam de spiritu  
meo.

Ephrem (?) : Quidam vero dicunt, quia imperitus erat neque p. 73.  
scibat ambulare, nunquam enim ambulaverat. iii. 2.

For on the wishing of Pilate to liberate him, you did not wish. p. 78. 8.  
iii. 13.

And here, that a witness for you the healing which we gave him p. 79. 15 f.  
before you all. iii. 16.

Lest he should cut off their hope who crucified him, and they p. 79. 29 f.  
should be utterly lost, he returned, let them off, giving faculty of iii. 17.  
repentance.<sup>1</sup> p. 80. 29 f.  
iii. 18.

Who forestalled preached by the mouth of all the prophets. p. 83. 37 ff.  
iii. 18.

<sup>1</sup> This as usual amidst matter from Chrysostom.

- iv. 1-4. Quia ergo exspectabant sacerdotes alteram diem ut tormentarent apostolos, sed propter curationem claudi quae facta erat appositi sunt illis, et erant quinque millia numero. Adduxerunt ergo apostolos crastina die, et quia non admisit tormentari eos curatio claudi, qui stabat ante eos, minati sunt illis et dimiserunt. Apostoli tamen resurrectionem domini coram omnibus sine timore annuntiaverunt. Et appositi denuo et dicebant: Nos quae audivimus ab illo et virtutem miraculorum quam vidimus ab illo, celare utique possumus?
- iv. 5-21. Postquam autem advenērunt apostoli narraveruntque sociis suis quae evenerant, coeperunt precari, dicendo: Tu es qui locutus es per Davidem: Quare tremuerunt<sup>1</sup> gentes et populi meditati sunt inania? Contra erant reges, Herodes, et principes, Pilatus, et meditati sunt simul de uncto eius. Christum igitur quem spreverunt, patrem quem non spreverunt, spreverunt per eum. Congregati sunt reges Hebraeorum, Herodes, et principes ethnicorum, Pilatus, facere omnia quae decrevistis, id est, omne quod scripsisti in prophetis de Christo. Nisi accipiant illum, immo voluntas tua utique voluit, fiat hoc omne quod scriptum est de ingressu gentilium, quia non acceperunt illum Iudaei. Si enim accepissent eum, tanquam prophetavit Zacharias, laetitia fuisset illis ingressus eius ad eos; sed quia contristaverunt et trucidarunt eum, extirpatio et indignatio facta est illis, quomodo posuit super illos Daniel indicium. Conturbatus est mundus omnis ad vocem petitionum et supplicationum eorum, et impleti sunt spiritu et sine metu loquebantur cum omni homine qui voluit audire verbum eorum.<sup>2</sup>
- iv. 32-35. Et erat unanimitas inter eos: potentes qui erant inter eos possessiones suas vendebant et afferebant in medium, causa ornandi vestitu pauperes qui discipuli sunt facti, et discipulabant. Ea omnia facta sunt, ut perficerent verbum domini nostri: Egrediantur in omnes regiones ad evangelismum sine scrupulo ullo et sine praepedimento.
- v. 1-10. Occiderunt domum Ananiae et suorum, non solum quia furtum fecerunt et celaverunt, sed quia non timuerunt, et voluerunt decipere eos in quibus spiritus sanctus omnia investigans habitabat.
- v. 11-37. Rursus denuo apprehenderunt vinxerunt propter curationes quas faciebant, et liberati sunt ab angelo, ut advenirent loquerentur de Christo in templo. Sacerdotes destiterunt ire stare in templo in precibus mane,<sup>3</sup> sed adsederunt iudicandi causa apostolos, non enim magis putabantur tormenta apostolos quam preces? Incedebant primo in ecclesiam et valuerunt, ut quum docerent, non sit opus iis mittere quaerere eos, sed actu et operibus impletum est in illis verbum

<sup>1</sup> (?) tremuerunt for fremuerunt.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 31 πάντι τῷ θέλει τιστεύειν D a, omni volenti Aug.

<sup>3</sup> v. 21 ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωὶ D.

And whereas the healing of him did not allow of torturing them. p. 90 23.  
iv 21

Ephrem : Adversus dominum et adversus unctum. For in p. 94.  
rejecting Christ they withal rejected the Father, whom they rejected iv. 26 f.  
not. Convenerunt enim, etc.

Ephrem : Thus were slain the house of Ananias, not only because p. 102.  
they thieved and hid, but because they feared not, and desired to v. 1-10.  
deceive them in whom the all-searching Holy Spirit dwelt.

domini nostri dicendo : Qui occidat vos, aestimabitur fidelis minister esse dei. Postquam igitur comminati sunt occidere apostolos, liberavit eos Gamaliel, qui veluti timore affecit et assentiri compulit <sup>1</sup> sacerdotes istis verbis : Ante, ait, quam tempus hoc, id est ante natum domini nostri, exstitit, ait, Thaude unctus magis, et aberraverunt post eum quadringenti viri, qui facti sunt in morte eius nihil. Exstitit denuo Iuda Galilaeus, in diebus quum censebant <sup>2</sup> homines in terrae censu, quo tempore natus est dominus noster. Hoc igitur fecit Satanias ante natum domini nostri et in hora natali, quia audivit de natu eius per annunciationem angeli, qui annuntiavit Zachariae et Mariae et de eo quod impeditus est Shmavon senex quum gustaret mortem antequam videret <sup>3</sup> dominum Christum.

v. 40-42

Quamvis ergo non mortui sunt apostoli propter consilium Gamalielis, minando tamen minati sunt illis ne loquerentur in nomine illo. Sed apostoli unus ab altero audiebant hoc, ita ut in templo et in domo assidue et indesinenter praedicarent dominum nostrum.

vi. 8, 10, 12.

Postea deprehenderunt Stephanum propter signa eius et prodigiosam sapientiam, et quia omni tempore roboroso argumento e prophetis desumpto circumibat eos et conturbabat, <sup>4</sup> quia dicebant apostolos esse ignaros et imbecillos et litterarum inscios.

iv. 13.

vii. 2-43.

Coepit Stephanus repetere illis ab Abrahamo cum ceteris patriarchis <sup>5</sup> qui erant circa eum, et descendit usque ad Mosem. Itaque ostendebat quomodo contumelia affecerunt patres eorum Mosem, qui a deo missus est ad illos salvator, ita stant oppositi illi Christo. De quo Moses dixit, Prophetam suscitabit vobis dominus tanquam

<sup>1</sup> *Lst.* dabat—a Syriasm.

<sup>2</sup> *Lst.* sornbebant.

<sup>3</sup> μέχρι του δραν.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 10 (?) διὰ τὸ ἐλέγχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρηγορίας D h.

<sup>5</sup> vii. 4 (?) καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, D hol. x (et patres vestri).

Ephrem: Post hunc, he says, exstitit Iudas Galilaeus in diebus <sup>p 115.</sup>  
facti census et rebellem fecit populum multum post se. Satan then <sup>v 37</sup>  
raised them up before the birth and at the birth of our Lord For he  
heard about his birth from the words of the angel that was with  
Zachariah and Mariam; nay, and beheld that Shmavon, the old  
man, was prevented from tasting death until he should behold our  
Lord Jesus Christ; he was eager by means of these revolts to  
damage the economy of Christ But in his haste, as he, so also this  
one perished, and those who obeyed him were scattered.

Not only were they worsted, but they could not contest any- <sup>p. 124, 16 f.</sup>  
thing against (him). For with powerful argument from the prophets <sup>vi 10.</sup>  
he turned them round and routed (them).

Ephrem: But since they taunted the apostles with being silly <sup>p 127 35 ff.</sup>  
and ignorant, he began to repeat to them the scripture; beginning <sup>vii 2</sup>  
from Abraham he sums up as far as Christ and their shamelessness.

Ephrem (?): Qui nutritus est tribus mensibus in domo patris <sup>p. 134 39-</sup>  
sui. Whom, says Paul, they hid in faith; for the beauty of his <sup>135 19</sup>  
mien gave hope of God's grace to rescue him. But being no longer <sup>vii. 20.</sup>  
able to hide him, though they wished to, they cast him into the  
river . . . when they despaired of human aid and exposed him,  
then the benevolence of God was resplendently shown . . . him  
who ought to have died and was nigh unto death, having been  
thrown into the river, the king himself brought up.<sup>1</sup>

Numquid interficere me tu vis, quemadmodum interfecisti heri <sup>p 136 34 ff.</sup>  
Aegyptium? Thus did they instantly forget the good service and <sup>vii 28</sup>  
pay back with hatred his benefit. For, behold, he published abroad  
what had been done in secret for his safety.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem: And in order to demonstrate that it was not now <sup>p. 144.</sup>  
only that their sin had begun, but from the very beginning when <sup>vii. 41-43.</sup>  
they were chosen. For, lo, they worshipped idols, which thing also  
God suffered, and they abandoned the service wondrous of God's

<sup>1</sup> The above is mainly from Chrysostom who wrote: *ὅτι τοῖνυν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀπηλπίσθη καὶ ἐμπῶσαν αὐτὸν, τότε τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ οἰκονομία* (Now College ms. *εὐεργεσία*) *ἐδέχθη διαλάμπουσα. ἐκτεθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνέλετο ἡ θυγάτηρ Παρῶ* κατλ.

Whence does the catena add (p. 135. 17) 'into the river'? D o *vg. add* *hol* ἵ: have (*ἐκτεθέντας δὲ αὐτοῦ*) *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*. It is probable that the catenist introduced the words from Ephrem; but not certain, because Ephrem glances already at vi. 43 where the lacuna in his text begins. It is possible, however, that he went back on his tracks. The Armenian *vulgate* omits *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*.

<sup>2</sup> In Chrysostom we have nothing similar, and the question arises whether the last sentence is not an echo of the words added in D after *Αὐτοῦ* at the end of vs. 24, *καὶ ἐκρύβεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμο*, which Blass omits as due to Exod. ii. 12. The catenist is unlikely to have been influenced here except by Ephrem, who therefore must have had the addition in vs. 24 in his version of Acts.

me, ipsum audietis. Demonstravitque iterum quod dereliquerunt  
tabernaculum horae et fecerunt tabernaculum Mo[loch].

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tabernacle, and chose the tabernacle of Moloch, the dead rot of idols. Wherefore, because of the dead image they worshipped, he reproaches their folly and impiety. *Suscepistis tabernaculum Moloch.* This is the excuse of sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem: Wherefore after showing how they exchanged the tabernacle of glory for the tabernacle of Moloch, and how the highest set at naught the temple of their boast, that they might make a temple for him through fear of God. But as he knew they would not profit thereby, but sought to slay him, he rejoicing in spirit turned his discourse against them and rebuked their hardness of heart in the words of the prophets, and not in his own: *O duri cervicis et incircumcisi cordibus*, wherewith Jeremiah reproached them. He also set at naught the circumcision of the flesh and extolled that of the heart, which God seeks, God from whom they revolted. Wherefore to the accusations of the prophet he adds his own.

Ephrem (?): *Et ille plenus erat spiritu sancto, intendit in coelum et vidit gloriam dei et Iesum stantem a dextra dei.* It is clear, lo, that the sufferers for Christ enjoy the glory of the entire Trinity. He saw the Father and Jesus on his right hand; for Jesus only appears to his own, as after the resurrection to the Apostles. And as the champion stood in the midst of the mad slayers of the Lord without a helper, and as it was the hour of the crowning of the first martyr, he saw the Lord with a crown who stood on his right hand as one encouraging victory over death, to show that in the same way he secretly aids those who for his sake are given over to death. Therefore he reveals what he saw, the heavens opened, which since they were shut to Adam were first opened to Christ alone in the Jordan, but after the cross were opened also to the sharers of Christ's cross, and first to this man, as he says: *Ecece video coelos apertos et filium hominis stantem a dextra dei.* See you not, that he revealed the cause of the lightening of his countenance, for he was about to behold this marvellous vision. That is why he was changed into the likeness of an angel, that his testimony might be trustworthy.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem (?): Wherefore the saint, desiring to frighten them,

<sup>1</sup> The above is labelled Ephrem, and it agrees with the last words before the lacuna begins; but the paragraphs which follow it in the catena without change of ascription, and which fill most of pages 144-145, are Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> The above is not Chrysostom, though it comes amidst matter taken from him. The style resembles Ephrem. The words 'the champion stood in the midst' seem to echo the addition of D in chap. vi. 15 *ἐν μέσσοις αὐτῶν* D, 'stantis inter illos' h. v. g. codd. A rhapsody of Ephrem on St. Stephen, read in the Armenian menologion, rather implies the same addition. The catena-extract refers back in its context to vi. 15. The menologion runs: "The power of Christ was dwelling in him, and thereby his countenance was made resplendent in the midst of his slayers."

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cried out with a loud voice.<sup>1</sup> With high-pitched voice he pealed into their ears what he saw, in order to quell their frenzy. But they what? They stopped their ears like serpents.

Ephrem: And forasmuch as it seemed a small thing in his eyes p. 152.  
vii. 58-59 to cast a stone at him, he became a guardian of chattels for his slayers, in order that the lot might be divided among all of them<sup>2</sup> Et lapidabant Stephanum. Not idly does he repeat the story of the stoning, but in order to show that it was the false witnesses<sup>3</sup> who first began to stone the Lord, so as to give the impression that they were keeping the precept of the law which says that the hands of the witnesses shall cast the first stones at the blasphemer. They were craftily striving to establish such an opinion by means of false witnesses against the saint, et lapidabant Stephanum, who cried aloud and said: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

Chrysostom: But see how providentially arranged was their p. 153. 13 ff.  
viii. 1 flight for the salvation of others, lest henceforth they should all settle down in Jerusalem only, but that the word might be spread in remote regions. . . . The apostles however because they desired thus to draw the Jews to themselves, did not quit the city, but in other cities also furnished cause for being bold enough to preach the word of life.<sup>4</sup>

Ephrem: And it is similar that in that day they took their p. 153. 7 ff.  
viii. 1 possessions as spoil, whom the Apostle praises, saying: Ye accepted with joy the plundering of your goods. Et omnes dispersi sunt per vicos Iudaeae et in Samariam praeter apostolos. It is clear they were in full flight from the presence of the persecutors.

Ephrem: Saulus autem devastabat ecclesiam, per domos in- p. 154.  
viii. 3 trans trahebat viros ac mulieres, tradebat in carcerem. For in this persecution which was to scatter and pursue the disciples from

<sup>1</sup> Here d has 'et cum exclamasset.'

The catenist himself adds the remark that some (so Armenian vulgate) read thus: 'They cried out with a loud voice and stopped their ears.' He clearly had a text which implied not *κράζαντες*, but *κράζαντος* (so one Greek minuscule). The passage is embedded in Chrysostom matter, but Chrysostom has the usual Greek text. It is clearly a bit of Ephrem worked into Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> Either read *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῶν*, or else (with HP many minn.) omit *αὐτῶν* altogether, it being of course Stephen's clothes which were to be divided among the slayers. The text of D at xxii. 20 has already been adapted to the corruption (or interpretation?) *αὐτῶν*, and the Peshitto shows signs of botching in the later passage.

<sup>3</sup> This implies 'falsi testes' *gug perp.*

<sup>4</sup> The first sentence is in New College MS.: τοῦτο δὲ οἰκονομία ἦν ὡς μηκέτι λοιπὸν ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις πάντας καθήσθαι. The rest is not from Chrysostom, and echoes the reading of D d. Sah: πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. The catenist must have got it from Ephrem.

vii. 28-39. . . . in currum eius et adveniens evangelizabat de Christo de lectione Isaiae, et baptizavit eum. Statim habitavit<sup>1</sup> super eum ascendentem e lavacro baptismi spiritus virtutis operum, ut operibus

<sup>1</sup> vii. 39 πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἐπέκειεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον A minn perp vg.codd  
hal ✕ Jerome.

Jerusalem, it seemed to the priests, the judges, and to Saul that the gospel was already paralysed at the very start; and therefore Saul roamed around from house to house to search and see if he could still find any one.

Ephrem : So Philip went down thence and in the power of his signs filled the land of the Samaritans with his teaching, so much so that even Shmavon the magus, who through his wizardry astounded the Samaritans, undertook to go down with the Samaritans unto the baptism of the font, which in due sequence the evangelist relates. p. 155.  
viii. 5-13.

Ephrem : And this is why they sent Peter and John, that by their imposition of hands the Shamartatzi might receive the spirit of signs and astonish the children of Jerusalem by works of the spirit which the Shamartatzi wrought. Tunc imponebant manus super illos et accipiebant spiritum sanctum. It is clear that making prayer, as he said, they laid on hands. For not merely had the Holy Spirit been given, or they could give it, but there was need of many petitions; for it is not the same thing to meet with healing and to receive the power of healing.<sup>1</sup> p. 158.  
viii. 14-17.

Ephrem (?) : It was much that he even of himself confessed that he was overtaken by punishment, and that his soul was guilty. For the magus said, Precamini vos, etc. These words are of one confessing his faults, and this he said toward his purification as being repentant. But it was necessary he should from the depths of his heart weep and lament, that perchance he might be reconciled. But see him to be polluted with all wizardry, and bound with indissoluble knots in the cords of evil. For when he was reprov'd, he believed; and when again he was reprov'd, he humbled himself, imagining he could hide. But affrighted at their multitude he feared to deny his revealed sins; and though he might have said: I knew not but acted out of simplicity, he dreaded to do so, for he was convicted previously by his signs, and again because he openly mocked his evil designs. Therefore in the long he fled a fugitive to Rome, thinking the Apostles would not arrive there.<sup>2</sup> p. 161. 9 ff.  
viii. 24.

Ephrem : But it is in keeping that he came because of this, for he received it in succession from the tradition of the Queen of the South who came to worship in the temple in the days of Solomon. p. 163.  
viii. 27.

Ephrem : Wherefore as he went up from the font of baptism, there dwelt forthwith upon him the spirit of might of works, that p. 166.  
viii. 38-39.

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the passage is from Chrysostom 146 B f.

<sup>2</sup> The first part of the above is from Chrysostom 147 B as far as 'cords of evil'. The rest has nothing to correspond in the Greek and is by its style shown to be Ephrem. The phrase 'his revealed sins' implies (viii. 24) τοῦτων τῶν κακῶν ὧν εἰρήκαρέ μοι. D. Chrysostom implies that Simon did not do what is stated in the Bezan addition, ὅτι πολλὰ κλάων οὐ διελέμενον, and so reveals that it stood in his text.

spiritus qui inter Indos operabatur, credibilis fiat crux pedefacta quam praedicabat.

c. 1-2.

Shavul autem minis suis quibus persequabatur omnes de Ierusalem, epistolam accepit et decretum petuit, cum nemo mandaret eum, ipse obstinatus sponte in omnes civitates, ubicunque manerent, ubicunque invocarent nomen illud, discessit persecuturus eos; quoniam plus quam sacerdotes nimis asper erat contra ecclesiam. Non erat ei longanimitas; si adderet persequeretur, atque deinde vocaret eam, ut antequam persequeretur quantum studuit, ecclesiae enim discipulum reddidit eum.<sup>1</sup> Luce ergo quia caecavit eum, metu affecit eum,<sup>2</sup> et leni voce persuasit eum. Is consensit assentiri, quia metuit contemnere humilitatem domini nostri qui voce apparebat, et contremuit denuo spernere violentiam eius qui per lucem praevenit eum et circumdabat. Cecidit Shavul dum stupefactus stabat, non post vocem sed ante vocem, in haesitationem et in admirationem percussus stabat, quis e coelo caecaverit eum, quia ecce Iesus neque e mortuis, uti putabat, resurrexerat. Postquam vero dixit: Shavul, cur persequeris me? immo defecit mente sua, quod ego propter caelos persequor, neque quod eum cuius habitatio in caelis est persequor. At illi: Quis es tu, domine meus, qui in caelis persecutionem pateris? Quoniam ego Iesum qui inter mortuos est, una cum discipulis Iesu, persequor. Dicit illi dominus: Ego sum Iesus quem tu persequeris. Tunc dum stabat in tremore propter ea quae evenerant illi, et quia conterritus metuebat<sup>3</sup> ut forsitan surgeret de terra ubi coniectus erat, utque lux amota ab illo rediret ad illum, dentiumque crepitu in trepidatione erat, ne forte haberet poenam maiorem quam eam

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this sentence is obscure, but in the catena it becomes clear.

<sup>2</sup> ix. 4 cum magna mentis alienatione perp[er] [in pa]vore h.

<sup>3</sup> ix. 5 qui tremens timore plenus in isto sub[i] facto] h, and similarly vg. *codd* hol x̄. etc.

by the works of the spirit which he wrought in the Indies might become worthy of credence the cross disdained, which he preached. Et angelus domini rapuit Philippum et amplius non vidit eum eunuchus.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem : But he—for no one sent him—himself obstinate of will, accessit ad principem sacerdotum etc. (to the end of the verse).

Ephrem : And forasmuch as he was much harsher toward the churches than the priests and others, God was not so longsuffering toward him as that he should abound (or continue) in persecutions, and he should later on call him ; but before he should persecute the Church as much as he wished, he made of him a disciple.

Ephrem : So then in that with light he blinded, he appalled him, and with fear of the dread glory he quenched his wrath and with soft voice softened him. Wherewith even he was induced to submit ; for he feared to despise the humility of our Lord who with gentlest voice appeared, and he was terrified to contemn his violence who by dint of violent light dazzled him. And while he was flung to earth, reft of sense he lay, not after the voice but before the voice, lost in wonder as to who from heaven had blinded him, for lo, Jesus had then not in any wise risen from the dead according to his opinion. But when he said to him in reproach : Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? In what by me wronged doest thou this to me, he fainted in his mind and thought : I for sake of the Lord of heaven do persecute, can it be that I persecute him who dwells in heaven ? Next he asks : Who art thou, Lord ? Forthwith he owns himself a servant. Who art thou, Lord, who in the heavens art persecuted, for I do persecute that Jesus who is among the dead, along with his disciples.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem : And whilst he still was all a-tremble because of the events which had happened to him, and, awestruck, he feared lest perhaps he should not rise from the ground where he was thrown, and lest the light which was reft from him would never more return to him, and his teeth were chattering with excitement, lest haply

<sup>1</sup> The catenist adds this note (p. 166. 39-167. 7) :

" But in old copies of the commentary, 'the Spirit of the Lord snatched away, he says, Philip.' And often he doubles the Spirit. Methinks because he wants to establish that the rape of Philip by the angel was unseen by the eunuch, lest the eunuch should mistake for a man an angel appearing in gross form, as to many in human form."

<sup>2</sup> Here as often the catenist has woven into Ephrem's text phrases out of Chrysostom, e.g. 'softened' (μαλάττει) for 'stimulavit,' and the words (156 B) ἐσβασεν αὐτὸν τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόβῳ, then ἀλλ' ἐγκαλεῖ μονοουχὶ λέγων· τί παρ' ἐμοῦ μέγα ἢ μακρὸν ἠδικημένους ταῦτα ποιεῖς ; εἶπε δὲ τίς ἐσ, κύριε ; τέως ἀμαλάρησεν αὐτὸν δούλον. This passage illustrates how hard it was before the discovery of the full text of Ephrem to separate the Ephrem and Chrysostom elements in the catena.

quam acceperat; propterea ait illi: Quid vis, domine meus, ut faciam? nam quaecunque adhuc feci, ignarus feci; quandoquidem accepi praeconium tuum una cum praeconiatione, ut poenas rependam mea persecutione, quam cumulavit mihi persecutio mea. Attamen non curavit eum in loco ubi caecavit eum, ut Damasci cuncti advenirent et viderent eum, minitabundo signo quod impositum est illi.

Viros autem qui cum illo erant, quamvis stupefecit eos vox quae e caelo evenit, sed effusionem lucis non viderunt, ne obcaecarentur etiam illi, forentque in confusione. Caecavit Shavul re vera, sed misertus est eos per gratiam, et quia epistolam a sacerdotibus illo quaesiverat, non autem illi, et quia etiam in praedicationem et in apostolatatum ille rursus selectus erat, non autem illi. Verbera hausit duobus oculis, quia ausus est persequi integrum et immaculatum corpus ecclesiae.

Amoverunt elevarunt eum de terra, et in magna ignominia, postquam levatum habebant illum, trahebant ducebant Damascum, ubi profectus incedebat magna insolentia, ducebant, introduxerunt eum illic. Sed postquam manserat ille triduum, ut agnoscerent eum Damascus et omnes qui circa eam (urbem) quod verbera adhibuit, et postea consensit, neque dono corruptus persuasus est ut taceret et quiesceret.

ix. 10-19. Apparuit dominus in visione noctis Ananiae, ut sine metu adiret curaret persecutorem. Et apparuit iterum Shavulo, ut sine scrupulo illuminaretur coram curatore suo. Ingressus est et curavit et baptizavit eum, et accepit gaudium de cibo, quia per dies non gustaverat.

ix. 20-26. Shavul igitur qui profectus incedebat conturbare discipulos evangelii, inventus est conturbator persecutorum evangelii, et aiebat filium dei esse Iesum hunc quem vos putatis in inferno esse, duas naturas illius praedicavit, deitatis et humanitatis, audientibus et infidelibus praedicabat. Quia vero conturbavit urbem tali evangelizatione, turbata est cuncta civitas Damascenorum contra illum. Atque ne praepediretur is morte sua praedicatione cuius desiderans egebat, consilium inivit descendere per murum, non ut accederet ad civitatem ethnicorum, ubi accepti erant eum, sed Ierusalem, ubi plus quam Damasci comminabantur illi. Quando

ix. 28-30.



penalties of punishment greater than what he had received should overtake him, he gives him hope of clemency and of seeing once more.

But he did not heal him there on the spot, but blinded him.<sup>1</sup> p. 170. 27 f.

Ephrem : In order that all Damascus might come, might see him, for the awful sign which was wrought in him. ix. 8.  
p. 170. 29 f.

Ephrem : But also the strong effulgence of light they saw not, lest they too should be blinded and confusion result. But he ix. 6.  
p. 171. 2 f.  
ix. 7-8.

And because it was he, and not they, who asked for the letter of the priests, and because it was he that was chosen for the apostolate of preaching and not they.<sup>2</sup> p. 171. 6 f.  
ix. 7.

Ephrem : Therefore it was then that he both raised him aloft inscrutably into the third heaven and taught him ineffable things transcendentally, that he should not prove in any way inferior to the pillars of the church and short of equality of highest honour of apostolate.<sup>3</sup> But in that moment surrexit, ait, Saulus de terra, apertisque oculis nihil videbat. He was smitten in his two eyes, because he presumed to persecute the whole and spotless body of the church. Ad manus illum sumentes introduxerunt Damascus. In great ignominy they drew and brought him to Damascus, whither setting out he was proceeding in great pride. They drew and brought him, him who had expected to draw others by force, as if bound they brought him within, who was about to bind others. p. 171. 9 f.  
ix. 8.

Ephrem : Et erat ibi tribus diebus neque videbat. In order that Damascus and all around it might know him, that he was smitten and then had come to himself, and that he was not seduced by any bribe to be silent and be quiet. p. 171. 30 f.  
ix. 9.

Apparuit dominus . . . curatori (*lit.* 'physician') suo. p. 172.

Ephrem : And he who set forth to go and molest the disciples of the gospel, proved to be a molester of persecutors of the gospel, for he said : Jesus is the Son of God whom ye imagine to be in hell. ix. 10.  
p. 177. 17 f.  
ix. 20.

Ephrem : So then when he stirred up Damascus with the gospel which he began to preach there, all Damascus was stirred up against him. p. 180. 14 f.  
ix. 22-23.

Ephrem : But lest he should be prevented by his death from preaching there, which he wanted to do, he planned to descend by the wall ; not in order to proceed to cities of the gentiles, where they received him, but to Jerusalem, which more than Damascus p. 180. 35-  
181. 2.  
ix. 25.

<sup>1</sup> This is wrongly assigned to Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> This is wrongly labelled Chrysostom.

<sup>3</sup> This section is headed Ephrem, but this first sentence is not found in the commentary, nor yet in Chrysostom's. Perhaps the catenist put it in, unless indeed the commentary has a lacuna in it.

igitur a Iudaeis qui ibi erant insectabatur, discipulis vero qui in Ierusalem erant non erat credibilibus, tunc Barnabas ex omnibus sociis suis accessit, manu<sup>1</sup> apprehendit eum et duxit ad apostolos. Postquam vero consederat, narravit Paulus visionem, et turbavit Iudaeos, qui studebant occidere eum, transportaverunt illum Caesaream et ab inde Tarsum, civitatem eius, miserunt eum.

ix. 33-43.

Shmavon vero postquam curaverat Anes qui erat paralyticus, etiam vivificavit Ioppae mulierem beatam, itaque resurrectione eius plurimos convertit

x. 1-44.

Arcessivit illum Cornelius ex ethnicis per visionem quae facta est super eum. Ne autem sperneret Shmavon neque accederet, apparuit illi in visione vas veluti lintei magni, quatuor caudis suspensum de coelo, et erant in eo animalia omnia munda et immunda, et dixit illi in hora esuriendi eius: Occide et manduca. Quum non consentasset voci, addidit et dixit illi: Quod Deus purificavit, tu ne immundum fac. Atque dum admirabatur propter visionem, en, viri advenerunt propter eum. Ait illi spiritus: Ortus incede, neque haesites cum viris qui venerunt inquirere te, quia ego mittam eos. Ergo advenienti Shmavoni obviam ivit illi Cornelius, prostravit sese illi et conduxit eum in domum suam. Invenit viros multos, quia praeparati erant audiendi eum causa. Postquam vero rogavit eos quae causa fuerat arcessendi ipsum, narravit ei Cornelius visionem suam. Respondit Shmavon et ait: Certe sine personarum acceptione est deus, etenim inter ethnicos qui visi sunt nobis contemptibiles, si inveniat aliquis qui adorat eum in veritate, acceptabilis est coram illo. Dumque ipse adveniens narrabat de praedicatione domini, unde et ubi incepit et ubi finivit per crucem, et de resurrectione eius et de XL diebus,<sup>2</sup> quia mansit ille et deinde ascendit,<sup>3</sup> et quod testificabant de eo omnes prophetae, et quod purgetur omnis quicumque baptizatur creditque in nomen eius, et ecce, spiritus sanctus per linguas advenit et habitavit super cunctos

x. 45-xi. 3.

audientes verbum, et incoeperunt loqui linguis linguis. Cecidit stupor super circumcisos qui cum Shmavone erant, quod ethnicis etiam effusa diffusa sunt dona spiritus, et manifeste omnibus linguis iam stabant loquebantur veluti apostoli. Conversus est Shmavon ad circumcisos qui cum illo erant, et ait illis: Quid potest impedire baptismum in illis qui antequam baptizari acceperunt spiritum sanctum tanquam nos? Baptizavit eos in redemptionem qui acceperant spiritum, non propter linguas tantum, sed per spiritum qui, antequam baptismum acceperunt, certiores fecit populum quod a deo esset vocatio eorum.

<sup>1</sup> ix. 27 τῆς χειρὸς 1522.

<sup>2</sup> x. 41 ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα D perp hol ✕, cf. Commentary on Diatessaron, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> x. 41 ascendit in caelum perp.

threatened him. *Accipientes autem eum discipuli noctu per murum dimiserunt suspendentes dimiserunt in sporta*, in order that without suspicion the matter might be.

Ephrem : So when he became a victim of persecution by the Jews who were there, and was not trusted by the disciples who were there, for, he says, *non credebant quod esset discipulus*, then Barnabas of all his companions who were in Jerusalem took him by his hand and led him to the apostles. p. 184. 17 ff  
x. 26-27

And whereas he sent to Peter Cornelius of the gentiles, by mean of a dream which came upon him, he urged that Shnavon might not despise and not come.<sup>1</sup> p. 195. 19 f.  
x. 1-23

Ephrem : That also among the heathen who to us seemed despicable, if there be found one who in truth worships him, he is acceptable before him. p. 202. 3 ff.  
x. 34-35.

Ephrem : While then Peter, having entered, recounted our Lord's preaching, whence and where he began, and where he ended on the cross, and about his resurrection, and about the forty days he remained and afterwards ascended, and that all the prophets witness unto him, and that every one is forgiven whosoever believes and is baptized in his name—then forthwith the Holy Spirit came by way of tongues and settled on all the hearers of the word, and they began to speak with divers tongues, as the sequel of the history shows. p. 205. 33-  
206 3.  
x. 36-44.

Chrysostom : Wherefore too Peter taking occasion turned to the circumcised who were there with him. He made answer and said to them : Surely water could not hinder for the not baptizing of those who too have received the Holy Spirit even as we have. . . . Therefore he first made answer, and when more particularly the facts cried out, not by the tongues alone which they spoke, but also before baptism they received the Spirit, which intimated to the congregation of Jews that of God was the calling of the gentiles. *Tunc rogaverunt eum ut maneret apud eos aliquot diebus*. Because thenceforth they settled down in intimate relations with him ; p. 208. 7 ff  
x. 47-xi. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The section, p. 195. 19 f., headed Ephrem, is from Chrysostom, 179 c.

Ergo quamvis apparebat testis et intermedia visio Cornelii et Shmavonis et adventus spiritus ad illos ante baptismum, et quod omnes linguas veluti apostoli loquebantur, tamen reprehendebant circumcisi [Shmavona quando] venit Ierusalem, et dicebant quod viros infideles introduxerat, manducavit et bibit cum illis.

xi. 19. Persecutio vero [quae facta est] propter Stephanum dimisit eos quos persecuti erant docere et discipulos facere in Phoenice et Cypro.  
 xi. 22-26. Barnabas vero accessit adduxit Paulum a Tarso Antiochiam, et per doctrinam eorum quae fuit ibi, novum nomen Christianorum in omni terra.

xii. 1-19. Facta est denuo persecutio ab Agrippa<sup>1</sup> rege Iudaeorum, sumens enim habebat unam partem e quatuor regionibus Palestinorum; occidit Iacobum filium Zebedaei. Postquam vidit quod ad mentem inivit hoc modo Iudaeorum, deprehendit inclusit Shmavona in vinculis, ita ut mane occideret. Apparuit angelus in luce magna, et soluta sunt vincula de manibus eius et eduxit illum. Uti videbatur Shmavoni, visionem videbat. Quando autem ad sese reversus est, et intellexit et gratias egit. Accessit ubi congregati sunt omnes discipuli, et postquam agnovit puella vocem eius, minime aperuit illi ianuam, sed propter gaudium suum occurrit adnuntiatura sociis eius. Sed non crediderunt illi. Dixerunt quod angelus eius sit, id est quod angelus apparuisset puellae, [quia non expectabant] Shmavona. Quando autem viderunt illum, [narravit illis quaecumque fecerat angelus. Discedit ille in aliam regionem evangelizaturus. Agrippa moeruit magna in ira et occidit custodes, quos enim laetos reddidit occiso Iacobo, eosdem maestos reddidit occisio custodum qui occiderant apostolum. Ad calcem eius quoniam praestiterunt audientes Agrippae sapientiam dei neque novit sese neque glorificavit deum, subito quum descenderet de bemade suo<sup>2</sup> consumptus est a vermibus et mortuus est in loco.

xii. 25-xiii. 3. Shavul autem et Barnabas qui tulerunt cibaria sanctorum in Ierusalem, reversi sunt cum Iohanne qui vocatus est Marcus, et Lucas Cyrenaeus (sic). Hi autem ambo evangelistae sunt, et ante discipulatum Pauli scripserunt, et ideo iterabat ex evangelio eorum ubique.

Dixit enim illis spiritus sanctus segregandos illos esse, Paulum et Barnaban, ad opus ad quod electi sunt, et posuerunt manus super eos, sive ut acciperent sacerdotium sive ut acciperent inde linguas et opera. Hoc utique est quod 'dextram communionis dederunt mihi et Barnabae, ut sacerdotio fungamur et doceamus inter ethnicos, illi vero inter circumcisionem.'

xiii. 4-12. (Et missi a spiritu descenderunt) Seleuciam et Salmenam, dum

<sup>1</sup> xii. 1 'Herod the king who was called Agrippa' pesh.

<sup>2</sup> xii. 23 *καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος* D.

wherefore he too, suitably confident, remained with them. Now although there was as witness and intermediary of these facts the vision of Cornelius and Shmavon and the advent of the Spirit on them before their being baptized, and the fact that in all tongues like the apostles they also spake, yet not because of that were the Jews friendly disposed toward him, but the circumcised blamed Shmavon when he reached Jerusalem, as he says, *Audierunt Apostoli* etc.

For when she recognised his voice, far from opening the door to him, from her very joy she hastened to make the announcement to the companions.<sup>1</sup> . . . But they not expecting the facts, did not admit this, but said to her, Thou art mad. . . .

p. 227. 4ff  
and 16 f.  
xii. 14.

Ephrem : In order whom he rejoiced by the death of Jacob, them to sadden by the death of the slayers of the apostle.

p. 230. 11 f.  
xii. 18.

For they carried the rations for the needs of the saints in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

p. 233. 33 f.  
xii. 25.

<sup>1</sup> This is embedded in matter taken from Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> Embedded in Chrysostom.

minist(rum habebant Io)annem quem Marcum vocant. Voluit discipul(us fieri eo)rum hegemon terrae, sed differebat eos Barshoma magus. Dicit illi Paulus : O plene omni malo et dolo, fiat super te manus domini, et fias caecus a luce hac diei neque videas solem. Et caecatus est ille in illa hora, et credidit hegemon ob signum irae quod factum est in illo qui praepedibat eum ne crederet.

xiii. 14-  
xiv. 1.

Postea venerunt Antiochiam in regione Phiposi (*sic*), et iussum est Paulo loqui in synagoga ibi. Quum vero loqueretur e prophetis de adventu domini nostri, de morte et resurrectione eius, et discipuli facti sunt eorum plures de circumcissione et de acrobustia, Iudaei autem dederunt consilium principibus et feminis nobilibus et magnatibus urbis, et fecerunt tribulationem<sup>1</sup> Paulo et Barnabae, et expulerunt eos e limitibus suis.

Profectique venerunt Iconium et converterunt plures ex Iudaeis et Graecis.

xiv. 2-18.

Seniores vero exorti persequabantur iustos<sup>2</sup> et lapidaverunt et expulerunt eos e civitate sua.<sup>3</sup>

Venerunt autem illi Lystram [ubi curavit Paulus] claudum qui nunquam ambulav(erat. Id)circoque deos nominarunt eos, et sa(cer)dot(es)<sup>4</sup> idolorum una cum plebe adduxerunt taurum ad sacrificium usque ad portas domi eorum ubi ingressi erant. Consciderunt apostoli tunicas suas, ut ostenderent et cognitum facerent quantum conscissae essent corda sua, et coeperunt clamare et dicere : Homines sumus quia annuntiamus vobis de deo, et ista cuncta prodigia quae cernitis eius sunt qui permisit filiis hominum<sup>5</sup> ambulare in viis idolorum. Id est, qui neglexit, ne censerent egestatem eius refugium esse apud illos, coegit eum ut confirmaret eos et ut ostenderet et manifestaret. Quamvis enim neglexit eos usque ad adventum, tamen adorare idola, id non voluit. Non reliquit semet ipsum sine cognitione, quia fecit illis bona ; etenim per bona quae de caelo erant, cognoscere et laudare dominum coelorum debebant, eo quod quam idola magis valebant, per eadem potuerunt cognoscere creatorem. Et quamvis non misit prophetas inter gentiles, famuli eius indesinenter locum prophetiae, quae non erat indesinens, explebant. Eo igitur quod praedicarunt de uno deo, frustraverunt (ministerium idolorum ab hominibus dereli(n)quentibus veritatem) et consentiverunt ci(ves ne) sacrificarent Paulian(is propter prodigia quae) per curationem claud[i, adeo ut sacrificiis obla]tis deos facerent illos, [per calumnias hominum Iudaeorum qui adven(erant de Iconio

xiv. 19-22.

<sup>1</sup> xiii. 50 θλίψιν μεγάλην καὶ διαγῶν D e.

<sup>2</sup> xiv. 2 οἱ δὲ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἀρχόντες τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐπέταγον αὐτοῖς διαγῶν κατὰ τῶν δικαίων D, similarly hol.mg.

<sup>3</sup> xiv. 5 et lapidantes eos eiecerunt eos ex civitate hol.mg; [ . . ]runt eos et lapidaverunt h.

<sup>4</sup> xiv. 13 οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς D 460 gig.

<sup>5</sup> xiv. 16 omni gentis hominum h.

Chrysostom: Iudaei autem concitaverunt religiosas mulieres p. 248 10 ff.  
 honestas et primos civitatis, et excitaverunt persecutionem in xiii. 50.  
 Paulum et Barnaban et eiecerunt eos de finibus suis.<sup>1</sup> Do thou see  
 how many things were done by the opponents of the preaching,  
 and to what insolence and wickedness, of which in themselves they  
 were not capable, they gave counsel to the head men and to women  
 honest, noble, and the great ones of the city, and having aroused  
 them to strife wrought also tribulation for Paul and Barnabas,  
 and drove them out of their boundaries.

Ephrem: Qui in . . . vias suas. This means, as they abandoned p. 253. 23 ff.  
 the worship of him, he abandoned, that is neglected, that they xiv. 16.  
 might not suppose his need, who was a refuge unto them, con-  
 strained him from the beginning to establish them.

Ephrem: That is, though he neglected them, yet he did not p. 253 36-  
 wish them to worship idols. Wherefore he left himself not without 254. 7.  
 clear witness, out of his benevolence giving rain from heaven; for xiv. 16-17.  
 through the blessings which were from heaven were they bound to  
 know him and to bless the Lord from heaven. Thus in that they were  
 very much greater than the idols, they were able by means of the  
 same to know the Lord. For though he sent not prophets among  
 the gentiles, yet his servants, which are the elements, continually  
 filled the place of prophecy.

So much so that the city which, by means of the healing of the p. 255. 27 ff.  
 lame man, with sacrifices called them gods, by means of the evil xiv. 19.

<sup>1</sup> The difference in catalog xiii 50 between the catena and Ephrem's text is not considerable. It consists merely in the addition after 'women' of the epithet *zgas*, which answers to 'honest, sober, prudent,' or 'self-respecting,' and in Armenian vulgate in this passage renders *εὐσχημονας*. The other epithet *skn* is one applied only to women, and answers to 'domina, matrona clarissima, lady.' The commentary of Ephrem on Acts in this passage should be confronted with his commentary on 2 Tim. iii. 11 (pp. 264 f.):

'Antiochia autem non ista Syriae, sed illa Phrygiae, ubi exortantur Iudaei rectores civitatis et mulieres divites et fecerunt tribulationem magnam super eos, expulsi eis extra fines suos (Acts xiii. 50). Iconii autem post anteriorem tribulationem suscitaverunt persecutionem Iudaei et gentiles et lapidantes eum ac Barnabam eiecerunt illos a civitate (Acts xiv. 5 ff.). Porro Lysurus per accusationem Iudaeorum illos venientium ab Antiochia et Iconio lapidibus percusserunt Paulum et eduxerunt eum extra civitatem distrahendo, ita ut putarent eum mortuum esse (Acts xiv. 19). Quod autem haec ita facta fuerint, ecce in Actis duodecum apostolorum scriptum est.'

Here the usual order of *τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως* and *γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχημονας* in Ephrem's commentary on vs. 50, seems to be reversed, while it looks as if we had a confusion of that order with the usual one, which places the women first; 'principibus' looks like a doublet of 'magnatibus urbis.' There remains a doubt, however, for *metemets*, which literally means 'very great,' 'magnas,' may render the Syriac word for 'rich,' and answer to *πλούσιος*. But the addition 'of the city' makes this doubtful. I would see in it a rendering of

et Anti)ochia,<sup>1</sup> lapidibus lapidar[unt Paulum et trahentes] eiecerunt eum extra [civitatem. Et postquam] dies inclinavit et ten[ebrae factae sunt,<sup>2</sup> clam] introduxerunt eum discipuli in [civitatem. Ergo ipsis] plagis veluti lorica ingredi[ebantur adversus] persecutores suos; sed ut confirmarent discipulos evangelii qui ibi tribulati erant. In tribulatione, ait, in qua vos estis, nosque in eadem sumus, oportet vos ingredi regnum dei, quod per nos praedicatur vobis.

xiv. 23.

Apostoli autem qui in alia civitate erant, Iconienses et Antiochenses persecuta sunt illos, in illis civitatibus una cum evangelismo quem praedicabant, presbyteros et diaconos in fiducia intrepidos faciebant in illis. Postquam vero transiverant regiones omnes, et venerunt Antiochiam Assyriorum unde missi sunt (et advenerunt et narraverunt) qualem ianuam (aperisset doc)trina evan(gelii gentilibus).

xiv. 24-28.

Postquam vero transiverant regiones omnes, et venerunt Antiochiam Assyriorum unde missi sunt (et advenerunt et narraverunt) qualem ianuam (aperisset doc)trina evan(gelii gentilibus).

xv. 1-2.

Et ecce quidam Iudaei qui adven(erunt de Iudaea tur)baverunt mentem eorum qui dis(cipuli facti erant; illi vero e Shmavonis discipulis erant, [et quamvis in Christum credi]derant,<sup>3</sup> circumcisionem [et legem Mosis ob]servabant; at postquam viderunt qu[od gentiles si]ne his crediderunt, [in]ceperunt dicere: Nisi iuxta praedicationem Petri et [sociorum eius cre]datis, non potestis vivere. [Quod etiam consti]tuit seditionem contra eos, et dicit, [non destruere] circumcisionem et legem, quia adhuc [apud] apostolos observabant illi. Sed quia oportet, ait, omnis homo [in quo]vis crediderit in eodem maneat,<sup>4</sup> id est quod incolae Iudaeae stent maneat in circumcisione et socii eorum tanquam apostoli praedicabant, gentiles vero stent maneat sine circumcisione, tanquam a nobis decretum datum est illis. Postquam viderunt illi qui e Iudaea Paulianos, quod in magna molestia

<sup>1</sup> The order 'de Iconio et Antiochia' is proved by the survival in Codex 571 of the last syllables of Antiochia. In the order of the cities it agrees with 'D h hol.mg. This coincidence with the Bezan text encourages the adoption of Akinean's restoration of the last preceding lacuna: 'et docentibus illis'; the more so because Armenian vulgate here retains from the early Syriac, from which the first Armenian text was translated, the reading *διατριβήτων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διδασκόντων*. Nevertheless this restoration does not explain the oblique case 'multitudinis' or 'multitudini' (the gen. and dat. cases of the Armenian word *basmuthean* here used are the same). I am therefore inclined to see here a rendering of *ὄχλους*, which is found in all forms of the Greek text, and to complete the lacuna thus: 'et consilium dantibus multitudini hominibus Iudaeis qui,' as if the original had been *ἐπισείσαντες τοὺς ὄχλους*, as in D.

<sup>2</sup> xiv. 20 vespere h, cf. sah.

<sup>3</sup> xv. 1. 383 614 minn. hol.mg read τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων. Ephrem omitted ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρ. τ Φ., for he names the party of Peter (provided the conjectural restoration of the lacuna is right) and not the Pharisees; but he perhaps implies τῶν πεπιστευκότων.

<sup>4</sup> xv. 2 *ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν διασχυρίζομενος* D gig hol.mg. The words 'quia oportet' may imply *διασχυρίζομενος*.



speaking of men, of Jews, with stones stoned Paul and dragged cast (him) out of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem : Circumdantibus autem eum discipulis surgens intravit civitatem. When the day grew late and darkness came on, the disciples secretly introduced him into the city. p. 256 4 ff. xiv. 20.

Ephrem : Et postera die . . . in regnum dei. With the same tribulation then as armour they took the field against the persecutors in Lystra and Iconium and Antioch, where they persecuted them ; not indeed to inflict wounds upon the persecutors, but to confirm the disciples of the gospel who were there oppressed, saying : In the tribulation in which ye are, we also are in the same, whereby ye must needs enter the kingdom of God which is preached to you by us p. 256 23 ff. xiv. 20 22

Ephrem : Cum constituissent . . . crediderunt. Do you see the power of the Gospel ? For in those cities whence they expelled them along with the gospel they preached, lo, they with fearless confidence appointed elders and deacons among them. p. 257 25 ff. xiv. 23.

Et quidam descendentes de Iudaea docebant fratres. Quia nisi circumcidamini secundum morem Moysi non potestis salvari. These men were of the Jews, men made disciples of by Peter and his. But although they had believed in Christ they kept up circumcision and the law of Moses ; and as they saw that the gentiles believed in Christ without this, they went down from Jerusalem to Antioch, still having the disease of avarice. They desired to alter from one thing to another those who were of the gentiles. They began to say, Unless according to the teaching of Peter and of his companions you believe, you cannot be saved. And lo, Paul was a better expert in the law than they, but did not suffer this in himself.<sup>2</sup> p. 260. 4 ff. xv. 1.

Ephrem : Which thing indeed established a dissension against them. And he denied abrogating the law and circumcision among the Jews ; for until now they still among the apostles observed the law and circumcision. But it is right, he says, that every man in what he was when he believed, in the same shall abide. That is, that Jews should abide in the circumcision, which Peter and his preached, but the gentiles remain without circumcision, as was by us decreed. But as they would not break the law, and Paul's p. 261. 1 ff. xv. 2.

τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως. Ephrem certainly had a similar text. We note also that neither in the commentary on Timothy nor in that on Acts is there any trace of *σβόμενας*, rendered literally in Armenian vulgate by *passioneay*.

<sup>1</sup> Amid matter from Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> This acrophalous section, with which Homily 32 begins, serves in part to fill up the lacunae in the commentary. In it paragraphs from Ephrem and Chrysostom alternate, and are mixed up together. The catenist has interpolated in Ephrem's text from Chrysostom 260 ο the phrases ἐν νοσούντες τὴν φιλαργυρίαν (read φιλαρχίαν), and καίτοι καὶ Ἰαῦλος νομομαθὴς ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπαυσε τοῦτο.

erant, neque observare consentiebant legem, neque absolvere, saevibant et contra stabant et volebant pronuntiarı iudicium coram apostolis et presbyteris in Iudaea.

LACUNA, ACTS XV. 3-11

party did not consent to observe it, they became like wild beasts, they opposed those (*nominative*) who had come down from Jerusalem, and wished to pronounce a verdict before the apostles and the elders in Judaea.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem<sup>2</sup>: But Paul and his, lest they should abrogate without the apostles anything which the apostles because of the weakness of the Jews observed, pass, set off to Jerusalem, that there before the disciples they may abrogate the law and circumcision, which without them they did not wish to abrogate. Which also he makes clear by saying: *Facta ergo non minima seditione*, etc.<sup>3</sup> p 261 14  
xv. 2

Ephrem: But on their own arrival Paul and his related to the circumcised all that God had wrought through them the uncircumcised. As he says: *Illi ergo deducti ab ecclesia*, etc. p 261. 39  
262, 3.  
xv. 4

Ephrem: <sup>4</sup>*Surrexerunt quidam de haeresi Phariseorum*, etc. p. 261 18  
xv. 5.  
Note that those who brought Paul and his to judgment, although Paul and his desired whatsoever they narrated to be approved true by means of the elders, yet of themselves they were not disposed to be silent in respect of whatever they wished. Wherefore in presence of the very elders they said: *Oportet*, and it is fitting for you, circumcidere the gentiles and servare legem Mosis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xv. 2. From this and the full commentary it is clear that Ephrem's text read: *οι δε ελληνοβιτες απο ιερουσαλημ παρηγγειλαν αυτοις . . . πως κριθωσιν εν αυτοις* with D d.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph comes under the heading 'Ephrem,' but only the initial words are his.

<sup>3</sup> After the citation of Acts xv. 2 in this catena-passago, a clause from Chrysostom 248 c is interpolated, and then follows another paragraph, relating to xv. 4, of which the opening part is given above. The whole of this latter paragraph is ascribed to Ephrem, but only the opening part, here quoted, can be his. Note the syriacizing style, especially the expression, 'Paul and his.' The rest of this paragraph can be identified in Chrysostom, 248 c, 250 n, 251 d. It runs:

"This narration was not greed of honour, nor for again displaying themselves or a satisfaction of any deficiency, for they were not greedy of honour, nor deficient either in anything. But it was an apology for the preaching to the gentiles, whereby they rejoiced in the conversion of the gentiles"

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph is still included under the ascription to Ephrem; the 'Western' readings embodied in it prove it to be his, for Chrysostom has nothing to correspond.

<sup>5</sup> Here the clause 'those who brought Paul and his to judgment,' besides involving once more *πως κριθωσιν* in vs. 2, also implies *οι δε παρωγγειλαντες αυτοις αναβαινεν προς τους πρεσβυτερους* D holding in vs. 5, and excludes the Pharisees, who figure in the Greek texts but are here mentioned only in a citation of the Armenian vulgate due, not to Ephrem, but to the catenist. Here then in vs. 5, as little as in vs. 1, does Ephrem involve *twes apo tēs alpešews tōn pharisaion*. His text of Acts only revealed to him a Petrine faction that insisted on circumcision and the full observance

xv. 12-21. . . . ut vivamus in illo ( . . . et post sermonem illum approbarunt <sup>1</sup> [presbyteri verba Shmavonis et si]ne dissensione de[structa est dissensio per obedientiam erga spiritu[m]: (postea locutus est Iacobus frater domini nostri, et appo(suit et ait: Viri fratres, audite me, Shm)avon dixit quod certu(m est vobis), [non quod de intellectu suo, sed tanquam deus admon(uit) [significavit, id est qui ethnic]i in nomen Iesu [parati erant, quod confiter]entur, ut imple[rentur verba prophetarum qui prae]venerunt praedi[caverunt

<sup>1</sup> xv. 12 συγκατατεθειμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένους  
D hcl ✕.

Ephrem : And inasmuch as the adjudication was weighty with the people and with the gentiles, and with the apostles and with their companions, there came, were mustered together the apostles and priests along with the multitude,<sup>1</sup> in order to see what verdict would come forth about this matter. Et post multam conquisitionem surgens Petrus dixit ad eos. Because Paul stood forth in Jerusalem to speak in the presence of Shmavon and his companions against the law, as also he spoke in Antioch in his presence against keeping the law. But Shmavon, who in Antioch kept silence, when Paul stepping forth spoke against the law in Jerusalem, there dwelt in him the Holy Spirit,<sup>2</sup> and he began to speak against the upholders of the law thus.<sup>3</sup>

p. 262. 30-263, 4  
xv. 6-7.

Gal. ii. 11.

Ephrem : Why then do ye judge the thoughts of God, for that is to tempt God ; for whatever God has given us through faith and through the law, he has given the same also to the gentiles through faith without observance of the law.

p. 264. 39-265, 3.  
xv. 10-11.

Wherefore on a sudden they reached conviction and ceased the enquiry. For the elders acquiesced in the words of Shmavon, and without dissension was annulled the dissension through the counsel of the Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

p. 265. 37 ff.  
xv. 12.

And well did he say that Shmavon has set forth, in order to show that he himself desires to be in harmony with his wishes ; for Shmavon did not presage out of his own mind, but by dint of prophetic vision, according as God by the Spirit showed to him, that primum deus visitavit in the beginning sumere populum. Nay he sheweth of old that the matter is to be, that is, that the gentiles in the name of Jesus were in the future to confess, in order that there should be fulfilled the words of the prophets, who anticipated, proclaimed he would take a people from among the gentiles, that is choose, not idly, but of his name, which is to his glory.<sup>5</sup> And not only is he not ashamed in his name to choose the gentiles, but even accounts it greater glory.

p. 268. 3 ff.  
xv. 14-15.

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of the law. Perhaps the earlier commentary used by Chrysostom did the same, for on vs. 5-7 he writes : *ὅρα τὸν Πέτρον ἀνωθεν λεχυρισμένον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν λουδαῖοντα*. Of Pharisees in this connexion Ephrem knew nothing. In *hol.mg* the gloss importing the participation of Pharisees has barely rooted itself in the text. In a later age Jerome could pretend that the battle between Peter and Paul was no more than a stage quarrel, and the Pharisee gloss was probably coined in order to veil it.

<sup>1</sup> xv. 6 *σὺν τῷ πλήθει* 383 614 *hol.text*.

<sup>2</sup> xv. 7 *ἐν πνεύματι*. D and substantially 383 614 *Tert hol.mg*.

<sup>3</sup> This section is wholly from Ephrem.

<sup>4</sup> The above is embedded in matter from Chrysostom.

<sup>5</sup> This stands under the title 'Chrysostom' and is embedded in matter from him. The last sentence is not Ephrem's.

. . . (sicut ait pro)pheta: Erig(am de novo tabernaculum Davidis quod destruc)tum erat, id est [filium eius qui erexit filios homin]um, ut fiant mul(ti . . . ut) [requir]ant dominum filu [hominum, id est Iudaei et omnes] ethnici qui per prop(hetam memnerint), [invocabitur nomen meum super] illos, ait dominus. Manifestum est [semper deo opus quod impletum est] in diebus nostris, et de hoc [quantum stat in potentia<sup>1</sup>] mea confirmo verba Shmavonis quod (persuasimus) *non*<sup>2</sup> cogere gentiles ad observationem legum, sed ista omnia fiant, caveant et observent sollicito mandato, abstinere a sacrificio idolis, a fornicatione, et a sanguine,<sup>3</sup> id est, ne manducent super sanguinem. Imprimis Moses quidem in primis seculis in omnibus civitatibus habebat viros, qui ubi synagogae erant, stabant il(lis praedicatores quomodo legitur omni sabbato).

xv. 22-28. Ergo elegerunt (apostoli et presbyteri Iudam et Shilan), et expederunt il(los Antiochiam ad fideles, ut essent tes)tes cum Pau(lo et Barnaba, scribes per manum eor)um epistolam. Nam scrip(serant id sicut pri)us dictum est. Ideo (ut dicant quodcunque proficit) tibi, malum est socio tuo.<sup>4</sup> (Illa vero . . in admo)nitionem dederunt, quia (dicunt: De quibus custodientes vos, repl)eti eritis spiritu sanc(to)<sup>5</sup> [Tanquam enim, ait, obser]vabitis ista et si[ne] circumcisione et observa]tione legum, ac[apietis] spiritum sanctum loqui om[n]es linguas, sicut [acceperunt socu] vestri Cornel]iani qui elec[ti] priusquam vos. (Et descen)derunt illi Antiochiam et . . . (tradiderunt epistolam)] ecclesiae et caute(la magna unanime stare in mandato) petaverunt fratres et con(firmaverunt eos . . .) Iudaiani et Silvanenses per pro(phetiam. Et) reversus est Iudas post dies in Ierusalem<sup>6</sup> et Silas remansit apud Paulum.

xv. 30-36. Post paucas dies quando docuerant in Antiochia civitate, coepit dicere Paulus Barnabae, ut redeant visuri in omnes civitates illas ubi in omnibus civitatibus docuerant illi. Bene visum est consilium hoc<sup>7</sup> in oculis Barna(bae. Et voluit Barnabas ducere se)cum Marcum, quem (Paulus orabat ne sumerent eum se)cum, quia separa(verat sese ab illis dum erant in) Pamphylia, et i(bi mansit neque voluit ire) cum illis ad opus (apostolatus. Propter il)lud

<sup>1</sup> xv. 19 propterea ego secundum me Iren. In Rom. i. 15 Armenian vulgate renders τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ somewhat similarly.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'non' is necessary to the sense, but the negative is not found in the Armenian text as printed.

<sup>3</sup> The text here used, xv. 20, lacks καὶ τοῦ πικροῦ, see note *supra*, pp. 265 ff.

<sup>4</sup> xv. 29. On the Golden Rule here see note *supra*, pp. 265 ff. The words which remain in Ephrem's text, 'tibi malum est socio,' are a gloss on the precept. The precise nature of the words to be supplied in the lacuna, within the parenthesis, seems doubtful; cf. A. Merk, *op. cit.* pp. 236 f.

<sup>5</sup> xv. 29 φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, see note *supra*, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> xv. 34. So D *gig* *vg. codd* and in part *hol* ✕ etc.

<sup>7</sup> xv. 36. So *hol* ✕.

Anon. : When being born his son reigns over all, who raised up the sons of men, who were wallowing in sin, for they became a dwelling of the Son of David. p. 268. 32 ff. xv. 18.

But thus verily was raised up this city by David's begotten, through whom the remnants of men sought the Lord, that is those of the Jews who believed. And all the gentiles over whom has been called my name, saith the Lord.<sup>1</sup> p. 269 6 ff. xv. 16-18.

Anon. : That is to say, clear and knowable was ever the work which through the prophets has been fulfilled in our days.<sup>2</sup> p. 269 19 ff. xv. 18.

Well saith he, with authority, I esteem it right, that is : Thus do I say it to be good, and so far as it lies in my power, I confirm the words of Shmavon. And as the gentiles had never heard of the law, he profitably enacts this from out of the law, lest he should seem to have slighted that.<sup>3</sup> p. 269. 33 ff. xv. 19.

What Paul openly says to the Galatians : But not to straiten. That is, not to molest and constrain them to the observance of the law. . . . p. 270 10 ff. xv. 19.

Ephrem : For, says he, as ye shall observe all this without circumcision and keeping of the law, ye shall receive the Holy Spirit to speak all tongues, as did your companions receive, Cornelius and his, who were chosen before you.<sup>4</sup> p. 277. xv. 29.

Well seemed this advice in the ears of Barnabas.<sup>5</sup>

p. 280. 18.  
xv. 37.

<sup>1</sup> This restores the words 'invocabitur nomen meum super eos.'

<sup>2</sup> This supplies the words 'semper deo opus quod impletum est.'

<sup>3</sup> The above is embedded in matter from Chrysostom.

<sup>4</sup> This is a scrap of Ephrem woven into matter from Chrysostom.

<sup>5</sup> The above is embedded in matter from Chrysostom.

discessit (Barnabas a Paulo et assumens se)cum duxit Mar(cum, appellatum Iohannem, navigarunt) in Cyprum. At Paulu(s) Silas-que ab ecclesia discedentes transiverunt evangeli(zare in finibus Assyriae et Ciliciae), apud quos et litteras ab [apostol]is [habebant, ut portarent ad] illos, ne venir[ent in par]tes am[bo] (et circum)irent in una regione. Est causa quare [separab]antur ire et praedicare in regiones regi[ones iuxta exem]plum quo separavit sese Abraam [a Loto, ut Ab]raam fieret doctor inter Chanan[itas, et Lot] inveniretur iuxta exemplum Sodom[itarum].

vi. 1-5

Sed (Paul)iani venerunt attinuerunt Lystros; assumpsit Tim(otheum filium) mulieris cuiusdam credentis in dominum nostrum, et vol(uit Paulus) ducere eum secum. Isque quem mater sua non circumcidit, Paulus postquam accepit mandatum ab apo(sto)lis destruere circumcisionem, assumpsit circumcidit eum; sed non sine discretionem fecit hoc, is qui omnia quae operabatur sel[igens sapienter operabatur; sed quoniam] paratus erat [evangelizare Timotheus evangel]ium Iud[aeis ubique], ne propter perit[omen contemnerent] praedicationem eius, [consilium inivit] meditatus est circum[cid]ere, contemptor circum[cisionis]. Ergo assumens circum[cid]it Timotheum, [non ut circumcisionem confirmaret per id des]tructor circumcisionis, sed ne ev[angelismus] [causa incircum]cisionis illius] distractus inveniretur per id]. (Idcirco) assumpsit circumcidit eum (apud fratres qui erant in ter[ra] ibi), qui cognoscebant pa[trem]. Nam quamvis dives erat, tamen gentilis erat. (Dum) transibant civitates et manifestum (faciebant et ap[osto]latu intrepido praedicabant il[li] verbum spiritus sancti),<sup>1</sup> et donec ecclesiae confirmaban(tur inter filios) virorum per signa quae facta sunt (cotidie in) illis.

vi. 6-10.

Impedivit illos spiritus sanctus quin loquer(entur) ulli<sup>2</sup> verbum dei in regione ibi Asianorum, quia dignum et fas erat illos properare ire in Macedoniam. Ne igitur frustrarentur inter illos quin<sup>3</sup> audirent eos, revelatum est illis procedere in Macedoniam, nam exspectabant illos etiam Bithyni prout impediti sunt illi ab Asianis, ut properarent venire [in Macedoniam, ubi praeparatum] est illis. Ap[paruit Paulo] tanquam<sup>4</sup> vir Macedo, adveniens enim o[r]abat et impetrabat illum ut veniret opitularetur il[li] in Macedoniam].

vi. 16-21

(Ibi obviam ivit) illis verna (quam habebat spiritus pytho, quae in furorem ac)ta quae estum permag(num) praestabat dominis suis. Ea cum videret Paulianos clam)abat post eos (et dicebat: Homines

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 4 ἐκήρυσσον . . . μετὰ πάσης παραγγελίας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστόν, D hol. mg. For the lacuna Merk, p. 238, suggests rather '(domini nostri)ri' or '(Iesu Christi domini nostri)ri.'

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 6 μηδενὶ λαλῆσαι D.

<sup>3</sup> quoniam or qui non.

<sup>4</sup> xvi. 9 ὥσπερ D pesh sah.



Perambulabat, ait, regiones Syrorum et Ciliciorum, confirmabat p 285 11 ff.  
ecclesias. Behold unto whom they had the letter from the apostles xv. 41.  
that they should carry unto them, first unto them he circulates,  
because he did not regard as a work of wisdom the traversing un-  
profitable courses through the same.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem: Yea and otherwise. For they did not frivolously p. 283 15 ff.  
abandon each other according as it was thus providentially arranged xv. 41.  
that they should not proceed, both parties, in one region; there is  
a reason why they should separate severally to go and preach in  
different regions (lit. in regions regions), in like manner as Abraham  
parted from Lot, in order that Abraham should become teacher  
among the Canaanites and Lot among the Sodomites.

Ephrem: So then taking he circumcised him. Not without p 286 19 ff.  
discrimination doing this, he who selecting everything wisely acted; xvi. 3.  
but in that Timothy was about to preach the gospel to Jews every-  
where, lest because of his uncircumcision they should set at naught  
his preaching, he planned, he purposed to circumcise him—not in  
order that thereby he might confirm circumcision, he the undoer  
of circumcision, but that his gospelling might not by reason of his  
uncircumcision be found riven asunder by the same. Therefore  
because of the gentiles he set no store by these things.

[The catenist cites the Armenian vulgate of these verses, but in p. 287 26.  
verse 5 after τῇ πύρρει adds the words: 'and by means of signs xvi. 4-5.  
which took place,' equivalent to καὶ τοῖς σημεῖοις γενομένοις, which  
are wanting in the Armenian vulgate, D, etc. It is clear that  
Ephrem read them in his version.]

Cum venissent autem in Mysiam, tentabant ire in Bithyniam, p. 287. 38-  
et non permisit eos spiritus. So then they were prevented, that 288, 3.  
they might utter to nobody the word of God in the region of Asia, xvi. 6-7.  
he tells us; but why they were prevented he did not add.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem: But lest they should be brought to nought amidst p 289. 10 ff.  
those who did not listen to them, it was revealed to them to proceed xvi. 9.  
to Macedonia; for the Bithynians also were on the look-out for  
them, so that they were kept away from the Asiatics. So then,  
that they might hasten to proceed to Macedonia, where he was  
prepared for them, there appeared to Paul as it were<sup>3</sup> a man of  
Macedonia, for he came and prayed and besought of him to come  
help in Macedonia.

Ut autem visum vidit . . . diebus aliquot, etc. [but reading  
'Philippopolis' for 'Philippi'].

<sup>1</sup> The above is embedded in Chrysostom.

<sup>2</sup> The above is embedded in matter from Chrysostom.

isti sunt) filii dei qui (annuntiant vobis viam salutis). [Ergo quomodo haec daemon loquebatur? Clarum est quod aut] ne expellerent [illum de verna, aut sicut] decipiebat divinatione su[a] et dabat opinionem quod ve[rum] diceret, voluit decipere etiam in hoc [quod ver]um erat, quia testis pro veritate apud [filios veri]tatis factus est. Sed nihil erat accept[abilis] apud apostolos laudator et impeditor apostolorum, [quomo]do non fuit acceptabilis apud dominum eorum [daemon qui de domino] eorum inter Iudaeos praedicabat. Dedit illi [iussu]m Paulus et exiit e verna et loc[o merced]is curationis quam debebant Paulo dom[ini] pu[ellae] turbaverunt civitatem contra, et apud Iudaeos quibus non praedicavit calumniabantur eum.

xvi. 22-40

Strategi civitatis principes scindentes tunicas suas ne foret impediabant, [et ad placitum voluntatis populi qui con]gregatus est devinxerunt Pauli[anos], et egerunt pos[uerunt] eos in aede carceris. Ergo facta est] commotio in urbe [ibi, et ianuae carceris apertae sunt], et vincula inclu[sorum] soluta sunt ab illis, et] ne esset moeror [custodi carceris qui credi]turus erat, nemo ex [illis] evasit; <sup>1</sup> ergo propter hoc] dignus factus est bap[tismo] lava[ci] (ipse cum mulieribus et) [filiis] suis. [Exterrita sunt et pavuerunt astratigi] optimates civ[itatis] ob mo]tum, [sed nacti veri]tate sci[verunt] quod re vera causa] eorum factus est motus [ille].<sup>2</sup> Sed] confiteri illud non admiserunt. Et mis[erunt] clam dimitti eos. Sed Pauliani, [quoniam apud le]gem Iudaicam calumniabantur ab illis in di[c]e<sup>3</sup> an]te, dixerunt quod Romani sumus, procul [et absque le]ge Iudaica et a tormentis civitatis principum, ne dimittant quidem nos clam sicut satis[facientes], sed ut illi adveniant dimittant nos. [Ergo]

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 30 (?) τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλισμένους D hoc ✕.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 35 ἀναμνησθέντες τὸν σεισμόν τὸν γεγονότα ἐφοβήθησαν D hoc.ing.

<sup>3</sup> xvi. 35 (?) οὗς ἐχθρὸς παρέλαβες D 383, 614, hoc.zez.

Ephrem : And why or how did the demon speak in this way ? p. 293. 21 ff.  
Clearly he either considered it a bribe for the apostles, so that they xvi. 17.  
should not expel him from the maiden, or else, as she deceived by  
dint of her divinations, and was giving the idea of speaking the  
truth, because also by reason of the doubtfulness of the oracles he  
gave, they were calling him perverse and an impostor. He desired  
to deceive by the very fact that he was truthful, for a witness to  
the truth among the sons of truth he falsely feigned to be.<sup>1</sup>

But it was not welcome for the apostles to be honoured and p. 293. 30 ff.  
praised of him, in the same way as was not for their Lord the devil xvi. 18.  
who proclaimed about their Lord among the Jews. In the same  
way Paul too restrains him, because out of craft and malice of  
speech he did this.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem : And instead of a reward for the cure which was due p. 294. 33-  
to Paul from the owners of the girl, they stirred up the city against 295 2.  
him, and calumniated him over the law of the Jews which he did xvi. 19-21.  
not preach to them.

Chrysostom-Ephrem : The head men then of the city rending p. 296 17 ff.  
their garments, wished to allay the riot of the crowd. That it xvi. 22-23.  
should not be, they obstructed. And since they saw the mob  
enraged attacking, they wanted by blows to quiet down their wrath.  
And to gratify the will of the crowd which had collected, they  
pinioned Paul and his, and led off, placed them in the house of the  
prison ; and gave orders carefully to guard them, desiring presently  
to hear about their case.<sup>3</sup>

Ephrem : There was then a quaking in the city, and the gates p. 299. 24 ff.  
of the prison opened and the fetters of the confined fell off them. xvi. 26-34.  
And lest there should be distress on the part of the jailer, who was  
about to believe, not one of them escaped. For because of this the  
jailer became worthy of baptism of the font along with his intimates  
as he says : (xvi. 27-30).

Ephrem : The astartitae the optimates of the city were appalled p. 301. 25-  
and terrified by the earthquake, and learning the truth knew that 302 6.  
this earthquake was really on their account, but they did not choose xvi. 35-37.  
to admit it. They sent secretly to liberate them. . . . Because  
then it was as to the law of Jewry they had been traduced by them  
on the day before, they say : We are Romans, far away and exempt  
from the law of the Jews and from the tortures of the chiefs of the  
city. Far from their letting us out privily, as if they were in any way  
boholden to us for favours, let them come themselves and let us out.

<sup>1</sup> The first sentence of the above is from Chrysostom 269 *ο τι ὁ δαίμων καὶ ὁ δαίμων ταῦτα ἐφθέγγετο* ; But the title is 'Ephrem,' and the text of Ephrem is continued, though under the title 'Chrysostom,' into the next paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Here the catenist digresses into matter taken from Chrysostom 269 *ο*.

<sup>3</sup> Here the catenist diverges into Chrysostom 270 *α*.

ut fiat erga illos gratia haec, advenerunt petiverunt illos: Non scivimus iustos esse vos,<sup>1</sup> veluti motus utique certiores fecit de vobis. Discedite ergo, proficiamini ab urbe, ne forte post motum congregentur contra vos idem viri qui ante mo[tum congregati erant].<sup>2</sup>

xvii. 1-4.

(Et profecti sunt ex ur)be et ambu(labant circumeuntes per Amphipolim et per Apoloniam) usque ad Thes[salonicam]. (ubi erat synagoga Iudaeorum, et) accedit (Paulus ad Iudaeos et quando prae)paraverat praed(icare, quidam) [ex Iudaeis] (persuasi sunt et portio facti) sunt eorum. Si(militer plures gentilium) [una cum] maximis dominabus.

xvii. 5-11.

(Zelaverunt Iudaei et) conturbaverunt urbem, (et congregati adstiterunt palatio) Iasonis. Deprehenderunt Iasonem (et fratres et (egerunt illos) ad principes civitatis et dicunt: Hi sunt [contra] Caesarem, quia novum principem iuxta Caesarem praedicant. Exte[rr]iti sunt et pavuerunt militum principes in eo rumore, petaverunt satisfactionem ab Iasone et a fratribus, uti m(iti)garent congregationem quae congregata est contra eos. Paulianos autem fugaverunt ad Khalaf<sup>3</sup> civitatem. Et docebant in synagoga Iudaeorum, et interpretabantur scripturas in aures audientium suorum, ut certiores faciant tanquam e scripturis verum esse quod docuit Paulus.<sup>4</sup>

xvii. 12-28.

At postquam crediderunt etiam in Khalaf et e Graecis et e feminis maximis, venerunt denuo etiam a Thessalonica, et turbaverunt urbem contra Paulum. Et praeteriit exiit Khalabean Thessalonicensium. Et abiit ille a Thessalonica,<sup>5</sup> unde expulsus est a persecutione. Sed impedivit [illum spiritus sanctus a praedicando<sup>6</sup> ne forte occiderent [illum] . . . revert . . . (cunctos (venit Athenas et loquebatur in synagoga apud Iudaeos et apud liturgos, et adduxerunt eum in locum qui nomine vocatus (est Arispagos) . . . stetit (?) . . . su(o) novum aliquid (docet nos) . . . (res)ponsum dedit et ait illis (Paulus: Ministrare) et metuere scitis idolorum imagines, sed (nomen omnipotentis) dei cognoscitis, quomodo testificatur unum ex altar[ibus] vestris, illum veneramini.

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 39 ἡγησάμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι D 383 614 minn hol ✕.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 39 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε, μήποτε πάλιν συνστράψωσιν ἡμῖν ἐπικράζοντες καθ' ὑμῶν D 383 614 minn hol ✕. Observe that the second invitation to depart, mentioned in the text of D, is not found in Ephrem; see note *supra*, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Khalaf, i.e. Haleh, Beroea of the Thessalonians; see Mark, *op. cit.* p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> xvii. 11 καθὼς Παῦλος ἀπαγγέλλει 383 614 gig Priscillian hol ✕.

<sup>5</sup> See Mark, *op. cit.* pp. 239 f., and cf. *supra*, p. 382, No. 19. The Armenian is 'hōgan na i Thessalonikē.'

<sup>6</sup> xvii. 15 παρήλθεν δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονικίαν (Thessalonica?), ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον D.

Ephrem : Et venientes deprecati sunt eos, et educentes rogabant ut egredierentur de urbe. So then that this act of grace might be unto them, they came and besought them saying We knew not that ye were just, as the earthquake indeed has warned us about you. So we ask a grace of you, this, go up, depart from this city, lest perhaps after the earthquake there be gathered against you the same men who before the earthquake had been gathered. p. 302. 20 ff.  
xvi. 39.

Et quidam ex eis crediderunt et adiuncti sunt Paulo et Silae. Clearly from among the Jews. . . . p. 306. 20.  
xvii. 4.

Against the Caesar they say, because they proclaim a new ruler alongside of the Caesar. . . . Concitaverunt autem plebem et principes civitatis qui audiebant hoc, for the strategi were appalled and terrified at this report, et accepta satisfactione ab Iasone et a ceteris dimiserunt eos. This the magnates of the city did in order to appease the mob which surged against them.<sup>1</sup> p. 307. 20.  
xvii. 7-9.

But the Holy Spirit prevented him from preaching, lest perhaps they should slay him. p. 310. 32-  
311. 1.  
xvii. 15.

Paul saith, It must verily be of Jesus, and more especially of the Almighty God of all things. Him I announce to you, he says. p. 314. 32 f.  
xvii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> The above is embedded in matter taken from Chrysostom.

Hunc exinde volo ostendere vobis, quod ipse est qui fecit mundum et omne quod in illo est, et non hebdomades,<sup>1</sup> neque habitat ille in templo sicut idola conflata vestra ; atque sacrificius quibus daemones colebant, is non colitur, neque ullus eget omnium donator ; et ex uno sanguine,<sup>2</sup> id est, ex uno viro, factus est mundus hic filiorum hominum. Et divisit tempora aestatis et hiemis, et ordinavit terminos maris et siccae, et filiorum Noes. Et ut conquirant per manifesta absconditum, qui principium omnium ipse est, et ab eo stabiliuntur cuncta, et procul in abscondito suo. Quoniam per eum viximus in utero et per eundem apparemus.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reference to Gnostic doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> xvii. 26 *αἷμα* D Iren Antiochian.

LACUNA, ACTS XVII. 29-XIX. 10

Ephrem : Non in manufactis templis habitat, he says, like your idols smelted. And with sacrifices with which demons are worshipped, he is not worshipped, and of nothing is he in need, the giver of all things. p. 315. 37-316. 3.  
xvii 24-25.

Ephrem : For these indeed especially communicated unto men knowledge, in every place the existence of heaven with its adornment, in every time the firm standing of earth. And he divided the seasons of summer and winter, and appointed limits of sea and dry land, even for the sons of Noe, in order that they might seek through things visible the hidden one, him that is himself cause of all. p. 318. 3 ff.  
xvii. 28-27.

Ephrem : Rightly so, for the Athenians, who up to this passage had listened to him, had not patience to hear him about the resurrection, but they were vexed, and said : About this at another time let us hear you. p. 323. 15 ff.  
xvii. 32

Chrysostom : For he had to work, inasmuch as there in Corinth it was specially needful for him to take nothing because of false apostles, as he said in his letter to them : In quo gloriantur, et inveniantur sicut nos, and non impediatur gloriatio mea in regionibus Achaiae ; and never for any act have we used this authority. Wherefore it was providentially arranged that there he should cling to them.<sup>1</sup> p. 325. 4 ff.  
xviii. 3.

Ephrem : So then, on their turning against him, when he saw that the Jews outrageously outrage him, he shook out his garments, as he had learned from his Lord, and said : Let not your blood come after the preachers, who ever day by day in tribulation with divers afflictions gospel unto you the gospel of your Lord ; but let there come after you the voice which said : They would not harken unto me, as neither have ye, for ye refused to harken to me. So then I go unto the gentiles, who are prepared not to die through us like yourselves, but to live through us, which ye have not willed to do. p. 326. 1 ff.  
xviii. 6.

Ephrem : So then, although also of the Jews one man only of the elders of the synagogue believed, yet the gentile Corinthians all together a big crowd<sup>2</sup> were baptized. p. 327. 12 ff.

Chrysostom : . . . Sedit autem ibi annum unum et menses sex, et docebat illis verbum of the Lord. But when he continued to be there, the Jews bore it not, when they saw him making disciples of the gentiles. (vss. 12 and 13) . . . The Jews, in every way opposing the truth, after a year and six months were with one p. 328. 11 ff.  
xviii. 11-16.

<sup>1</sup> The above is all from Chrysostom 295 c and 297 A, except the citation of 2 Cor. xi. 10 and xiii. 10, both loosely quoted from Armenian vulgate. Why does the catenist add the text of 2 Cor. xi. 10, containing the reference to Achaia ? Was it because he knew of the addition (xviii. 2) in D h *hel.mg.* of the words *oi kai karōphēnōu eis tēn 'Achaian* ? If so, was it from Ephrem that he knew of the addition ?

<sup>2</sup> xviii. 8 et [quomodo multi] a plebs Corinthiorum audierant verbum domini, [tinti sun]t credentes h.

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accord come against him, and as they were not able to employ a law of justice, they employed violence; and because he continually day by day taught them out of the law, they calumniated him before the hegemon, and say: This man is teaching the sons of men to fear God contra legem. But he no ways complied with them, wherefore Paul was in no way in need to make answer about this.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem: If however he has done any wrong according to your laws, or if unworthy statements should stand in his teaching, or if whatever you say he rejects you, or if you should have<sup>2</sup> any flaw in connection with his teaching or over your names and law, that is, about the ruler Christ who is written of in the law, this do you know, whatever among yourselves is your own in particular. But I was not sent to judge of those things, which infringe the keeping of the law.

Ephrem: The Greeks who believed were beating Sosthenes head of the synagogue<sup>3</sup>

Ephrem: And in order not as it were to see, the hegemon, (nor) demand requital for the affront put on him, I mean on Sosthenes, he became as one not seeing, so that his stripes might be all the more.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the Synasm 'the sons of men,' for τοὺς ἀνθρώπους betrays a Syriac original, which can only be Ephrem, as does also the idiom *zayn or*, 'that which,' which I render 'because.' In Chrysostom, moreover, there is nothing to correspond with the entire passage. The comment fits the text of D h. I confront it with the latter:

<p>'were with one accord come against him, and as they were not able to employ a law of justice, they employed violence' . . . 'they calumniated him before the hegemon and say'</p>	<p>12 exsurreserunt consentientes . . et conlocuti secum de Paulo.  iniecerunt ei manus, et perduxerunt ad proconsulem,  13 clamantes] et dicentes</p>
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D reads, vs. 12, *κατελέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συναλαήσαντες μεθ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοῶντες καὶ λέγοντες*. Note that the catena, with *hcl* x. and h, substitutes *πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον* for *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα* of the Greek mss. The word I render 'calumniated' answers to *καταβοῶντες*, which has been found in no Greek ms. but D.

<sup>2</sup> xviii. 15 *tyere* D, cf. *gig* (*habetis*).

<sup>3</sup> The Greek texts with unimportant exceptions read *πάντες* or *πάντες* οἱ Ἕλληνες, but h omits *πάντες*. Ephrem in describing the Greeks who committed the outrage as those 'who believed' at least implies the omission of *πάντες*, even if his text did not contain οἱ πεπιστευκότες Ἕλληνες. Just before, at the end of a section of Chrysostom, the catena has: 'By Greeks here he means those Jews who spoke in the Greek language.' This is not in Chrysostom, and may well be Ephrem's.

<sup>4</sup> *M* Gallio simulabat [se non vi]dere h; tunc Gallio fingeat eum non videre d; D is illogico.

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Anon. : He came then with Paul to Cenchron to the harbour p. 331. 18 ff.  
of Corinth, for there Aquila had made a vow to shave his hair. xviii. 18 ff.  
It was necessary also to offer a sacrifice by the hand of the priest,  
in whatever he had been in transgression, to expiate by hand of him.

Ephrem : But when he reached Ephesus he left them (vss. 19 and 20) . . . So Paul came, reached Ephesus and with him Aquila's party, and he spoke in the synagogue there; and they prayed him to remain with them, but he consented not to tarry with them, because it was necessary to set off to where he had hurried himself to go.<sup>1</sup> But he did not simply leave them.<sup>2</sup>

Profectus ab Epheso et descendens Caesaream ascendit et salutavit ecclesiam in Jerusalem. Not for nothing had he hastened p. 332 20 ff.  
his journey to Caesarea, and afresh also to other regions, but in xviii. 21-22.  
order by his coming to confirm them. Descendit Antiochiam, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Cum vellet, he says, ire in Achaïam, which is Hellada, the mother- p. 333 28 ff.  
land of the Corinthians, exhortati fratres scripserunt ad discipulos xviii. 27-28.  
accipere eum; qui cum venisset ibi, multum contulit iis qui crediderant. Vehementer enim Iudaeos revincebat publice, ostendens per scripturas esse Christum Iesum. Aquila then and his accurately narrated to Paulus [Apollōs?]. Nay, they urged him also to go to Achaia, which he was himself anxious to do. And they gave him a letter of testimony, because the man was unknown. But he having gone, wrought much advantage, because he was very expert in knowledge of the Scriptures, as he bore witness. And because he was firm in the faith, he in that way accomplished his course, preaching.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This seems to imply the 'Western' addition found in D Antiochian.

<sup>2</sup> The rest of the paragraph is Chrys. 301 π οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν . . .

<sup>3</sup> The above is embedded in matter from Chrysostom. Can we not trace in the addition 'in Jerusalem' a reference to the Bezan addition (D HLP, etc.) in vs. 21 δὲ δὲ πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν ἡμέραν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα? The same addition underlies the passage, Catena, p. 331. 18-32, already cited.

<sup>4</sup> In the above, which comes amid matter from Chrysostom, though his Greek text has nothing similar, we have the following traces of D:

(1) The phrase 'Hellada the motherland of the Corinthians' echoes (vs. 27) Κορίνθιοι . . . εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν.

(2) In the catena it is Aquila and his wife at Ephesus who exhort Apollonius (i.e. Apollōs) to go to Corinth; in D the Corinthians there; the other Greek texts write αἱ ἀδελφαί. Again, the catena says, 'urged him also to go to Achaia,' and forthwith adds that he himself wanted to do so; in D the same sequence, παρεκάλουν . . . συγκαταθέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ. In the other Greek texts βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ begins the story.

(3) The catena, like D, omits διὰ τῆς χάριτος.

(4) The catena, 'But he having gone,' like the rendering in pesh. *heṭ*, does not naturally suggest παραγενόμενος of the usual Greek text, nor ἐπιδημήσας

xix. 10-19. . . . facta, don[ec omnibus audibilis factus est sermo quicumque habit]abant Asiam. Mul[ta] signa fecit Paulus, et afferebant ad infirmos sudor[es] eius, nam ex[er]ant qui [ponebant sudaria vel zon]am vel cing[ulum super] (ipsos), [et sta]tim curaban[tur a languoribus et mala daemonia discedebant]. (Imprimis filii sacerdotis idolorum)<sup>1</sup> super il[los] qui habebant daemonia mala nomen Iesu nomi[n]abant et dice[bant]: [Adiuramus et iubemus te] (in no[m]en Christi de quo Paulus praedicat). (Et quando manifest)arunt dolum, quod exorciz[abant, tan]quam super illos qui daemoniaci erant. Illi (exoro)izabant super unum, et aiunt: Manda(mus tibi) in nomine Iesu, quem Paulus praedicat, ut ex eas ab is(to);<sup>2</sup> et daemon conversus est ad cultorem daemonum et ait illis: Iesum cognosco Paulumque ipse de meo scio, vos autem confracti, dorsum contriti a daemonibus, vos qui estis, qui daemoniis exire mandatis? Et stridit dentibus daemonium illud ad rectam et sinistram,<sup>3</sup> et expulit eos a domo. Manifestumque fuit illud cunctis, quodcumque factum est apud filios sacerdotis idolatri. Et incidit metus et pavor super Iudaeos et gentiles, quin hoc iterum facerent. Quidam vero magorum qui crediderunt libros suos magni pretii combusserunt igne.

xix. 21. Paulus denuo posuit in mente sua per spiritum quomodo videret Macedoniam et [Achaiam, deinde rediret et veniret] Ierusalem; quoniam non [sinebant videre eum regiones h]as Iudaei [qui in Iudaea habitabant]. (Sed etiam) [gestiebat postea et Romam urbem i]re et docere.

xix. 23-40. (Et facta est in tempore eo) [perse]cutio magna propter it(er), [quae fuit per Demetrium au]ri opificem, nam opus ar(genti) habebat, et congregans artifices artis su[ae] turbabat [urbem omnem] eam universe; cum diceret: Abhinc non nobis marces negotii, nam invenie[bamus] e conchis quas operabamur; qui[a] docuit et dis[ci]pulavit Paulus Asiam, ut credant non esse deos, si a filiis hominum fabricentur. Depranderunt itineris socios Pauli, et introduxerunt eos in theatrum, et quia voluit Paulus ingredi theatrum, impediverunt eum discipuli eius propter multitudinosam congregationem. Sed quare utique congregati essent, non scibant. Postea dederunt consilium principes urbis civibus et aiunt: Quis est qui non scit civitatem nostram<sup>4</sup> culticem esse Artemidos, cui obstare et frustrare mani-

<sup>1</sup> xix. 14. The space of the lacuna seems to make it probable that the *us.* read 'priest,' not 'high-priest,' and (cf. D *gig hol.mg*) did not render *Ιουδαίου* (cf. Merk, *op. cit.* p. 242); see Textual Note *ad loc.* Ephrem makes 10 reference to the number of the sons (so D, but *hol.mg* has 'seven').

<sup>2</sup> xix. 14 *παρωγγελλομέν σοι ἐν Ἰησοῦ ὃν Παῦλος ἐξελθεῖν κηρύσσει* D *w* *tepl iol.mg*.

<sup>3</sup> xix. 16. Cf. the catena, which suggests an original *ἀκρωτηριάδας ἀν' ὑποπόρευον*.

<sup>4</sup> xix. 35 *τῇν ἡμετέραν πόλιν* D.

Ephrem : Paul wished of his own will to go to Jerusalem, but the Spirit turned him back again to Asia, as he tells us : *Factum est cum Apollo esset Corinthi, etc. (vss. 1-12).*<sup>1</sup> p. 334. 17 ff. xix. 1.

And when Paul laid on them his hand, they received the Holy Spirit, spake with tongues, and interpreted of themselves.<sup>2</sup> p. 335. 36 ff. xix. 6.

For the preaching was prolonged until the word was heard by all whoever were domiciled in Asia. p. 338. 28 f. xix. 10.

Having taken upon themselves<sup>3</sup> they laid the napkin, the *zonarion* or girdle, and forthwith were healed of diseases, and the evil demons went out. p. 338. 38-339. 1. xix. 12.

But we adjure and command you in the name of Jesus, Go out of him. p. 339. 35 f. xix. 14. p. 340. 27 ff. xix. 18-16.

Ephrem : Respondit spiritus nequam et dicit illis : Iesum novi et Paulum scio : vos autem qui estis ? You, he says, shattered, broken-backed by demons, who are you who order demons to go forth ? And the demon mutilated them on the right and on the left, and drove them forth from the house.

Ephrem : Dicebat : Post adventum meum illuc, oportet me et Romam videre. That is, that when he shall have seen Macedonia and Achaia, which is Hellada, then he will return and go to Jerusalem, because the Jews who lived in Judaea would not let him see these regions. p. 345. 9 ff. xix. 21.

Facta est autem illo tempore turbatio non minima de via. By the Way he means the course of the gospel, but by the disturbance the great persecution which befell by the hand of Demetrius the goldsmith. For it was about this he wrote to the Corinthians.<sup>4</sup> p. 346. 15 ff. xix. 23.

Chrys. (?) : Then he set forth the pains of indigence, and disturbs the whole city.

Ephrem : When he said : Henceforth we have no profit of our trade, for we obtained it out of the shrines we made. For Paul has taught and instructed Asia to believe there are not gods which may be fabricated with art by the sons of men, and since it was by this art we had to live, without it, lo, we risk falling into hunger. p. 347. 17 ff. xix. 25-26.

of D. Can the latter be a corruption of ἀποδημήσας, the ἐπι- being due to the preceding ἐπιδημούντες?

(5) In the catena πολύ comes before συνεβόλετο as in D gig Aug, not after it as in the other Greek mss.

<sup>1</sup> θέλοντες δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, εἶπαι αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποσπρέψαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, D vg.cod. R\* hol.mg.

<sup>2</sup> Here perp adds 'ita ut ipsi sibi interpretarentur'; cf. hol.mg. The catenist closes a section of Chrysostom with the above, but it is certainly Ephrem.

<sup>3</sup> xix. 12. This seems to imply ἐπιφέρεισθαι D Antiochian.

<sup>4</sup> Here a scrap of Ephrem is set in an alien context.

festum est neminem posse? Hic<sup>1</sup> ergo Demetrius ignobilis et turpis, immo pueri artis eius, si iudicium (δίκην) habeant inter sese, proveniant et ostendant hegemoni. Etenim [si petitio aliqua<sup>2</sup> sit adversus ali]quem agenda, di[iudicetur in legitima congregatione, quia in magno tumultu sumus [et in grave discrimen incidimus].

**xx. 1-3.** [Quia] (habebant Iudaei) odium magnum contra e[um, voluit abire Syriam. At fecit reverti<sup>3</sup> eum spiritus, atque ab]iit in Macedoniam.

**xx. 6-12.** Et (venit in Troada, et quum) [loqueretur] ibi a mane usque [in mediam noctem (Paulus), So]pitus adolescens cec[idi]t de tertio coenaculo, nam sedebat ibi, et tradidit animam. [Et descendit] Paulus et illapsus est super eum et vivificavit e[um].

**xx. 13-16.** Ego Lucas et qui mecum intravimus navem et profecti sumus (Ass)um venturi ad Paulum, quomodo et mandavit (ille nobis. Et tra)nsivimus cum illo oppida multa, quia fe(sta)nans properabat venire facere pentecostem in Ierusalem.

<sup>1</sup> **xix. 38** Δημήτριος οὗτος D *peah*.

<sup>2</sup> **xx. 39.** Ephrem seems to have read *περὶ ἐτέρων* with D and most uncials (but not B).

<sup>3</sup> **xx. 3** εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφειν D *gig hol.mg*.

Ephrem. This Demetrius, disreputable and infamous, he says, p. 352 3 ff  
yea and the children of his craft, if they have any suit with other, xx 38-39.  
let them stand forth and show it before the hegemon; and if there  
be any other dispute, let it be settled in the legal assembly.

Ephrem: Cum fecisset ibi menses tres, factae sunt illi insidiae p. 354 11 ff  
a Iudaeis, quum vellet exire in Syriam. Consilium habuit reverti xx 3.  
in Macedoniam. Since the Jews plotted against him, he desired  
to depart to Syria, but the Spirit turned him back to Macedonia.

Ephrem: For as Paul talked from dawn until midnight, a youth p. 356 7 ff  
went to sleep and fell from the third story—for he was sitting there xx 7-10.  
—and gave up the ghost. And Paul went down, fell upon him,  
and raised, quickened him as he relates: Erant autem lampades,  
etc. (vss. 8-11).

Now in many places Paul was separated from his disciples, and p. 357. 21 ff  
here again he has gone by land on foot. But Luke and those (or xx 13-14.  
he) with me, having entered a ship, we bore up to Ason, and there  
we expected again to pick up Paul; for so he had instructed, until  
he was about to proceed by land; but when he met us in Ason,  
having picked him up we came to Mytilene. Thus to lighter  
purposes urging them, but the harder toil taking on himself, he  
had gone off on foot, at the same time planning to discipline the  
disciples and instruct them by detaching themselves from him<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question arises whether in vs. 13 Ephrem's Syriac text of Acts read:  
'But I, Luke, and those with me' This we cannot say for certain, but  
that the Armenian translator found the words in Ephrem's Syriac commentary  
is certain; otherwise, why should he render them? Everywhere else in the  
two passages the bare *hmeis* is reflected in the version unaltered.

Comparing the catena here with Codex 571 we note: (1) The catena re-  
produces verses 13 and 14 exactly as they stand in the Armenian vulgate  
except for the initial words. It omits, however, 'I' before 'Luke,' and has  
*mtcal i nawn*, 'having entered the ship,' where Codex 571 has *mtaw i naw yen*,  
'he entered a ship and.' Here *mtaw*, the third person singular, is an obvious  
scribe's error for *mtag*, 'we entered,' or for *mtcal*, 'having entered.'

(2) The catenist was so struck by the variant that he kept it and trans-  
ferred it into the heart of matter from Chrysostom, in whose text, as given  
in the New Colloge ms., the passage runs thus: πολλοῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ Παῦλος  
χωρίζεται. ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάλιν, αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς δὲ φησὶν ἐμβαρτες ἐπὶ τὸ  
πλοῖον ἀντήχθημεν εἰς τὴν Θάσσον, ἐκεῖθεν (κτλ. as far as Μυτιλήνην, but reading  
Θάσσον a second time). κορυφώτερον ἐκείνους ἐπιτρέψας, τὸ δὲ ἐπιπικνωτέρων αὐτὸς  
αἰρούμενος. ἐπέβηκεν, ἀμα καὶ πολλὰ οἰκονομῶν, παιδεύων τε αὐτοὺς χωρίζεσθαι  
αὐτοῦ. ἀντήχθημεν φησὶν εἰς τὴν Θάσσον. εἴτα παρέρχονται τὴν νῆσον. κακεῖθεν  
φησὶν ἀπὸ πλοῦς αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ κατηγορήσαντες Ἀντικυρ Σίου. This was also the  
text which the Armenian translator of Chrysostom had before him. The Bene-  
dictine text makes nonsense by reading παιδεύων μηδὲ αὐτοὺς χωρίζεσθαι αὐτοῦ.

(3) In the catena and in Chrysostom stress is laid on the fact that Paul  
often separated himself from his companions, and the passage to Assos is  
selected as an example. It is natural for a commentator who takes such a  
line to explain that here *hmeis* in the Greek signifies, not (as generally) 'Paul

xx. 32-34.

Et aiebat: Incedo vinctus spiritu Ierusalem. Incepit igitur narrare vere quaecunque eventura erant sibi per sacerdotes et scribas. Sed propter sanctos qui erant in Ierusalem veniebat consolari eos, iterumque ut ostenderet tormenta non metum incutere sibi. Immo ut ostendat quomodo sine scrupulo, sine metu, sine ignavia obviam tribulationi festinans iret contra. Aiebat autem eiusmodi: Nihil aestimavit anima mea aliquid pretiosius quam cursum meum. Id est, non pretii facio animam meam quam<sup>1</sup> labores it[ineris] et quam ministeri[um] evan[gelii] sermonis<sup>2</sup> quod a domino nostro accep[er]am, ut testi[ficer] Iudaeis et gentilibus.<sup>3</sup> Et dicebat quod us[que] hodie<sup>4</sup> purus sum [a sanguine omnium vestrum, n]am omnes tribulationes (sustinui)[pro ev]angelismo quem evan[gel]izo vobis; quia non missus] sum turbare vos [neque veni alio con]siho, sed ob hoc solum, ut in morte [et in vi]ta viam commodi vestri indic[ans] prae]dicarem vobis. Prophetavit iterum de [apost]olorum falsitate, qui erant confus[uri] vitae viam. Et dixit quod argentum et a[ur]um et vestem non concupivi, sed laboravi et vivere de manibus meis non piger eram.

xxi. 1-3.

xxi. 15.

xxiii. 8-10.

xxii. 30.

xxiii. 1-10.

Profecti sumus et venimus usque ad Tzor, et quando intravimus Ierusalem, Sadducaeis negantibus resurrectionem praedicavit; iudicium quod dignum iudicabat frustratum est.

Iterum conduxit eum centurio ut ante eosdem iudicaretur.

Ait illis Paulus: Ego in omnibus bonis consiliis ambulavi coram deo usque hodie. Postquam vero propter hoc iussit sacerdos percutere os eius, quomodo Vae! dedit doctor eius sacerdotibus et Pharisaeis in die crucifixionis suae, eodem modo imprecatus est etiam ille diras sacerdoti, aitque illi: Quoniam ius[sisti] percutere os meum iniuste, percussus est etiam te deus . . .) quoniam paries es dealbatus, (quod et Christus prius dixit eis: Quod similes estis (vos sepulchris dealbatis), intra vero pleni estis om[ni] malitia. Et ille) castigatus est quia spre[vit] sacerdotem quem non) agnoscebat Quando agnovit, dixit: (Scriptum est . . . quod) ne dicant quod per vision(em . . . didicistis) dum incedebat cum occisor[ibus] Damascum, de pla[gi]s suis fiduciam suam (coram omnibus) accedebat ostendebat. Atque ut dice[nt]: Verum est] quod audiverant de eo quoad legem, quia [ecce et sac]erdotem plus quam legem spre[vit], accu[rrit] ad legem in verbo quod dixit et de lege quod iteravit. Et ut ostenderet iis qui sedentes iudicabant eum tanquam transgressorem, quod observabat legem et diligebat eam; quamvis enim pauculum pauculum quicquam frustraret, circumcisionem enim et sabbata dissolvebat, illi vero in maximis etiam dissolvebant eam, quia angelos et spiritum et resurrectionem quam praedicabat lex, ii non confitebantur. Illos igitur, quia omnes contra eum erant, inter sese, quia

<sup>1</sup> xx. 24 τοῦ τελειῶσαι D, cf. vg.    <sup>2</sup> xx. 24 τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ λόγου D gig.

<sup>3</sup> xx. 24 Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας D gig sah.

<sup>4</sup> xx. 26 ἄχρι οὗ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας D.



Ephrem: For as he began to tell truly what events were to happen to him in Jerusalem at the hands of priests and scribes; but he, because of the saints who were in Jerusalem, was coming to comfort them, and further in order to show that sufferings had no terror for him; for, lo, without a quail of a fear, without flinching, he hastened on to confront tribulation. However he adds and says: I have not esteemed my soul more valuable than the labours of the gospel of life and than the service of the gospel's word, which from our Lord I received; that is, in order that I may bear witness to Jews and gentiles.

Ephrem: For indeed he was about to say something heavier, namely: *Mundus sum a sanguine vestrum omnium*, for in nothing have I fallen short of my precepts, and all tribulations have I borne for the sake of the gospel which I gospel unto you. For I came not with any other design, but with this alone, that combating with death and with life I might indicate to you your advantage.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem: And in that he called them shepherds ordained by the Spirit, like the lord Peter, about whom although he prophesies the truth of the apostles who were in the future to deflect from the straight the path of life, yet keeping the order of his theme he opportunely adds: *Ego enim scio*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

p. 363. 33-364. 5.  
xx. 23-24.  
p. 364. 10 ff.  
xx. 26-27.  
p. 366. 7 ff.  
xx. 28-29.  
p. 398. 26 ff.  
xxiii. 1-10.

So then that they might not say that, It is true whatever they heard about him as to the law being contemned, for, lo, it was even the priests more than the law he set at naught, he proceeded to the law.<sup>3</sup>

and I Luke,' but 'I Luke and those with me, *nimis* Paul.' As long therefore as I had only the catena before me, I assumed that we were in presence of a mere gloss of Ephrem's. But with the full commentary of Ephrem as a check I do not feel so sure, for in it the text comes like a bolt from the blue, with no comment to explain it. Perhaps the older commentator used by Chrysostom also read, like Ephrem, *ἐγὼ δὲ Λουκᾶς καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοί*, and it was this in his text of Acts which excited his comment, and not *vice versa*.

<sup>1</sup> The first words of the above are from Chrysostom 332 D *μελλαι τι φορτικώτερον λέγειν, ὅτι καθαρὸς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων ὑμῶν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐλλείπειναι*. But the entire paragraph is labelled 'Ephrem.'

<sup>2</sup> Here a scrap of Ephrem is imported into matter from Chrysostom, and the whole is labelled 'Ephrem.' 'Truth,' Arm. *stugmuthium*, is an error for *stuthium* 'falsity,' read in the full text, and is a variant in some MSS.

<sup>3</sup> This is embedded in Chrysostom.

ad causam resurrectionis, quod dignum erat, assenta[ebant. Denuo] cohors Romanorum [rapuerunt eum et in aede car]ceris propter Iudaeos [et occisores suos celaverunt eum, itaque cus]toditus est.

xxii. 12-

xxv. 10.

Audibiles (erant) [insidiae] (apud Lysiam), is enim erat caput mil[itum]. [Quum audisset iuramentum XL] virorum qui iuraverant occi[dere Paulum, furavit] eum nocte et per Rom[anos dedit conduci eum] ad Felicem hegemonā in Caesar[eam].

(Et post quinque dies descendit) Ananias sacerdotum princeps (cum senioribus quibusdam ut) per Tertelium rheto[rem accusatores] fi[ant] contra Paulum. Postquam vero ad[venit et] [locutus est] rhe[tor] de pace populi eorum et de tumultu quem in omnibus locis incitabat contra eos Paulus, deinde mandatum factum est Paulo dare responsum pro se ipso.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xxv. 10 defensionem habere pro se, *hel mg.*

So in the matter of the resurrection which is certain, some agreed, but half of them did not believe, and they, though they were all against him, were against each other mightily in dispute.<sup>1</sup>

Ephrem : Again the cohort of Romans snatched him away, and hid him in the prison because of the Jews and their assassins. And since they were about to slay him eagerly, from such a risk he was rescued.

But it was providentially arranged that he should comprehend their craftiness. . . . For when the tribune heard the oath of the forty men, which they swore to slay Paul, he stole him by night and gave him to be conducted by Romans to Felix the hegemon in Caesarea.<sup>2</sup>

Ephrem : For when the rhetor talked about the peace of their synagogue (*or* people) and about the disturbance which everywhere Paul stirred up against them, forthwith an order was made to Paul to make answer for himself.

Ephrem : But he stood forward and said : They have dubbed me a lunatic and madman and disturber of the people. Be sure, hegemon, that in their city I have been a few days and not many. And in the temple there when I was worshipping, they came, found me, and it is not the case that I had gathered a concourse of my own and was teaching it. If then in their population (*or* concourse) outside the city or right there within the city they failed to catch or detect me collecting a concourse to teach, how do they come and accuse me as a chicaner, in whom none of these transgressions were found ?

Ephrem : However, although I am a Christian, as they allege, yet I too worship the God of our fathers, of Abraham and of his, who without the law worshipped God. As in the law and prophets whatever is written do I believe.

Now how or why did I raise a tumult among them, he says, for the conferring of alms on whom I have come so long a journey ? For such is not the work of a raiser of tumults.<sup>3</sup>

Ephrem : Iussit centurioni custodire eum et habere in requie, nec quemquam de suis prohibere ministrare ei. The hegemon then though in sentencing unjustly he did not sentence him, yet neither justifying did he justify him ; he placed him in custody. He did not want to let him go because of them, and he was unable to torture him, because it seemed shameful without crime to do this.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is worked into matter from Chrysostom. It seems to restore the text of Ephrem's commentary, in which after 'inter sese' some word like 'scondebat' has dropped out, and the text must also have read 'quidam assentiebant, quidam vero non credebant.' Ephrem read something similar to 'inter eos dividebantur,' as in h.

<sup>2</sup> The above embedded in Chrysostom.

<sup>3</sup> The above is embedded in Chrysostom matter.

<sup>4</sup> The last sentence of the above is from Chrysostom 379 a.

xxv. 10-27. Is ante stetit incepit loqui: Aestimaverunt me dementem et insanum et agitatore[m] populi. Sed hoc scito, hegemon, quod in civitate eorum paucae dies sunt meae, neque multum quid, in templo quando adorabam, invenerunt me, neque congregationem separatim congregaveram et docebam. Si igitur in congregatione<sup>1</sup> extra civitatem sive hic in civitate nequiverunt captare et invenire me, quod congregaverim [congregationem, quia docebam, quo]modo igitur in [quo haec omnia delicta non inven]erunt, adeuntes accusant me tanquam dol[osum]; nihilominus, [quamvis et Christianus et]iam sim, veluti et aiunt, [tamen deum patrum] nostrum Abrahamaeorum qui [sine lege venerati sunt deum] veneror ego; [sicut in lege et prophetis in quibus] credunt isti, credo ego. Si ergo tan[quam] . . . (pu)eros congregationis meae (adveni tantam viam ob)laturus sacrificia in temp[lo], (ibique accusat)ores meos, quando purificabar, invenerunt quod (non cum multis) sive in turba multorum, sed solum (separatim). Ergo dicant accusatores et adversarii mei quare clamaverint de me, ut amoveatur inter nos,<sup>2</sup> aiunt, nequam et turpis. Sed hegemon quamvis inculpans in iniquitate non inculpavit eum, utique neque iustificans iustificavit illum. Apprehendit posuit illum in custodia, quia pecuniae spem habebat.

xxv. 1-21. Venit ergo Festus alius hegemon Ierusalem. Adeunt sacerdotes et dicunt illi de Paulo. Dedit mandatum et ait, Caesareae audiant iudicium. Quumque plurimis verbis iterum calumniarentur illum, at nihil huiusmodi potuerunt demonstrare, quia ante horam illam proposuerat in mente Paul[us] ire Romam urbem et] impeditus est, et propos[uit] et meditatus est ap]pellare Caesarem, ut [donec adveniens attin]gat Romam apud Caesarem, do[ceat] et discipulos reddat] creaturas in do[ctrina] Christi; advenit descendit] rex Agrippas qui stetit [in loco principatus] Herodis ad salutandum hegemon[a]. Is stetit indica]vit illi causam Pauli, et quod [petiverant Paulum Iu]daci ab ipso. Sed timuit propter l[egem] Romanorum dare eum in ma]nus eorum, quoniam non inventum est in illo de[lictum], nisi] detractio legis Iudaeorum.

xxv. 22-  
xxvi. 23. [Voluit] ipse Agrippas videre Paulum, quomodo Herodes, quia voluit videre dominum nostrum. Iussit agi eum Festus coram eo.<sup>3</sup> Quando vero dedit illi mandatum loqui Agrippas, dedit responsum et ait illi: Fiducialiter aliquatenus speraveram, quia beatum aestimo me, quod sine scrupulo interritus ingressus coram legis filio, quia legis gnarus et peritus es, do apologiam. Stetit coram iis et adit

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this passage the word used may mean *populus* or *congregatio* equally.

<sup>2</sup> Ephrem's text seems to have contained an addition at the close of vs. 18 similar to that of *vg. codd* et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes: Tolle inimicum nostrum.

<sup>3</sup> xxv. 23 iussit Festus adduci Paulum, *gig s*

Ephrem : For as Festus wished to make of him a present to their designs, and as before that hour Paul had settled it in his mind to go to the city of Rome and was prevented, he bethought him and purposed to appeal to Caesar, that until he going should reach Rome, unto the Caesar, he might teach and school the world in the doctrine of Christ. p. 418. 3. 2. xxv. 11.

King Agrippas came, descended, who stood in the place of the principality of Herod to salute the hegemon. He stood related before him the suit of Paul, and that the Jews asked of him Paul, but he feared for the law of the Romans to give him into their hands. For he found not about him any transgression, except that he defamed the law of the Jews.<sup>1</sup> p. 421. 18 ff. xxv. 13-19.

<sup>1</sup> The above under title of 'Chrysostom.'

repetivit de prima habitatione iuventutis suae in Ierusalem, quibusque casibus submisit ab initio eos qui invocarunt nomen Iesu. Narravit illi etiam de visione quam vidit in via Damasci, et in Ierusalem et apud gentiles, quomodo dat[um est illi mandatum, praedicavit], quia propter hoc deprehenderunt (eum in templo occisuri). Neque denique dixit illi prae(terquam quae scrip)ta sunt in libris prophetar(um, sed . . . haec) e lege et e prophe(tis stabilivit exem)pla, prae lege filii( . . . ) legem ipsius tanquam stren(uos testes verborum) suorum faciebat.

xxvi. 26-32. Rex aut[em qui in prophetis] credebat, sed assentiri proph[etiae eorum] nol[ebat], respondit et ait: (In modico pu)to hodie persuades me (fieri Ch)ristianum. Ait illi Paulus: In modico (et) in magno, id est, sive parvi sive magnates, seu quando fit in me virtus, ut implentur in me tribulationes, ego hoc modo in precibus sto, ut auditores mei ad instar ipsius fiant, exceptis vinculis his quibus ante vos vinctus adsto. Inceperunt illi dicere inter sese duo duobus, quod fas et possibile esset dimitti Paulum, accurate aiebat, appellabat Caesarem, nisi vultum Caesaris quaesivisset videre.

xxvii. 1-24. Sedere fecerunt eum cum Luca et cum Aristarcho Macedone. Et advenerunt Tsadan et Cyprum et mare Ciliciae, (et inde navigarunt descenderunt Luc)am usque Nimer<sup>1</sup> urbem et (ibi intraverunt navem quae por)tabat in Italiam Et praeven[it eis tempestas asper]e] flans glac[ialis, et contornum est mare] undis suis, et exorta [super illos distrac]tio cumularum undarum [spumantium, et proiecerunt] armamenta navis in mare. (Tunc) [revelavit] Paulus de angelo qui ap[paruit illi et dixit]: Coram Caesare adstiturus [es tu, et navis] ista frangitur, sed vir unus ex ducentis et sept[ua]ginta<sup>2</sup> non perdetur

xxviii. 1-10. Ergo ascendentibus [illis] e mari apportaverunt barbari et rudes homines ignigena minuta sarmenta ponere ignem et calefacere eos. Advenit congregavit de eodem etiam Paulus. At exivit vipera et involvit sese circum manum eius. Et videbatur incolis regionis quod occisura sit eum. Ille vibravit manum suam et proiecit eam in ignem, non nocuit illi. Illi vero, quando viderunt in manu eius occisorem, reum sanguinis appellarunt eum; quando autem proiecit eam neque illi nocuit, deum appellarunt eum, quia misericordias multas fecit apud nos, occisorem enim vastatorem incolarum regionis consumpsit in igni coram nobis. Operatus est etiam alias virtutes in insula, patrem enim hospitis sui curavit a difficili afflictione, plumbusque languentium qui ibi erant data est per manum eius curatio. Ergo honoraverunt, dederunt opsonia.

<sup>1</sup> Nimer, i.e. Μύρα. The *n* belongs to a preceding word and the first *i* signifies 'to.' Akinean regards it as a corruption of Smyrna.

<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 37. Merk, *op. cit.* p. 244, observes that the lacuna has space for '276,' but that in the catena the reading '270' (so Greek codex 69) is secure.

But when he repeated his first dwelling of his childhood in Jerusalem and what he inflicted on those who called on the name of Jesus, he also told of the dream he saw on the road of Damascus, and that in Jerusalem and to the gentiles, as was given him the command to convert, he preached.

Ephrem : But the king, who believed in the prophets but did not wish to agree with their prophecies, forestalled him and said : In modico suades me fieri Christianum. That is, it is a skimpy and small sort of thing you are trying to persuade me of.

Ephrem : I would that they who to-day hear me might become like me, small ones or great. I would that while there be in me powers, there be fulfilled in me tribulations. That is, I deem little the fulfilment of powers unto the great longing for tribulations. But so do I pray that my hearers should become like myself apart from the fetters in which I stand bound in tribulation.

Anon. : And here after its being said : Thou art mad, they began to say to each other, two to two : It was possible he should be set free. And they not only let him off death, but he would have been altogether set free from his bonds, had he not appealed to Caesar.

Ephrem : But when a storm caught them of bitter blast, and the sea became tempestuous with its billows, and there arose against them torrential piles of frothing waves, they cast off the movables into the sea.

Ephrem : Paul revealed about the angel which appeared to him and said to him, Before Caesar art thou to stand, and your ship is shattered, and not a man of the 270 men in it shall be lost. Sed posteaquam, etc. (vss. 27-32).

Ephrem : Because when they went up from the sea the rude barbarians brought firewood broken up small to lay a fire and warm them. Paul came and gathered, and out of it issued a viper and wound itself round his hand. As it seemed to the natives it would kill him, they called him guilty of blood. But when they beheld him shake his hand and toss the slayer into the fire and that it nowise had hurt him, they dubbed him a god, for that he wrought a great mercy upon them, in burning before our eyes in the fire the deadly slayer of the inhabitants of those regions.

Behold again some other than that one, wonders and powers which he wrought in the island, for he healed the father of their host, and to many sick who were there was given by means of him healing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This stands at the end of a paragraph marked 'Chrysostom.'

xxviii. 16-  
31.

Et ingressi sunt Romam. Convocavit Paulus principes Iudaeorum et manifestavit illis quod propter Christianitatem traditus erat in vincula gentilium per Iudaeos, et: Quia voluerunt Iudaei occidere me, necesse fuit mihi appellare Caesarem. At vocavi vos, non tantum ut viderem vos, sed etiam ut enarrarem vobis haec omnia. Et locutus est cum iis a mane usque ad vesperam de Christo e lege et e prophetis. Iteravit de infidelibus qui non consentiverunt verbo Isaiae quod dixit: Quod audiant non intelligant. Quando vero tentavit eos, iterum memoravit etiam de operibus manuum suarum,<sup>1</sup> quod dedit mercedem domus biennio uno; loqui cum Iudaeis et cum gentilibus<sup>2</sup> qui ascendebant ad eum de Christo non cessabat, et aiebat quod Iesus est filius dei,<sup>3</sup> quod pro eo laboramus et attinemus coronas, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, cui cum patre, simul et spiritui sancto, gloria potestas et honor in secula; amen.

<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 30. Mark, pp. 244 f., would translate 'eius,' taking the subject of 'memoravit' to be 'the author of Acts.' 'Iterum' will then refer to Acts xviii. 3, xx. 34.

<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 30 'Ioudaious τε καὶ Ἕλληνας, 614 minn gig p vg.codd hel ✕.

<sup>3</sup> xxviii. 31 quia hic est Iesus filius dei p, cf. vg.codd hel text.



Ephrem: Mansit autem biennio toto in suo conducto et suscipiebat omnes qui ingrediebantur ad eum. As then he conversed with Jews from morning till eve about Christ out of the law and the prophets, and repeated about the unbelievers who accepted not the word of Isaiah; Luke in turn recorded also about the works and labour of his hands,<sup>1</sup> which he gave as the hire of his house for a two years' space; and how he ceased not to converse about Christ with Jews and gentiles, who came out from and went in to him, and he alleged that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, because for his sake we toil and win crowns through Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> See J. R. HARTIS, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894, pp. 50 f. Cf. Ephrem, *Commentarii in epistolas D. Pauli*, p. 256, prologue to 2 Timothy: 'Penulam autem et libros jusat afferre, aut ut venditis illis penderet pro domo conductâ aut ut hæreditare faceret cui justum esset,' and the very peculiar statement of the Preface to Acts, above, p. 384, No. 32.



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